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Street Children in Chile: Second Class Citizens in Making

by

Guadalupe Salazar, MPH

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

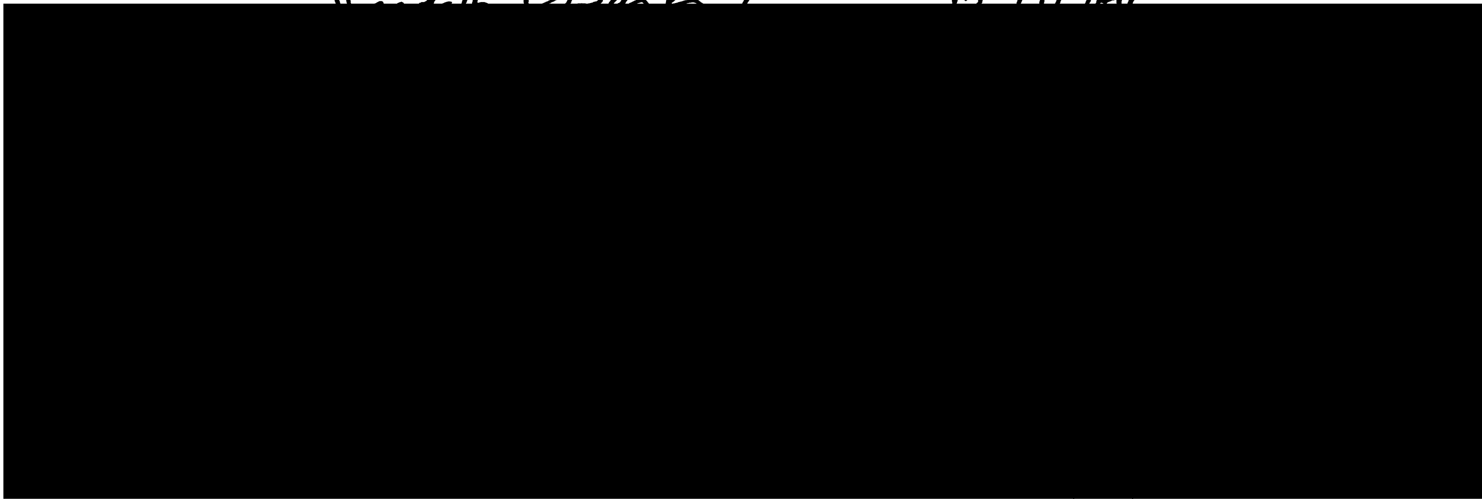
Medical Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO



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by
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Para mis padres, Clemencia y José Salazar

Les dedico esta obra en gratitud por sus sacrificios, por su amor infinito, y simplemente por la confianza que han tenido en mi.

Gracias.

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To the children and youth living in the streets of Santiago de Chile, your lives are complex beyond your years. Thank you for allowing me access to your life experiences and perspectives. Through illuminating your complicated realities, I hope this research at the very least raises awareness about a group of children who are denied their childhood while society looks away.

To the staff and friends in the *Casa de Acogida*, your labor is a difficult and heartbreaking one. Take heart in knowing, children and youth hold fond memories of the love and affection your program and staff have shown them. Thank you for allowing me access to your spaces.

To my Chilean family, out of respect for your privacy, you will remain unnamed. Meeting you was a blessing. Not only did you open your home and hearts but you also created a space for me within them. You candidly shared your past, present, and dreams for your future with me. I will always be grateful for your trust and affection. I only wish "*El Papa*" were alive to see this.

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and effort and this dissertation is certainly a better project because of your mentoring. Thank you.

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ABSTRACT

STREET CHILDREN IN CHILE: SECOND CLASS CITIZENS IN MAKING

Guadalupe Salazar, MPH

This dissertation investigates the lived experience of marginalized, stigmatized, and criminalized children and youth in Santiago de Chile. Documented are the institutional, structural, symbolic and everyday violence(s) that directly and indirectly impact street children, a category of children for whom society denies childhood and imposes social suffering, on a daily basis.

Street Children in Chile: Second Class Citizens in Making illuminates contradictions and boundaries street children constantly negotiate and redefine in order to survive, such as "performing childhood" and using their bodies to earn money, to feel pleasure, and to punish. This ethnography offers glimpses into street children's perceptions and engagement in activities that are undeniably destructive to their physical and social being yet enable them to handle the humiliation and frustration of systematic social indifference and invisibility. Engagement in illicit or pathologized activities, such as crime, drug abuse, sexual activity and self-mutilation, are said by governmental authorities to render street children "dangerous" and deviant individuals.

In order to survive, street children constantly and efficiently cross boundaries between childhood and adulthood. Street children are child-adults who are not fully children or adults. Consequently, street children occupy a liminal position within society, for they are neither afforded the special protection given to children nor are they granted the rights and legitimacy given to adult citizens. In contrast to "normative" children who

follow acceptable socialization paths to becoming desirable citizens, street children follow non-desirable socialization paths and are therefore considered and treated as "criminals in making." Service agencies and state institutions designed to protect street children, unwittingly propel them along a trajectory toward criminality. Institutional and structural violence(s) that perversely promote children living on the streets are not recognized instead street children are pathologized, labeled non-compliant and willfully deviant, and therefore held responsible for their life circumstances. Citizenship rights are applied unevenly to street children due to these characteristics, specifically they are minors and not perceived as socially valuable. In essence, street children are made to become second class citizens because of their supposedly deviant actions and lifestyle.

Judith C. Barker
12/16/04

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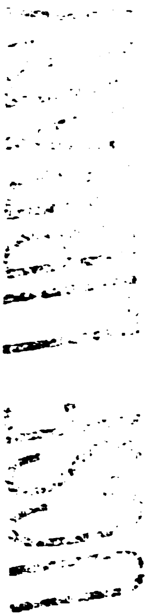
Introduction

It is three in the afternoon on a pleasant spring day. The central market is busy and colorful as people bustle about selling everything under the sun from peanuts to bootleg copies of music CD's and books to a wide array of stolen merchandise. I constantly scope this locale for street children, the subjects of my research.



A man running toward me catches my attention. I quickly notice he is running from a Carabinero, a policeman, who while running at top speed, clumsily attempts to unholster his gun and aim at the man and incidentally in my direction. The Carabinero catches the man about 10 feet from where I stand frozen in time and space witnessing the unfolding of this event. First, the Carabinero handcuffs the man's hands behind his back then hits him across the face with his hand. He then orders the man to kneel and continues hitting his face as he searches his body. The Carabinero finds a duffel bag inside the man's shirt – apparently he just stole this blue canvas bag. Again, the Carabinero beats on the kneeling and handcuffed man who says to him, "You've caught me. Don't hit me anymore." This statement earns him a pistol-whipping to the back of the head. The Carabinero orders the man to put his forehead to the ground and repeatedly hits him on the back of the head with the butt of his gun. At

this point, another man – apparently a plainclothes Carabinero – who is also waving a gun about as he runs – joins the uniformed Carabinero and they exchange a few undecipherable words. The plainclothes Carabinero hits the man in the back of the head with the butt of his gun but not before kicking him in the ribs. Bright red blood stains expand near the neckline of the man's white shirt as I watch horrified, not knowing what to do. I look around me desperate for clues but only see citizens walking by without any visible reaction, no one objects or says anything; no one looks twice. Seemingly, nothing extraordinary is occurring. Outraged, I want to yell at the abusive Carabineros "Stop! You can't do that!" but the sudden awareness that I am not in my country stops me. It is disorienting to realize I do not know my rights. I feel I have to do as the citizens do. Mechanically, my legs propel me forward and stunned I silently leave the scene. I go home where I feel disgusted with myself for not saying or doing anything.

Upset by the violence and social inertia I witnessed as well as ashamed by my own inaction, I speak with three Chilean friends, all in their late 20's, about the incident that evening. They are not surprised when I describe the man being beaten unjustly.[1] I ask, "What am I supposed to do in situations like that?" The unanimous response is, "You walk away. You don't say anything. You just walk away."

[1] Pilar, a good friend, countered this comment, "You're not going to tell me things like that do not happen in the United States! We always hear about racially motivated abuses." She was right, abuses happen all the time in the US but usually they happen under cover of night or they are *supposed* to be secret. They do not tend to happen in broad daylight as did this incident. Furthermore, moral outrage is expressed when similar incidents occur in the US because they are not *supposed* to happen.

This was the first disturbing event I would experience. In one brief moment, I was gripped by all my fears concerning conducting fieldwork in a country whose history included a repressive and violent dictatorship in the not too distant past. I chose to start with this particular vignette for several reasons. I consider it my initial arrival scene to my dissertation field site, Santiago de Chile, where I researched the lived experience of street children. This vignette raises questions regarding civic, political and social rights afforded to Chilean citizens by the State and captures the contradiction between theory and practice with regard to human and individual rights. It suggests the safeguarding of human and individual rights is a rhetoric that does not always translate into practice. This vignette not only thrusts questions of authority, power and their active abuse into prominence but also, given the immediate (non)reaction by pedestrians to the incident as well as my friends' tutoring on how to "react appropriately," it questions societal passivity, acceptance and individual resistance. Was the social passivity I witnessed a lingering legacy of fear from Pinochet's repressive and violent military dictatorship? An instance where citizens "knew what not to know" (Taussig 1999)? Was social passivity a reflection of fundamentalist morality and the assumption of guilt?

Perhaps most importantly, this vignette took on special significance as my fieldwork progressed, because street children interacted with *Carabinero*s on a regular and sometimes daily basis. Far too frequently these encounters involved some form of violence whether physical, psychological, emotional, or verbal, usually it was a combination, both directed from *Carabinero*s toward street children and vice versa. Street children were subject to myriad abuses, some not unlike those the vignette

described. Belonging to the category "children" did not spare children living on the street from being "the man" in the narrative above.

This dissertation "witnesses, critiques, and writes against violence, injustice, and suffering" (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004:1) by addressing the multiple forms of violence(s) that impacted and shaped the lived experience of and citizenship afforded to street children in Santiago de Chile. It considers how civil society promoted and reacted to these different violence(s) and, in turn, how street children resisted and internalized them. An obvious but not always acknowledged consequence of direct and indirect violence(s) to which street children were both passively exposed and in which they actively participated was their social suffering. But not as apparent was how these violence(s) impinged on street children's citizenship by framing how civil society and the state viewed and treated them as well as how they viewed and treated themselves. Ultimately, this dissertation is about street children's tenuous citizenship and rights due to their positioning within society as minors, deviant, and undesirable.

Violence(s) and Street Children

> Violence itself defies easy categorization. It can be everything and nothing; legitimate or illegitimate; visible or invisible; necessary or useless; senseless and gratuitous or utterly rational and strategic. Revolutionary violence, community-based massacres, and state repression are often painfully graphic and transparent. The *everyday* violence of infant mortality, slow starvation, disease, despair, and humiliation that destroys socially marginalized humans with even greater frequency are usually invisible or misrecognized. (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004:2)

Violence is generative, destructive, ubiquitous, inclement and indiscriminate; it is responsible for immense misery and social suffering of individuals, populations and nations (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004; Farmer 2003; Kleinman and Das 1997). It exists and is propagated in various forms, i.e. direct (Bourgois 2001; 2002), structural (Galtung 1969; Farmer 2003), symbolic (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), and everyday (Scheper-Hughes 1992), as well as on distinct levels from individual and personal scales to social and general arenas. But how can violence be understood? Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) propose a "continuum of violence" to refer to the "chains, spirals, and mirrors of violence" whereby violence reproduces itself exponentially leaving a path of destruction in its wake. They suggest violence must be understood beyond its physical dimensions for its social and cultural dimensions are what give violence meaning (2004:1). This proved to be especially true in my research with street children in Santiago de Chile where I identified multiple violence(s): some were obvious, visible and impacted their everyday lived experience while others were elusive and I had to learn to see them yet they conditioned their future citizenship.

Street children were both active and passive agents in the violence(s) characteristic of their lives; violence was routinized and normative in their lived experience. It seemed direct and indirect violence(s) shaped their individual and social behaviors, activities, and attitudes. Especially in early fieldnotes, ever-present violence in its many forms seemed overwhelming and incomprehensible. Becoming familiar with the lived experience of street children required that I witness, indirectly experience, and map some of these routinized violence(s), processes that at times saturated and overburdened my senses and sensitivities leaving me feeling distressed and impotent. Initially, I tried

distinguishing the different types of violence(s) I was witnessing – physical, emotional, verbal, psychological – as well as identify the actors and targets involved – self-inflicted, between street children, from street children toward citizens, from citizens toward street children, from street children toward Carabineros and from Carabineros toward street children. Although, violence(s) were obvious and permeate this dissertation, I was reluctant to give violence a central position for fear of contributing to the stigmatization, stereotyping or sensationalizing of street children. Not only was I risking the negative consequences of "studying down" (Nader 1972), I was also studying children, a disenfranchised category without a legitimate political voice. But reality was that violence(s) were central to the lived experience of street children in Santiago and not addressing these violence(s) and how they impacted their lives would be a disservice to the participants of this study who granted me entrée into their daily lives. My task, then, is not only to identify these multiple violence(s) but also to contextualize them.

The lived experience of street children in Santiago was embedded in multiple forms of violence(s) ranging from mundane daily interactions (micro) to the social systems (macro) in place. These different forms of direct and indirect violence(s) were damaging, destructive and brutal to street children whose bodies were assaulted and harmed on a daily basis by individuals (including their own being via self destructive activities), institutions, society and the state. Some violence(s) were readily discernable as they were literally scripted on the bodies of street children, for instance self-mutilation and drug abuse. Some overt violence(s) were directed toward society in the form of assaults and muggings. Other violence(s) were subtle yet equally or perhaps more damaging to their selves, such as blatant societal marginalization and rejection. While

some violence(s) were overt and aggressive such as beatings and rape, others were hidden and passive, such as the internalization of and identification with social constructions of "street children."

How, then, did these multiple violence(s) impact the citizenship of street children? I borrow Bourgois' (2001; 2002) outline of four different yet interrelated types of violence(s) – political, structural, symbolic and everyday – as a template to frame and understand the lived experience of children living on the streets in Santiago de Chile. These types of violence(s) individually and collectively created and reinforced inequalities of power that characterized the daily lives of street children. Ultimately, I suggest, these violence(s) negatively affect street children's future citizenship.

> ***Direct political***: Targeted physical violence and terror administrated by official authorities and those opposing it, such as military repression, police torture and armed resistance. (Bourgois 2001).

Chile has a history of a repressive and authoritarian dictatorship that employed targeted physical violence and terror to subdue the citizenry (Politzer 1989) and enforce a neoliberal agenda but such political violence and repression was in the past. Still, *Carabineros*[2] continued to wield what seemed to be unchecked power as the introductory vignette established. Similarly to "the man" in the vignette, *Carabineros* singled out street children for excessive verbal and physical harassment and occasional beatings due to their deviance from normative socialization and their re-categorization from children into "criminals-in-making." This harassment often occurred in broad daylight and in public places, for instance, a service provider described an incident where she witnessed a *Carabinero* trying to run down a street child with his motorcycle. She intervened by

[2] I was told by citizens and service agency workers that many of the Carabineros were trained during the dictatorship.

crossing the path just as the child ran by and obstructing the *Carabinero*'s path allowing the child to jump onto a micro (bus) to escape. The *Carabinero* warned her, "*No te metas en lo que no te importa*," don't meddle in something that is not your problem. While street children did not suffer directly under the dictatorship, they experienced violence associated with it such as abuse by *Carabinero*s and possibly social inertia due to lingering fear.

> ***Structural***: Chronic, historically-entrenched political-economic oppression and social inequality and hierarchy ranging from exploitative international terms of trade to abusive local conditions and high infant mortality rates. Term brought into academic debates by Galtung (1969, 1975 *in* Bourgois 2001).

Structural violence impacted street children's lives most saliently via the economic violence, perpetuated by the neoliberal agenda imposed on the country by Pinochet's regime, which thrust them to the streets to survive. The term "structural violence" was introduced by Galtung (1969) to define unintended violence perpetuated by social structures that gave rise to social injustice (1969:171). Structural violence indirectly harms individuals through existing social systems and the inequalities they produce and promote. For instance, inequalities of power are reflected in class and social stratification, gender relations, access to economic means, and discrimination. Structural violence cannot be seen because it is indirect and immaterial, it cannot be blamed on a sole person, but its effects are visible, direct and manifest on individuals, especially the poor and marginalized. Medical anthropologists, such as Farmer (1992; 2003) have endeavored to make known how structural violence affects the health and well-being of poor, marginalized individuals.

> ***Symbolic***: Defined in Bourdieu's (1977) work as the internalized humiliations and legitimations of inequality and hierarchy ranging from

sexism to racism to intimate expressions of class power. It is "exercised through cognition and misrecognition, knowledge and sentiment, with the unwitting consent of the dominated" (Bourdieu 2001; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 162-173, 200-205 *in* Bourgois 2001).

Symbolic violence is insidious; "it is the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:167). Although it is not directly physically brutal is it extremely powerful. Bourdieu described symbolic violence as a "soft" form of violence capable of doing what political and police violence can do but more efficiently (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:166). Perhaps it is this "softness" that renders symbolic violence difficult to identify as the violence(s) it perpetuates seemingly originate within or from its subjects/objects. In a sense, symbolic violence was the violence street children resisted most. They expressed outright anger and indignation when faced with dominant and typically negative societal notions and assumptions of their identity as "street children." Despite their active resistance, street children internalized social constructions of "street children" as criminal, deviant, and undesirable. This "misrecognition" of social stigma and labels translated into symbolic violence as street children identified with and, in a sense, accepted devalued and criminalized identities.

> ***Everyday***: Daily practices and expressions of violence on a micro-international level; interpersonal, domestic, and delinquent. Concept adapted from Scheper-Hughes (1992, 1996) to focus on the individual lived experience that normalizes petty brutalities and terror at the community level and creates a commonsense or ethos of violence (Bourgois, 2001).

Everyday violence was so pervasive it was not recognized as violence but simply incorporated into daily routines as necessary for survival. Street culture is violent and not surprisingly street children were immersed in "everyday violence" in essentially all

aspects of their lives. Interactions between street children were frequently of a violent nature whether verbal, physical, emotional, or psychological. Interactions between them and society at large were also violent; sometimes violence(s) were direct while others were subtler such as the silent yet disapproving and judging glances that street children learned to interpret so well. Rejection or exclusion from *Casa de Acogida* programs was another form of violence with which they had to contend. Street child interactions with *Carabineros*, or *Pacos* as they called them, were infused with violence(s) big and small.

Evidently, street children were recipients as well as active agents of different types and levels of violence(s). Yet, society focused on visible violence(s), the type in which street children actively engaged, while invisible violence(s) continued unnoticed and unchecked. This biased social awareness of negative or criminal activities fed the social construction of street children as problems, which in turn criminalized and impinged on their proto-citizenship.

Documenting the various violence(s) that impacted the lives of street children was especially poignant due to the fact that they were children. Children, a category delineated by each society according to its own definition of age and societal agenda, experience childhood according to social constructions attached to it (Aríes 1962). For instance, children in Western countries currently hold a special place due to their emotional value (Zelizer 1985; 1998). Children represent the future thus childhood is rich with potential. In a sense, childhood is sacred; it is supposed to be a time characterized by innocence and protection. Yet, street children in this study were categorized differently than normative "children." While the possibility of multiple forms of childhood simultaneously co-existing and competing with one another has been suggested (Hecht

2002; Goldstein 1998), for instance Goldstein suggests that "in Brazil childhood is a privilege of the rich and practically non-existent for the poor" (Goldstein 1998:415), street children were not treated as "children." Instead, street children were treated as criminals-in-making, a social position which jeopardized their future citizenship.

One way to understand this "othering" of street children was that their existence represented a sacrilege or defilement to the idealized notion of children and childhood as bound by innocence. Taussig's notion of the "public secret" which he defined as "that which is generally known but cannot be articulated" (1999:5) and referred to knowledge that was repressed or silenced due to fear of state terrorism is a useful analytical tool to think about street children in Santiago de Chile. For the purposes of this dissertation, I modify the term to refer to common yet unspoken knowledge minus the repression associated with the state terrorism to suggest street children are Chilean neoliberalism's "public secret."

Methods

This dissertation reflects a total of 16 months of fieldwork in Santiago de Chile beginning with a period of preliminary fieldwork in January and February 1998, followed by sustained fieldwork from October 2000 through January 2002.

Outline of Project Design and Methodology: The table below details data collection strategies and their purpose.

Date	Location	Activities	Purpose
		Step One Activities	
October 2000 (2 months)	Santiago	Arrive in Santiago. Identify and map out hot spots for street children. Become acquainted with average citizens and their opinion of street children.	Enter the field Identify field sites and begin to establish relationships. Establish my presence on the streets.
October 2000 continue through entire length of study	Santiago	Observe street children while on the streets. Observe interactions between them and with adults. Document the different types of activities children engage in, i.e. work, play...	Identify social networks and strategies for survival. Continue building relationships and trust with street children. Obtain informed consent.
October 2000 (4 months)	Casa de Acogida, SENAME, *COD's* (juvenile jails)	Re-contact Casa de Acogida, use snowball technique to learn of other service organizations. Obtain permission to observe and participate in programs for street children.	Identify and begin to establish relationships with service providers and their service network. Map out and assess what kinds of services are offered and how they approach working with street children.
October 2000 continue through entire length of study	Media sources Newspapers, television, magazines	Review newspapers or televised accounts (special programs or daily news) for any reference to street children. Gather official statistics and documents.	Content analysis of how the media presents and represents street children to the general public.
November 2000 continue through entire length of study	Casa de Acogida Shelter for children	Spend at least one night a week with children in shelter. Observe interactions between children and between service providers and children in a home / safe environment.	Build relationships with street children. Gain insight to children's behavior and attitudes in a "home" or relatively safe environment.
		Step Two Activities	
February 2001 (7 months)	Casa de Acogida	Join "street" group on weekly outreach into the downtown area (8-10 p.m.). Observe areas where children work in the early evening. Informal interviews with service providers and children.	Observe relationship between volunteer service providers and children. Assess services provided. Continue to build relationships & trust with street children.
February 2001 (4 months)	SENAME, *COD's* (juvenile jails)	Obtain permission to visit juvenile jails, informal and formal interviews with service providers. Observe of children in detention centers and the conditions under which they live.	Develop an understanding of the goals of SENAME and how they are translated into services. Learn how children routed through diagnostic centers.
April 2001 (6 months)	SENAME Senamovil	Join group twice a week on evening outreach (11 p.m. to 3 a.m.) and weekly lunchtime visit to locations kids frequent. Informal interviews with providers and children utilizing services.	Observe relationship between professional service providers and children in a street setting. Assess services provided
April 2001 continue through entire length of study	*CERECO* (rehabilitation center)	Weekly visits to boy transferred from diagnostic center to rehabilitation center. Informal and informal interviews with employees and boys in center.	Trace the trajectory of a how child becomes a street child.
		Step Three Activities	
September 2001 continue through entire length of study	Santiago	Participant observation with a group of children living in an overflow tunnel. Informal and informal interviews with street children. Participant observation with street children in public spaces.	Gather ethnographic data. Get informed consent. Document everyday life for street children. How does the general public treat street children?
September 2001 continue through entire length of study	Casa de Acogida	Observe creation and operationalization of program designed to meet the needs of children who are not allowed to access "regular" services. Do weekly street outreach (9–11 p.m.)	Deepen relationships with harder to reach street child population. Get informed consent.
December 2001	Santiago	Begin to distance myself	Prepare to exit the field
January 2002	Santiago	Say good-byes	Exit field 1/31/02

Step One: Initial activities had to two main objectives. First, make contact with street children and develop relationships with them. Ethnographic fieldwork with children on the street continued the entire length on the study. The second was to identify and establish relationships with service providers and develop an understanding of the services available to children living on the streets. Data collection emphasized anthropological methods, such as participant observation, informal and formal interviews, photography, and fieldnotes (Hammersley & Atkinson 1993; Creswell 1998; Miles and Huberman 1994; Riessman 1993). In an effort to better understand perspectives of children living on the streets, I asked participants to document their life via photographs and provided them with disposable cameras. I also gathered available official statistics and literature pertaining to street children such as information about the different drugs they use, i.e. glue and *tolueno*.

Step Two: I focused attention on key service providers such as *SENAME*, the governmental organization responsible for dealing with issues of childhood; diagnostic centers (*COD's*) which functioned as juvenile jails; *Senamovil*, an innovative program that took their services to the street; and the *Casa de Acogida*, a Catholic Church service program that was the first created specifically to address the needs of street children. I conducted participant observation in these locations as well as informal and formal interviews with directors, middle management, and volunteers working there.

Step Three: I observed the *Casa de Acogida* create and operationalize a program designed for street children excluded from regular services due to their inability to follow

rules or abstain from drug use. Having established relationships with a group of highly marginalized street children, I had access to their home, life histories, and everyday experiences. I observed and documented sudden media attention to this particular group of children, especially how they were portrayed as "social problems" because they lived outside of adult guidance. I documented the criminalization of street children and the violation of their rights as proto-citizens by representatives of the state, *Carabineros*, via excessive physical violence, by society through symbolic and everyday violence, and by the media through the denial of anonymity and privacy normally given to children. Ethnographic fieldwork during this period illuminates how children perceived and reacted to social attitudes toward them.

Study Sample: I recruited participants on the street leading to formal interviews with 35 street children, 20 boys and 15 girls ranging from 11 to 18 years of age. I did not restrict my research to a specific age group as I sought to understand distinct survival strategies employed by children of different ages and of both genders. I observed and conversed less formally with approximately 150 children. I conducted formal interviews with 10 adult employees representing the *Casa de Acogida*, *COD's*, *Senamobil*, *SENAME*. I had regular informal conversations and interviews with 35 adults who worked in different capacities with street children. The ideas put forth by this dissertation have been culled from hundreds of pages of fieldnotes, newspaper clippings, formal and informal interviews and hundreds of photographs and represent a microcosm of a much larger order.

Ethics

Fieldwork with street children was a complex endeavor that I have alternatively described as: good, difficult, raw, emotional, draining, rewarding, painful, depressing, humbling, overwhelming, devastating, frustrating, amazing, distressing, infuriating, heartbreaking, scary, challenging, and the list could easily continue. There was no single adjective to adequately summarize this fieldwork with street children except perhaps that it was consistently "intense."

Street children are an especially vulnerable population. Normally, research with children necessitates parental or guardian consent but given that street children usually lived outside adult supervision they were essentially emancipated minors. I was especially concerned with issues of informed consent, ethics, and doing no harm. As a native Spanish speaker, language was not a communication barrier. I wrote informed consents at the appropriate comprehension level (5th grade level), read them aloud and asked questions to gauge their understanding of the document. I received verbal consent for interviews and photo documentaries. I received verbal and written consent for individual photographs. I reminded informants several times of the voluntary nature of their participation before and during our formal interviews. There was no remuneration for participation. Additionally, I was vigilant throughout the interviews, observing participant responses and reactions to my questions, reminding them they could stop for a moment or altogether if they so desired. All names have been changed to protect the privacy and anonymity of my informants but details and locations have not been altered.

I have no doubts regarding my fieldwork and methodology. I conducted difficult work in an ethically sound and responsible manner. I surpassed mere ethical obligations and truly cared for the street children I observed and interviewed. I prioritized their needs above my research goals. Saul, whom we meet in Chapter 4: *A Visit to Chuck Norris*, was such an example. The day I was to interview Saul, he was on the third day of a glue-inhaling binge. Despite his motor functions being severely impaired, he managed to periodically mumble an almost undecipherable "Vasily" whom I knew to be his "stepfather"[3] of sorts and had recently been searching for him. Saul and I phoned Vasily who was relieved to hear from him and asked him to return home. Saul wanted to return home to Vasily so without hesitation I bought him a bus ticket. As I watched the bus carrying Saul pull away from the terminal, I found myself thinking "What kind of anthropologist am I? I just sent my informant away. How will I ever get my fieldwork done?" I have never regretted "sending my informant away" and knowingly giving up the opportunity to interview Saul. His immediate needs were simply more pressing than my research.

Progression of Argument

Chapter 2

Chile and Citizenship

Chapter 2: *Chile and Citizenship* traces the trajectory leading to the establishment of a neoliberal agenda in Chile, an economic and social agenda that dictates the context

[3] Vasily was Saul's fictive kin, a "stepfather" of sorts. Saul did not know his biological father. Vasily has been involved in Saul's life as a father figure since Saul was an infant.

for contemporary everyday lived experience among street children. Of significance is how the notion of citizenship was conceptualized differently by incumbent governments through highlighting shifts in the priorities of the relationships between the state and its citizens during the administrations of President Allende, General Pinochet's dictatorship, and Post-Dictatorship Chile. This is important because each administration established institutions based on their accepted notion of citizens and their rights as well as strategies to achieve their goals. The role and responsibility of the state toward its citizens as well as actions taken on or against their behalf is viewed as the actualization of notion of citizenship and its associated rights. This, in turn, allows a glimpse into differences among citizens, some citizens being more equal than others, with regard to access to rights and ability to enact their citizenship. Among the legacies of the Pinochet dictatorship, a government characterized by political violence and repression, was the criminalization of poverty and the creation of a "delinquency" problem; the poor and criminals becoming two categories with lesser or restricted citizenship. Street children are doubly criminalized – as "poor" and "delinquent-in-the-making" – positioning them as recipients of a lesser, or second-class, citizenship.

Chapter 3

Anthropology, Children and Street Children

Chapter 3: *Anthropology, Children and Street Children* considers the marginal position(ing) of children in anthropological literature. Childhood was viewed as a transitional stage devoid of any intrinsic meaning or value (James and Prout, eds. 1990 *in*

Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998:13). The focus on the "transitional" nature of childhood muted children by treating them dependent, incomplete, and immature beings that in turn denied them their own culture, experiences and voices. By tracing the trajectory of anthropology's relationship to children and childhood, we see the category "children" recently surfaced as a population worthy of study.

Reviewed are current ethnographic works focusing on street children and themes associated with this population such as their liminal position(ing) between childhood and adulthood, social organization within street child networks, addiction, survival strategies and the centrality of violence(s) in everyday life. This chapter also reviews the available literature on street children: when they were identified as a phenomenon, how they are conceptualized, approaches to understanding them, and how they are represented in media outlets.

Chapter 4

A Visit to "Chuck Norris"

An impromptu gathering in a public and central *Plaza* led to an invitation to a drainage tunnel called "Chuck Norris" by a group of extremely marginalized street children and youth who considered it their territory and used it as a safe place to get high. "Chuck Norris" was situated below street level and outside of public view in a pivotal *Plaza* in downtown Santiago adjacent to the Mapocho River, a polluted watercourse flowing through the city. The *Plaza* was a highly trafficked, important juncture in the city often referred to as the invisible boundary that separated rich and poor *comunas*

(neighborhoods) and citizens. This ethnographic vignette reflects a two-hour time period with this extremely marginalized group of street children and youth.

It is ironic that a drainage tunnel used by street children in Santiago de Chile as a place to get high was named "Chuck Norris." Chuck Norris is a North American "action and adventure"[4] film actor known for his muscled, macho, and tough characters in mainstream Hollywood films such as *Return of the Dragon* (1973), *Missing in Action* (1984), and *Delta Force* (1986). These movies, which glorified righteous violence and featured Chuck Norris' martial arts expertise, have developed cult followers globally.[5] But the drainage tunnel was not named after the North American actor Chuck Norris, per se. Instead, the drainage tunnel was named after a street child who took the name "Chuck Norris" as his *chapa*, or street name, in an effort to bolster his street reputation and ultimately was killed there.

This chapter details politics internal to the group and introduces several themes addressed throughout the dissertation, such as social exclusion, violence, self-destructive behaviors and activities, and gender roles. Chapter 4: *A Visit to "Chuck Norris"* foregrounds the multiple violence(s) conditioning life for children living on the streets; it is a reference tool for the remainder of the dissertation.

[4] According to Albert Bandura, "action and adventure" are euphemistic labels that sanitize violence and therefore make it socially acceptable (Bandura 1999:195).
[5] As a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, I saw Chuck Norris films played in "video huts" (thatched roof huts with wooden benches).

Chapter 5

From Street Children to Criminals

This chapter considers the two institutions primarily responsible for dealing with street children, the Catholic Church via the *Casa de Acogida*, a program designed specifically for this population and the state via *Centros de Orientacíon y Diagnostico* (*COD's*). These institutions unwittingly contributed to the stigmatization and criminalization of street children by pushing them along a trajectory toward criminality; this institutional violence remains on the most part unproblematized.

Detailing the *Casa de Acogida*'s daily program activities and expectations of street children in order to grant them access to social services, illuminates their conceptualization of childhood upon which those very services were designed. Strict regulations curtailed who was allowed to participate in the programs offered by the *Casa de Acogida*: the day program, the shelter for children attached to it, or the then recently created evening program. This chapter exposes discrepancies between externally perceived or imposed needs by the *Casa de Acogida* and street children's actual needs.

Centros de Orientacíon y Diagnostico (*COD's*) were essentially juvenile detention centers, or prisons, for children who were not following traditional socialization paths. All street children in this study had been incarcerated in at least one of the five *COD's* in Santiago, all referred to time spent there as "doing time." *COD's* socialized street children into street and criminal culture. *COD's* pushed street along the trajectory toward criminality by automatically criminalizing their identity and re-defining them as social and political problems.

This chapter proposes that despite being well intentioned both institutions, the *Casa de Acogida* and the *COD's*, excluded street children from citizenship by further stigmatizing them and placing them on a trajectory toward criminality and reinforcing societal perceptions of street children as unworthy and dehumanized non-children. Constant institutional and social reinforcement of their undesirable societal worth led children living on the streets to initially resist but ultimately internalize this notion.

Chapter 6

Case Studies of Ivan and Pamela

Chapter 6: *Case Studies of Ivan and Pamela* presents two case studies in an effort to illuminate the lived experience of street children. Ivan and Pamela's stories were their own and cannot be generalized onto all street children or essentialized as the "street child experience." But, in a sense, their stories were typical in that similar cultural, political, economic, and social forces shaped them. These case studies highlight similarities and differences between boys and girls experiences' as street children. Both Ivan and Pamela availed themselves of social services offered by the *Casa de Acogida*. Ivan was ultimately denied access to their services as a consequence of his inability to comply with program rules. Pamela had only recently begun accessing the services the *Casa de Acogida* offered. Both had "done time" in *COD's*, were well versed in street culture, and had learned to use violence to survive and to get respect.

Ivan, a 15-year-old male, who has lived in institutional settings since the age of 5, symbolizes the violence(s) the poor in Chile must tolerate: structural via the splintering of

family structures in order to survive and institutional via the state and Catholic Church policies, symbolic as his identity was socially "misrecognized"[6] (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 168) as criminal, and everyday through the requirements of daily survival. His life history traces a trajectory common to many street children as they are routed through the *Casa de Acogida* and into the *COD's* once they leave the family setting. Ivan's case study follows his progression along the continuum toward criminality and how the institutions designated to help him, in fact, hurt him.

Pamela's case study highlights the liminal position of street children as neither "children" nor "adults." She negotiated across boundaries of childhood and adulthood that society not only perceived as distinct and separate but also did not tolerate well instances when they overlapped such as teenage pregnancy (cf. Murcott 1980). Pamela's liminal position made explicit her progression from childhood to adulthood was not necessarily linear but rather a process with fluctuations to and fro (Valentine 2004). Pamela struggled with her own child-adult status as a pregnant sixteen-year old dealing with social, economic, and political pressures of impending motherhood while simultaneously living on the streets and addicted to inhalants. Pamela's experiences as a street child reflected the gendered violence and dangers of living on the street as well as the self-destructive activities that alleviate them.

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[6] Bourdieu calls misrecognition "the fact of recognizing a violence which is wielded precisely inasmuch as much as one does not perceive it as such." Society misrecognized street children as criminal without realizing that the automatic criminalization of them was an act of violence.

Chapter 7

Second Class Citizens in Making

Chapter 7: *Second Class Citizens in Making* concerns the state, citizenship and street children and explores the kind of citizenship afforded to children living on the street. Compared are two incidents of police violence against distinct groups of adolescents one "normative" and one "criminalized." The "normative" group of high school students organized and planned a scholastic strike in protest for an unwarranted charge for a "scholastic pass" in which thousands of students participated. Met with police violence, the "normative" students rioted in the streets of Santiago causing damage to public and private property alike. The incident involving "criminalized" children concerned a highly marginalized group of street children staying in the "Chuck Norris" drainage tunnel. Using the element of surprise, an entire precinct of *Carabineros* raided this group of 18 street children in an early morning raid. *Carabineros* used direct and excessive physical violence to subdue this group of sleeping street children. This incident incited a short but intense period of media and societal attention to the worrisome "street child problem." These examples allow for a comparison between police violence employed against each respective group, the type of media attention each incident received, and the corresponding societal reaction and advocacy.

This chapter documents the routinization and normalization of excessive police brutality against street children social acceptance of it. Furthermore, it suggests street children are essentially a "public secret," that society simultaneously avoids them and yet is fascinated by their deviance. It suggests street children were afforded a lesser proto-

citizenship than were "normative children." I argue this premature assignment of second-class standing will impinge upon their citizenship and rights when they reach legitimate and socially acknowledged adulthood.

Chapter 8

The "Street Child Body"

Having established how structural violence conditioned the lived experience of children living in the streets in Santiago de Chile, this chapter focuses on their social suffering. It considers how structural, symbolic, and everyday violence(s), social constructions of street children, marginality, politics and economics are expressed on their developing bodies.

Chapter 8: *The "Street Child Body"* is an expansion of Scheper-Hughes and Lock's (1987) concept of the "*Mindful Body.*" The *"Street Child Body"* is a unit of analysis that is contemplated both literally and figuratively. In addition to referring to street children's corporeality, it also considers their bodies as sites where institutional violence, cultural values and social constructions collide. The chapter considers symbolic violence as reflected in the ways street children use their bodies to survive, for pleasure, to escape, as means to earn money, and as weapons to punish themselves and others.

Cleanliness, performing childhood, drug use and abuse, sex as strategy, sex as violence, the consequences of sex, and self-mutilation are analytic vehicles to understanding how the multiple violence(s) addressed throughout this dissertation

interrelate. These violence(s) are eventually internalized and expressed on the literal and figurative "street child body" which ultimately affects street children's citizenship.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This chapter summarizes how the multiple violence(s) addressed in this dissertation – political, structural, symbolic, and everyday – affect the lived experience children and youth living on the streets starting with the destruction structural violence has wrought on the structure of poor families in Chile.

This section summarizes the violence(s) associated with children living on the street that society can see and considers those it does not. For instance, society perceived street children to be dangerous and pathological beings but it did not recognize how it contributed to their lived experience. It reflects on street children as a "public secret" created by the same neoliberal agenda that has earned Chile the reputation of being the "Chilean Miracle" and the "jaguar" of Latin America.

2

Chile and Citizenship

Standing on Alameda Bernardo O'Higgins with our backs to the Moneda, Chile's Presidential Palace, Pilar points out bullet holes in the buildings surrounding it. She informs me the bullet holes are remnants from "El Golpe," the violent coup d'etat that overthrew Salvador Allende's government and placed General Augusto Pinochet in power. At first I struggle to see them but Pilar insists, patiently describing them and guiding my untrained and naïve gaze until I learn to recognize them. They look like pock marks on the buildings highlighted by the discoloration surrounding them. One particular window in a building directly across from the Moneda is surrounded by a multitude of bullet holes; Pilar tells me that apparently a sniper had been located there. Walking the perimeter of the Moneda, Pilar points out bullet holes in the neighboring buildings' façades. Luxury hotels repaired and painted over them but many of the other buildings had not. I asked why the damage had not yet been repaired as the bullet holes are obvious physical and visible reminders of a violent and painful experience. Pilar replies that Chileans are of two minds regarding the presence of these controversial bullet holes: some want the buildings painted and all visible reminders of "El Golpe" erased, others

believe it is important to keep them in place as a constant reminder to never forget the betrayal that "El Golpe" signifies.

Pilar and I had serendipitously met on a micro (bus) as I made my way to the Universidad de Chile, hoping to speak to professors in their anthropology department before the onset of summer break. Sitting next to her, I was intrigued by her reading a book written by Graham Greene, and she was curious about my "speaking Spanish like a Mexican." She befriended me during this, my first visit to Santiago, and eventually invited me to stay in her apartment and meet her family.

Pilar's parents were Leftist activists who campaigned to elect Salvador Allende and his political party, Unidad Popular in 1970. Following "El Golpe" on September 11, 1973, her parents were incarcerated, beaten and tortured along with other political prisoners. Finally, they were exiled from Chile and sought political asylum in Mexico. At the time, Pilar was 3 years old; her siblings were born and lived their early childhood in Mexico. The entire family embraced me with great warmth partly because of their fondness for Mexico and gratitude to Mexicans who had welcomed them when their own country exiled them. Pilar and her family were my "surrogate family" while I was in Chile. They shared with me their personal and painful past and how these experiences affected their lives in the present.

As the vignette above suggests, September 11, 1973, the abrupt, violent and bloody coup d'etat, known as *El Golpe*, remains among the most important and notorious

dates in Chile's collective memory. Although Chilean nationals executed *El Golpe*, the United States actively participated in the overthrow of a democratically elected regime by providing financing, weapons, and training to their military. Historically, the date signaled the end of Chile's ideological experiment to achieve social justice. It represented the betrayal of Chile's tradition of "enduring constitutional rule, strong democratic institutions, and a professional army" (Paley, 2001:59). It inaugurated a violent and repressive authoritarian dictatorship that would remain in power until 1990. And it revealed the United States as a duplicitous nation willing to commit acts of terrorism to protect its interests regardless of the consequences. The events of September 11, 1973, incriminated individuals, institutions, and nations. Even now, these events continue to shape, divide, and torment Chilean citizens living in and outside of the country.[7] These events established the conditions for all citizens of present day Chile and how life is experienced therein.

But this is not a history chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to sketch a framework to better understand or situate the ethnographic material presented in this dissertation research on the lived experience of street children in contemporary Chile. Although, the select historical events addressed here are specific to Chile, the social, economic and political processes that gave rise to them are not exclusively Chilean. Latin America as a whole, at that time, was experiencing economic instability, social and class disparities, and political strife. This chapter briefly, and perhaps too superficially, addresses events leading up to the coup d'etat on September 11, 1973, in Santiago de Chile and the ensuing military dictatorship for these events fundamentally changed Chilean society and citizens. Having established a trajectory of the changing relationship

[7] It is increasingly common for the topic to be addressed in all media mediums including books and films.

between the state and Chilean citizens as well as internal and external obstacles to achieving their goals, I consider how the notion of citizenship has changed according to the government in power. Finally, I reflect on what this means for children living on the streets of Santiago today.

Path to the Presidency

Salvador Allende did not become President of the Republic of Chile easily; the 1970 Presidential election represented his fourth attempt at office. His winning election campaign entitled *"Chilean Path to Socialism,"* promised "profound economic, political, and social change" (Angell, 1993:130). Allende's path to the Presidency was complicated by the tense political atmosphere both in Chile and globally, such as the generalized fear of Communism of the time. The violent events in Chile on September 11, 1973, were premeditated, strategized and implemented both in the national and international arenas. The following briefly sketches the economic, social and political climates Salvador Allende inherited when he took office.

Chile, like the majority of Latin American countries during that period, struggled to achieve economic stability. Highly fluctuating inflation rates were manifestations of instability. Chile was in a vulnerable position because of its heavy reliance on imports and the instability of its exports placed it at the mercy of the international market (Angell, 1993:135). Accumulating loans from the United States, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) given for the purpose of stabilizing the economy, burdened the country with an increasingly insurmountable foreign debt.

Long established social and class discrepancies deepened as the rich grew richer while the poor sunk into new and deeper levels of poverty. Land reform became a source of great conflict between the small percentage who owned property and the vast majority who were landless. Land reform policies were resisted and resented by land owners who had significant political clout (Angell 1993). As a result, land seizures by poor, marginalized, and disenfranchised citizens were common throughout the 1960s as the only way they could access land to establish homes (Paley 2001).[8] These land seizures tended to be quick land invasions where large numbers of families claimed territory during the night by physically occupying the space. Homes constructed on appropriated land were often built from whatever material was immediately available – corrugated tin, wood or cardboard – until more permanent building materials could be purchased. These homes often lacked basic services such as running water, waste services, and electricity. A repercussion of land reform policies was the appearance of children working on the streets throughout Latin America – shining shoes, hawking miscellaneous goods, cleaning car windows, stealing or begging – in the 1950s. In Chile, their appearance coincided with controversial land reform policies (Gilbert 1994; Thomas 1995).

Politically, Chile had a history of being progressive, open-minded, and diverse; legitimate Left, Center, and Right ideological parties existed and each party comprised of separate factions with different interpretations of their ideology. For example, the Left was comprised of several factions some of whom were Marxist and subscribed to armed revolution while others did not and the Right had several groups representing varying degrees of conservatism. Political strife within Chile escalated to the extent it dominated

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[8] In *Marketing Democracy*, Julia Paley (2001) provides a historical account of one such land seizure and how it developed from a shantytown into a socially and politically important *comuna* (district).

all areas of life during the 1960s. Whereas political differences had been accepted in the past, during this era ideological tolerance ceased leading to a break down of trust, communication, and good will between and within political parties. Leftist ideology grew throughout the country as citizens dealt with vast economic and social discrepancies the established governmental structures could not resolve. Apprehensive of this Leftist ideological expansion, Conservatives believed "Allende was a Soviet pawn who would set up a dictatorship" (Fleet and Smith 1997:52). When Allende was elected President in 1970, Chile was experiencing internal revolutions that would set the stage for a crisis. Trust between political parties in Chile had deteriorated to such an extent that Allende was required to sign a Statute of Democratic Guarantees whereby he agreed to respect and uphold the constitution and promote democracy before being sworn in as President of the Republic (Angell 1993:157).

The international arena was permeated by a paranoid anti-communist atmosphere due to the perceived threats posed by the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba. This paranoia was especially true in the United States given its uneven relationship with Latin America,[9] and which wanted to continue exerting its power there. Following North American humiliation at the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961, where the well organized, trained, and equipped U.S. military was defeated by ill-equipped rural soldiers using guerilla tactics, the United States was determined to curb the spread of communism. A measure taken on the international arena to counter the spread of communist ideology was the creation of the Alliance for Progress, initiated by

[9] Under the auspices of the principle of cooperation between the United States and Latin American Republics established by the Pan-American Conferences in the late 19th century, the United States increased its hegemony over Latin America. Following World War I, the United States replaced Great Britain as the dominant trading and financial power in Latin America.

the Kennedy administration and formalized in August 1961, whose objective was to counter the possible growth of rural guerrilla movements through social, economic and political reform (Angell, 1993: 152).[10] Democratic governments were to be maintained and promoted through assistance with social and economic development (Palmowski 1997:14).

The United States and Chile had a sort of symbiotic relationship. The U.S. was enormously invested in and greatly profiting from Chile, and Chile was increasingly dependent on economic aid from the U.S. In addition to access to natural resources, the United States had made substantial financial investments in major North American corporations such as International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) and Kennecott Copper (Angell 1993:157). Allende's Presidential campaign proposed political strategies to achieve social justice for all Chilean citizens that would curtail U.S. profits and interests in Chile, for instance the nationalization of mines. This economic threat coupled with Allende's left-wing political ideology, which was perceived as a threat, motivated the United States into action to ensure he failed to win the Presidency. According to a U.S. Congressional report, the U.S., via the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), covertly funneled approximately U.S. $4 million into Chile intending to put Frei, the Conservative Presidential Nominee, into office, including $2.6 million in direct aid to underwrite more than half of his campaign budget (Kornbluh, 2003:4). Furthermore, the United States covertly contributed to an already tense political atmosphere by creating fear in Chile:

> Extensive use was made of the press, radio, films, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, direct mailings, paper streamers, and wall paintings. It was a 'scare campaign' that relied heavily on images of Soviet tanks and Cuban firing squads and was directed especially to women. Hundreds of

[10] Interference in domestic affairs by the United States as well as continued CIA activities weakened the Alliance (Palmowski 1997:14).

thousands of copies of the anticommunist pastoral letter of Pope Pius XI were distributed to Christian Democratic organizations.... 'Disinformation' and 'black propaganda' – material which purported to originate from another source, such as the Chilean Communist Party – were used as well. (Kornbluh 2003:4 from Senate, Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973. G.P.O.. December 4, 1975, p. 15).

Frei won the presidential elections in 1964 with his campaign slogan "*Revolution in Liberty*." Recently declassified documents and secret tapes of the U.S. reveal that long before Allende occupied the Presidential office in the *Moneda*, the United States was already strategizing to keep or force him from that position.

Allende's Socialist Experiment

> I come from Chile, a small country but one where today any citizen is free to express himself as he so desires. A country of unlimited cultural, religious and ideological tolerance and where there is no room for racial discrimination. A country with its working class united in a single trade union organization, where universal and secret suffrage is the vehicle of determination of a multiparty regime, with a Parliament that has been operating constantly since it was created 160 years ago; where the courts of justice are independent of the executive and where the constitution has only been changed once since 1833, and has almost always been in effect. A country where public life is organized in civilian institutions and where the Armed Forces are of a proven professional background and deep democratic spirit. A country with a population of almost 10,000,000 people that in one generation has had two first-place Nobel Prize winners in literature, Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda; both children of simple workers. In my country, history, land and man are united in a great national feeling. *Beginning of President Salvador Allende's address to the United Nations on December 4, 1972.*[11]

Elected President of the Republic of Chile on September 4, 1970, Salvador Allende envisioned a "peaceful road to socialist reform" (Kornbluh, 2003: xiii). Allende

[11] Allende's speech exposed United States intervention in Chilean politics and economy. See Appendix 1 for excerpts of Allende's speech (http://www.rrojasdatabank.org/foh12.htm accessed on 9/5/04).

began implementing his campaign initiatives to achieve social justice; he "imposed price freezes on basic commodities, raised wages, expanded public works projects, expanded social services, and doubled the amount of money in circulation...leading to palpable improvements in the living standard for the poor" (Fleet and Smith 1997:55). Allende was concerned with health disparities between rich and poor citizens and addressed them by creating programs where all school children were provided with milk to promote their development and by government subsidies of education (Angell 1993). The policies Allende proposed and implemented were lauded by the Roman Catholic Church which previously had been suspicious, ambivalent and cautious about his Leftist ideology.[12] Particularly since the Church had increasingly become more a provider of social services than a moral tutor, and supported some of the governments' reforms and policies that were "liberating for the poor."[13] This support for Allende's government opposed earlier beliefs that there would be "prosecution, tears, and bloodshed for the Church in the event of Marxist triumph" (Fleet and Smith 1997:52).

Allende's eventually pre-empted Presidency was marked by social, economic, and political unrest, such as demonstrations and strikes. As mentioned earlier, several internal and external factors contributed to and created the hostile atmosphere that shaped his presidency. Chile went from having a three party system – Conservative, Middle, and Left – to an oppositional "us versus them" mentality. "All aspects of life became politicized, politics became polarized – it was impossible not to be either for or against the government" (Angell, 1993:158).

[12] The Church in Chile had traditionally been incredibly Conservative and criticized as being in the service of the rich and elite.
[13] Beginning in the 1940s and 1950s the Church shifted from a conservative stance in which it was ally to the economic and social elite and became more socially involved with the needs of the lower class populace (Fleet and Smith 1997).

As noted, the United States was heavily invested in the failure of Allende's government and covertly intervened to achieve such ends. Communism in Latin America, long considered North America's "back yard," was too close for comfort.

> Why should we stand and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its people? *Henry Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State, in reference to Chile electing Socialist Salvador Allende to the Presidency in 1970.*[14]

The U.S. employed various strategies to accomplish the goal of destroying Allende's government. Among declassified documents were notes from a meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and U.S. President Richard Nixon following Allende's election in 1970, where Nixon ordered the fomentation of "the climate for a coup" and gave explicit instructions to "make the economy scream" (Kornbluh, 2003: 2). One strategy intended to prevent Allende from assuming office was the murder of General René Schneider, the Commander in Chief of the Military who vehemently respected the Chilean constitution and vowed to uphold it.[15]

Failing to keep Allende from taking office, the U.S. informally boycotted Chile, reduced the monetary aid it gave the country, and blocked aid from other sources.

> Until the moment my Government took office, every year Chile received almost U.S. $ 80 million in loans from international financial organizations such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. This financing has been violently interrupted. *Salvador Allende, addressing the United Nations on December 4, 1972.*

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[14] Many believe Henry Kissinger should be tried for crimes against humanity for his role in violent, political change in Chile, Cambodia, and Vietnam. On September 10, 2001 the family of General René Schneider brought a lawsuit against Kissinger accusing him of plotting the General's murder (Hitchens 2001).

[15] This strategy was intended to force a coup by outraging the Army into military action but it backfired. The Army, out of reverence for General Schneider and his respect and loyalty to the Chilean Constitution, followed his lead and supported Allende's assuming the Presidency, as was his right.

Allende's address to the United Nations did more than present his ideal of citizenship in Chile and decry United States intervention in Chilean politics and economics, it revealed a North American plot to overthrow his Constitutional and freely elected government.

> Last July the world learned with amazement of different aspects of a new plan of action that ITT had presented to the U.S. Government in order to overthrow my Government in a period of six months. I have with me the document, dated in October 1971, that contains the 18-point plan that was talked about. They wanted to strangle us economically, carry out diplomatic sabotage, create panic among the population and cause social disorder so that when the Government lost control, the armed forces would be driven to eliminate the democratic regime and impose a dictatorship.
> *Salvador Allende, addressing the United Nations on December 4, 1972.*

Although Chileans long suspected direct involvement by the United States in the economic, political and social crises leading up to the coup, declassified CIA documents illuminated the extent to which the U.S. was involved in assuring the failure of Salvador Allende's socialist government.[16] Financing the coup was the culmination of a decade long investment by the United States in Chilean politics (Kornbluh 2003). Nine months after Allende addressed the United Nations in December of 1972, the United States accomplished its mission; it successfully "created a climate for a coup" and financed its execution.

El Golpe

On September 11, 1973, Salvador Allende, the first democratically elected socialist president in Latin America and his political party Unidad Popular, were overthrown in a violent coup, known as *El Golpe,* led by a Junta representing all branches

[16] During my fieldwork, several people commented to me that they did not understand why the U.S. would intervene with a sovereign government that had been freely elected by its citizens.

of Chile's Armed Forces. Warned of the impending attack, *Carabineros* who traditionally stand guard over the Moneda virtually left the Presidential Palace unprotected while snipers in the surrounding buildings fixed their targets on it and those who remained inside. Images of the Moneda being bombed by military airplanes while inside President Allende urgently yet calmly addressed the nation via radio for the last time even as thick, dark smoke and flames engulfed the building, have become part of the nation's collective memory.[17] President Salvador Allende and his dreams of social justice and equality for all Chilean citizens died of a gunshot wound inside the Moneda that day.[18]

Military Intervention

On September 11, 1973, Chilean citizens were betrayed by their Armed Forces. Historically, Chile's Armed Forces were professional institutions that remained neutral in the country's politics but the political chaos in which the country was mired throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as well as foreign intervention, changed that ideological positioning. On September 11, 1973, the military not only bombed and stormed the Moneda but also turned its weapons on the citizenry they swore to protect. The military promptly cautioned Chileans:

> The Junta of the Military Government hereby announces that, while having no intention to destroy, if public order is in any way disrupted by disobedience to its decrees, it will not hesitate to act with the same energy and decision which the citizenry has already had occasion to observe.

[17] This image of the Moneda is included in travel books for tourists. I found it referenced in various articles I read while living in Santiago, Chile.

[18] There is debate as to whether President Salvador Allende died of a self-inflicted gunshot wound or if he was shot by a second party. Some believe Allende committed suicide before leaders of the coup detained him. His death has been mythologized and romanticized; some say he committed suicide with a machine gun given to him by Fidel Castro.

(Proclamation No. 7 (Warning); reprinted in Meiselas 1990, 3 in Paley 2001:59).

Chaos reigned as individuals believed to be Leftist were herded off to the National Stadium which was transformed overnight from an arena for athletic competition and excellence into an enormous torture and holding center (it has been described as a concentration camp) where military power and abuse dominated. Many of the "disappeared"[19] were last seen in the National Stadium; hundreds of people were "disappeared" in the months immediately following the coup.[20] Stories of heroism emerged regarding those who were murdered there such, as Victor Jara, a popular Leftist folk singer who actively supported Allende. Jara was tortured, beaten, and his hands broken by the military police who then gave him a guitar and ordered him to play. Defiantly, Jara sang a song supporting Popular Unity and was severely beaten, executed, and buried in a mass grave for this act of resistance.[21] Many citizens were forced into exile or risked certain torture and incarceration and a likely death due to their political ideology. It has been suggested that the excessive brutality associated with the coup d'etat was believed necessary given the long history of Chile's entrenched peaceful protests and constitutionality (Collier and Sater 1996; Fischer 1979). This unrestrained and direct violence by the state terrorized and silenced citizens who lived in fear (Politzer 1989). The majority of Chileans learned social passivity for "knowing what not to know"

[19] Individuals believed murdered during the dictatorship and whose bodies or remains have never been located or recovered are referred to as "disappeared"; they were "disappeared," literally all traces of them erased.
[20] Among the disappeared from the National Stadium were two North Americans who had been living in Chile, Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi. Charles Horman's body is among those never recovered. An American movie, *Missing*, details the story of Horman's disappearance. Horman's family is trying to bring Henry Kissinger to trial over his alleged participation via tacit approval of his murder.
[21] Stories such as this one live on in Chile today. This story was told to me many times in an effort to describe how the idealist Leftist spirit would not be extinguished easily.

(Taussig 1999) was essential to survival in such a repressive state where direct and political violence(s) became normative experiences.

On September 13, 1973, in their first public address after the violent and bloody coup, bishops representing the Roman Catholic Church gave tacit, moral legitimacy to the military regime by presenting themselves as conciliatory and asking the citizenry to cooperate so that institutional normalcy could be restored (Fleet and Smith 1997:60). Initially, not all Chilean citizens received news of *El Golpe* as bad news. Many Conservatives were relieved to finally have the Left out of power for they attributed all economic, social and political problems and strife in Chile to Allende and his Leftist ideology. Again, CIA documents declassified in 2000 revealed the extent of covert U.S. intervention in these areas in efforts to remove Allende from office.

Although originally the head of the Junta was intended to be rotated among several leaders, General Pinochet established himself as permanent head of the Junta and declared himself President on the Republic. It was the beginning of a violent and repressive authoritarian dictatorship that would remain in power for seventeen years. Especially during the early years of the dictatorship, General Pinochet utilized his position of absolute power to intimidate and silence citizens, especially those who had supported, expressed, or were believed to subscribe to Leftist ideology. He boasted and threatened, "Nothing happens in this country without my knowing about it."[22] Before the end of 1973, Pinochet created a new secret police, *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* or Directorate of National Intelligence, known as *DINA*, that was directly under his control

[22] This comment was often quoted to me by Chileans when Pinochet claimed he did not know about the "Caravan of Death" or other incidents of violence by those under his command, telling me "his own words will be his undoing." The "Caravan of Death," referring to a trail of political prisoners "disappeared while incarcerated, was constantly on the news during my fieldwork as bodies had been discovered and citizens demanded justice.

(Collier and Sater 1996:360). *DINA* elicited fear from citizens due to the excessive and routine abuses in the torture centers established in different areas of the city. These centers, such as Villa Grimaldi and another sardonically nicknamed the "House of Laughter," were notorious for their brutality and callousness. *DINA* was implicated in several murders of Chileans abroad such as General Carlos Prats in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1974 and Orlando Letelier in Washington DC in 1976.[23]

Although the Church had avoided confronting the military government during its first few years in power, eventually, when it saw its members and itself as an institution threatened by the military dictatorship, the Roman Catholic Church in Chile became openly critical of it (Fleet and Smith 1997:59). Its branches provided immediate relief to those facing "joblessness, malnutrition, arrest, imprisonment, despair and torture" (Fleet and Smith 1997:59). The Church was the only institution with the ability and power to challenge the military regimes' abuses and as a result it grew in popularity with the general public for its role was less as moral tutor and more as provider of social services to the poor and disenfranchised.

Forced Relocation of Communities

One way the dictatorship repressed and controlled entire sectors of citizens was through geographical restructuring of the city. Entire poor neighborhoods were forcibly relocated to geographically marginalized areas (Paley 2001) creating a social and

[23] Orlando Letelier's murder was part of "Operation Condor," a secret operative involving several countries with military governments in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. "Operation Condor's" aim was to suppress political dissidents. General Pinochet has been indicted and is currently under house arrest for his involvement in several murders related to "Operation Condor" (New York Times 12/14/04; Associated Press 12/20/04).

economic apartheid similar to the inner-city apartheid Bourgois (1995; 1996) documented in New York City.[24] This geographical restructuring served to "homogenize different areas of the city by social class" (Paley 2001:70). Socially marginalized individuals were segregated from upper and middle class neighborhoods and placed in physically marginalized spaces with minimal access to social services such as water and electricity. Frequently, these areas required long commutes, one to one and a half hours each way being normal, into the city where opportunities to earn money were more readily available.[25] Furthermore, they were relocated to undesirable areas prone to flooding during the usually wet and cold winters. In addition to banishing the poor to marginal areas, the relocations aimed at instilling an atmosphere of mistrust among residents of these communities. The military was trying to create an environment were people were divided and distrustful of each other and therefore less likely to organize collectively (Paley 2001: 72). Geographical restructuring enabled the military to simultaneously suppress and engage in surveillance of these communities deemed troublesome. It comes as no surprise to learn that the majority of street children in this study originated from these impoverished, marginalized, and criminalized *comunas* or communities.

According to Paley, residents of the re-structured communities believed "the presence of crime in the *comunas* was not a random social occurrence but the product of an intentional strategy by the military government to keep people in fear" (Paley 2001: 73). The military maintained and fostered "*deliquencia* in an effort to undermine

[24] Bourgois refers to "inner-city apartheid" in New York City in *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. The apartheid he documents is ethnic as mostly Latino and African-American minorities are relegated to an impoverished urban core. In Santiago, the segregation was based on social and economic reasons although the more indigenous populations tended to be on the lower social and economic scales. Also, the poor were extirpated and pushed to the margins of the city away from the urban core.

[25] Santiago is an example of "urban primacy" where the vast majority of resources and services are located in the urban core; "urban primacy" is the rule not the exception throughout Latin American countries.

relationships between people" (Paley 2001:73). Police used delinquents or disaffected youth to fragment social relationships, discourage organization and to break up political rallies; these juveniles were utilized by the police as informants to keep tabs on activists (Paley 2001:74). The residents' fragmented sense of security fostered clandestine behaviors in political and daily life. The utilization of delinquents as informants and spies for the military government is particularly relevant to the work discussed in this dissertation for residents grew to fear juveniles and especially delinquents.

I suggest that even today street children are viewed as criminals-in-making and are placed on a trajectory toward criminality (see Chapter 5: *From Street Children to Criminals*), as such street children are frequently equated with – and treated as – delinquents.

"Chilean Miracle": The Economy under Pinochet

> Military juntas in other South American countries have been as authoritarian in the economic sphere as they have been in politics.... However, to the best of my knowledge, none, with the exception of Chile, has supported a fully free-market economy as a matter of principle. Chile is an economic miracle.... Chile is an even more amazing political miracle. A military regime has supported reforms that sharply reduce the role of the state and replace control from the top with control from the bottom.
> Morton Friedman, January 1982. (Rayack 1987:37)

During the dictatorship, Chile acquired the reputation of being the economic model for Latin American countries (Economist, 11/13/93), often referred to as the "jaguar of the South" (Olivares 1999). Milton Freidman described the economic restructuring of Chile under Pinochet as the "Chilean Miracle." Pinochet was primarily interested in Chile's participation in the world market economy; he wanted to build Chile

into a "nation not of proletariats but a nation of entrepreneurs." Pinochet was influenced by neo-liberal economic strategies such as free trade and capitalism. According to economic historian, Bradford DeLong (2001), neoliberalism has two main tenets:

> The first is that close economic contact between the industrial core and the developing periphery is the best way to accelerate the transfer of technology which is the *sine qua non* for making poor economies rich (hence all barriers to international trade should be eliminated as fast as possible). The second is that governments in general lack the capacity to run large industrial and commercial enterprises. Hence, [except] for core missions of income distribution, public-good infrastructure, administration of justice, and a few others, governments should shrink and privatize). (http://www.j-bradford-delong.net/ Bradford DeLong: September 25, 2004).

Chileans trained in Friedman's Chicago School of Economics, who subscribed to "monetarist"[26] and "laissez-faire"[27] models were given posts in the state planning office in new regime and began the task of preparing Chile's economy for participation in the free market.[28] Milton Friedman visited Chile in 1975 and gave the government advice on how to restructure Chile's economy (Collier and Sater 1996; Valdes 1995). Friedman recommended harsh restructuring measures to stop inflation, referred to as "shock treatment" (Angell 1993; Collier and Sater 1996; Paley 2001; Valdes 1995) for the Chilean economy. Critics referred to Friedman's "shock treatment" of Chile as the "Chicago Experiment" and Chilean citizens constituted the laboratory (Austin 1997:29). Assessments of the "Chicago Experiment" described it as "economic genocide: a calculated and massive policy of genocide through hunger and unemployment which is

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[26] "Monetarism is a framework of analysis that runs sharply counter to the liberal Keynesian paradigm both with respect to its explanation of why the economy behaves as it does and with respect to major policy implication. For monetarists, the money supply is the dominant factor (on some of Friedman's writings it is seen as the sole factor) affecting the nation's gross national product. To achieve high levels of national output, stable prices, and minimal unemployment Friedman has a simple prescription: tie the growth rate in the money supply to the real average GNP, between 3 and 5 percent" (Rayack 1987:4).

[27] "Laissez-faire" is used as synonym for strict "free market" economics.

[28] These economists were known as "los Chicago Boys."

perhaps unknown in recent or perhaps even distant history of the world in peacetime" (Frank and Wheelwright 1977:74 *in* Austin 1997).

The role of the state was minimized through the reduction, eradication, or privatization of social services and eliminating programs such as health care and educational subsidies. As a result of these new economic strategies intended to thrust Chile out of "developing" into "first world" status, poor and marginalized citizens sunk into new depths of poverty as they were denied public welfare services and excluded from the wealth brought in by the newly restructured economy. Whereas the previous government had heavily promoted and subsidized education, the new government did not, leaving poor citizens unable to readily or easily acquire the education and skills necessary to participate in the new economic order. Unemployment rates soared climbing from 9.2% in 1974 to 28.9% in 1983 (Collier and Sater 1996:373). Such drastic economic changes were most felt by poor, marginalized citizens who were already barely surviving, and could only be implemented through repression and violence.

During the seventeen year dictatorship, two Plebiscites sought to establish the legitimacy of the incumbent government via a popular mandate. The first Plebiscite held in 1978 resulted in a victory for Pinochet's government although the results were questionable because the electoral process was believed to have been tampered with by the military. Additionally, the earlier years of the dictatorship were among the bloodiest, most violent and repressive, casting doubt on how "freely" citizens were able to vote and express their true wishes regarding the continuation of the military regime. The second Plebiscite, held in 1988, resulted – against the odds – in Chilean citizens voting Pinochet

out of office (Hirmas 1993).[29] Pinochet appointed himself Senator for life which granted him diplomatic immunity from prosecution.[30] This action followed previous measures taken by his government intended to protect them from criminal prosecution such as an amnesty law passed in 1978 which covered all non-criminal actions for which his personnel may have been responsible since September 11, 1973[31] (Fleet and Smith 1997:65).

Transition to Democracy

In 1990, Chile witnessed official closure to Pinochet's military regime and the first freely elected President in the Moneda since Salvador Allende. Since then Chile has been a country in transition to democracy burdened with the aftermath of a repressive and violent dictatorship and its associated human rights abuses while its citizenry has tried to heal its deep wounds. The post-dictatorship governments have been preoccupied with reparations for human rights abuses and have prioritized the safeguarding of human rights for all.

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[29] According to Hirmas (1993) media campaigns were limited by the dictatorship. Citizens had to be coaxed into believing there would not be negative ramifications to voting against Pinochet. This was an uphill battle given the dictatorship's history of violence against dissenters. Their creative efforts, such as the "NOticias" (literally translates into "news"), a segment which presented political information not broadcast in regular news reports and encouraging citizens to vote "No," paid off.

[30] These laws initially protected Pinochet from prosecution within Chile, but the power of these laws eroded as international courts attempted to hold the General accountable for crimes against humanity in 1998. This precedent impacted Chilean courts who are presently trying to do the same.

[31] Pinochet and personnel under his command evaded accountability for the many deaths during the military regime. Until fairly recently, it seemed as if the many abuses that occurred during the military regime would go unpunished. Starting with Pinochet's arrest in England in 1998, the legal landscape began to change. In November 2004, the Chilean government disclosed that torture was state policy and the current government would compensate victims of state sanctioned torture and abuse (New York Times 11/29/04).

Patricio Aylwin's transition government established "objective accounting and analysis of the human rights violations by the authoritarian regime through the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, known as the Rettig Report" (Wilde 1999:482). The Rettig Report listed 2,095 deaths and 1,102 "disappeared" (Chilean citizens and foreigners alike were disappeared) and 30,000 people tortured or exiled.[32] Aylwin carried out a series of "expressive ceremonies" intended to heal the wounds of the traumatic past; these efforts publicly recognized and acknowledged the citizenry's collective suffering (Wilde 1999:483). In spite of concerted efforts to acknowledge the traumatic past and move on, several factors have complicated the transition into democracy including having inherited the governing structure from the military dictatorship (Dagnino 2004).[33] Pinochet himself hindered Chilean society's ability to move beyond the trauma of the dictatorship because his presence inspired fear and anger among the populace. He represented the possibility that if the newly elected government wavered, the Armed Forces would step in forcefully and violently as it had done with Salvador Allende. Many considered Pinochet a criminal and his ability to walk away from his crimes without judicial consequence stirred multiple negative emotions.[34]

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[32] According to Human Rights Watch, the National Commission of Political Imprisonment and Torture, appointed by current President Ricardo Lagos, reported that 94% of people detained in the aftermath of *El Golpe* claimed to have been tortured. The majority of women detained reported sexual torture, including rape (http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/11/29/chile9742.htm , accessed on December 10, 2004).

[33] Fifteen years after Pinochet was forced from power, Chile's Congress is set to approve a constitutional reform plan to expand civilian authority and reduce the military's ability to interfere in governing the country. The new Constitution will also restores the president's power to fire military commanders and eliminate appointive Senate seats for former commanders. The current Constitution, written by and for General Pinochet was written in 1980 and was approved by a questionable Plebiscite. Designed to maintain the military's primacy in the event of a return to civilian rule, it guaranteed an armed forces presence in Congress and placed roadblocks in the way of reforms by requiring majorities of up to two-thirds to amend the Constitution (New York Times 12/19/04).

[34] Pinochet's frail and deteriorating health was the reason why he did not stand trial in England in 1998. During my fieldwork, Chilean Judge Juan Guzman attempted to try him for his role in the "Caravan of Death," but once again Pinochet was found to be mentally and physically unfit to stand trial. On December

Furthermore, the return of formerly exiled citizens disrupted normalcy of everyday life (theirs and others) as they struggled to re-adjust to not only to home, family, and neighbors but to a changed country and a new government all the while dealing with their own mixed emotions regarding the past and present.

The transition to democracy has been further complicated by "irruptions of memory" for Chile's citizenry. Alexander Wilde defined an "irruption of memory" as:

> A public event that breaks in upon Chile's national consciousness, unbidden and often suddenly, to evoke associations with symbols, figures, causes, ways of life which to an unusual degree are associated with a political past that is still present in the lived experience of a major part of the population (Wilde 1999:475).

The exhumation of Salvador Allende's body from an unmarked grave and his reburial in the *Cemeterio General*, General Cemetery, alongside Chile's long line of democratic presidents was such an irruption of memory (Wilde 1999). Pinochet's arrest in Britain in 1998 was an international event that erupted onto the national consciousness and caused tremendous controversy. Judge Juan Guzman tried to indict General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte for committing and condoning crimes against humanity during his seventeen year tenure as dictator of Chile (1973 – 1990). Some Chilean's expressed outrage that Pinochet, a Chilean diplomat, was arrested while others cheered Spanish Judge Garzon for attempting to hold the ex-dictator accountable for his actions. Lastly, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York was an "irruption of memory" for Chilean citizens I witnessed.[35] This internationally public event unleashed

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13, 2004, Pinochet was indicted for the kidnap and murder of nine political dissidents and the murder of one of them during his dictatorship; he was placed under house arrest (The New York Times, 12/13/04).

[35] I witnessed and felt this particular "irruption of memory." While it was very disorienting to be alone in Chile during this event and to watch people celebrate in the streets, I admit I understand the anger some Chileans felt and openly expressed toward the United States. I was touched by many Chilean friends' and my surrogate family's concern for me and my family's wellbeing. Many called me to inquire if my family and acquaintances were well.

polarized responses among Chileans, a citizenry who already possessed polemic views regarding the United States as a country and an international power. Upon learning of the event some people took to the streets to celebrate the humbling of a country they considered an arrogant, imperialist bully. They viewed the attack as poetic justice for the United States' unwarranted intervention in Chilean (and other global) politics. The attack also caused some people to relive their own painful and frightening September 11th, that in 1973. Yet other people expressed sympathy for the victims of the terrorist attack. These 'irruptions in memory" elicited a variety of emotions from many citizens for whom the past has not been put to rest.

Several "irruptions of memory" marked the time I spent in Chile.[36] My fieldwork took place during a time characterized by months when protests, both by supporters of Pinochet as well as relatives of murdered or disappeared victims, in front of the courthouse in downtown Santiago were daily occurrences reported nationally via televised news reports and the press. The discovery of unidentified bodies believed to have been victims of the notorious "Caravan of Death" was another "irruption of memory" that lingered in the public consciousness throughout 2001. The "Caravan of Death" referred to a military patrol whose extermination mission, ordered by General Pinochet shortly after *El Golpe*, left a trail of seventy-five "disappeared" political prisoners. Evidence of the killings by the "Caravan of Death" was used by Spanish Judge Garzon to indict General Pinochet in England in 1998 and hold him under house arrest for an entire year. News reports and documentaries investigating the "Caravan of Death" and other cases of human rights' abuses were constantly televised and reported to the general public.

[36] I arrived in Santiago, Chile on October 4, 2000, and left on January 31, 2002.

Evidently, "irruptions of memory" have hampered Chile's transition to democracy as the government in power has needed to address these intrusions as it attempts to "foster social reconciliation among a populace still deeply divided over the past" (Wilde 1999:477). These 'irruptions of memory" maintain discourses of rights and citizenship active for they inevitably represent instances and events when individuals, groups, and society were violated. In a sense, Pinochet's presence is an "irruption of memory" because of he represents fear, violence, and power. Augusto Pinochet is a deeply controversial figure, demonized by some and glorified by others. His legacies include stabilizing the Chilean economy as well the total disrespect for citizens whom his authoritarian regime and policies violently assaulted, directly and indirectly, on multiple levels – physical, psychological, emotional, political, social, an economic.

Citizenship in Chile

The previous section rudimentarily traces a recent political history to suggest that the notion of citizenship has changed significantly in Chile. Citizenship and its inherent rights and entitlements were conceived differently by Allende's socialist government than Pinochet's authoritarian dictatorship; contemporary conception and enactment of citizenship in Chile is a response to this past. Evidently, the relationship between the Chilean state and its citizenry has been altered by different governments and the ideologies they espoused. Citizenship is fraught with contradictory desires and repressions, especially evident during the dictatorship. This section sketches shifts in the

notion of citizenship and the modes of fulfilling those desires as reflected through the actions and policies implemented by incumbent governments. But what is citizenship?

Citizenship is a concept that arose with the development of democratic governance and civil society and whose boundaries, meanings, and understandings have greatly expanded since its inception with the establishment of ancient Greek city-states and the Roman Empire (Shafir 1998). It is used to examine individual autonomy, i.e. a person's independence, freedom and self-governance, as well as his or her relationship to society and the state (Shafir 1998). Originally, citizenship referred to membership in a voluntary community, the right to own property, and was expressed through the right to openly participate in public political life through voting (Shafir 1998). Citizens were granted civic rights from the state or governing body in return for their loyalty and duties.

Citizenship is a concept that establishes "belongingness" in a particular nation-state and entitles the holder to basic civil, political, social and cultural rights.[37] Contemporary ideas about these distinct, sequential and progressive states evolved between the 18th and 20th centuries and entitled citizens to different kinds of rights (Marshall 1998). In the 18th century, civil citizenship established the rights necessary for individual freedom such as liberty of person; freedom of speech, thought, and faith; the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts (Marshall 1998:94). Political citizenship emerged in the 19th century and referred to an individual's right to participate in the exercise of political power (Marshall 1998:94). Lastly in the 20th century, the idea

[37] Civil, political, and social and cultural rights correspond to first and second generation human rights respectively as enshrined globally in 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Rights. Civil and political rights are considered first generation rights that essentially deal with liberty and political rights. They are mostly negative rights offering protection from violation to individual liberty such as freedom from abuse or coercion from others (Wikipedia 2004). Second generation rights are concerned with equality and are fundamentally social, economic and cultural in nature. These rights are mostly positive rights meaning the state has a duty to provide to and for its citizens (Wikipedia 2004).

of social citizenship included "the right to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall 1998:94). The rights associated with social citizenship were intended to erase social inequalities between individuals engendered and fostered by capitalism and the inherent class differences embedded in such a system. The educational system and social services were identified as the institutions most closely connected to promoting this equalization between individuals (Marshall 1998:94). The importance of Marshall's conceptualization of social citizenship was the identification of differential access to citizenship as fomenting social inequalities among those excluded, specifically women, the poor, and children.

Latin America witnessed transitions to democracy in countries with authoritarian regimes throughout the 1980s. The notion of citizenship emerged prominently during these transitions as individuals negotiated their relationship to the state as citizens of the nation (Taylor and Wilson 2004). The notion of citizenship has become a political strategy for disenfranchised groups seeking to lay claim on and exercise their rights (Dagnino 2003). Still, as Immanuel Wallerstein (2003) points out, the idea of citizenship while intended to be inclusive actually revolves around notions of exclusion. Interestingly, even disenfranchised groups struggling to be included fought only for themselves as they, too, sought to exclude others. Historically, entire groups have consistently been excluded from citizenship and its inherent rights due to categorizations based on class, gender, and/or race/ethnicity; for instance, the poor (or males without property), women, and slaves were not accorded full citizenship in many instances. While the notion of citizenship has close links to the development of democratic institutions, it has not always been equally or justly distributed among the general populace.

Throughout Latin America there are numerous examples of groups being denied their rights. For instance, in Peru, Quechua was not officially recognized as a national language thereby excluding many indigenous people who only spoke Quechua from full participation in civil society (Morrison 2004). Holston and Caldeira (1998) addressed the uneven enactment of citizenship in Brazil, where the privileges of citizenship were not as readily accessible to poor and marginalized citizens as they were to wealthier residents. In Chile, indigenous groups were disenfranchised, for instance, Mapuche women were at times triply discriminated – for being women, indigenous and poor (Richards 2003).

While some disenfranchised groups such as, women, the poor, and slaves, struggled effectively for recognition of their right to have rights, others groups, such as criminals, remain marginalized from full citizenship as a consequence of their nefarious acts. The situation of criminals is particularly instructive in considering the withholding of rights. Criminals have curtailed rights, for instance, their civil right to personal liberty is denied when they are incarcerated. The status or label of criminal revokes political rights, such as the right to exercise political power through voting. The social rights of criminals are also restricted for their status as criminal precludes them from some employment opportunities and services.

Citizenship under Allende

Salvador Allende strove to achieve social justice among all citizens of Chile through major economic and education reforms intended to nationalize the economy, redistribute income and develop popular participation in the running of the economy and

the making of political decisions (Angell 1993:158). Allende believed "the best guarantee of our democracy is the people's participation in our activities" (Allende 1973 *in* Fischer 1979:85). His goal was to transform Chile from a country where long established class distinctions privileged the elite, who represented a small minority of the total population and owned or controlled the majority of available resources,[38] to an economically, politically, and socially just and equitable country. Consequently, Allende's administration focused on ensuring social and cultural rights to all citizens but especially those who were disadvantaged as a result of class or economic inequalities.

Allende encouraged alternative forms of education, such as using comics and posters, to reach and politically engage illiterate citizens (Morrison 2004; Fischer 1979). His government envisioned an educational revolution accompanying the socialist transformation of Chilean society (Fischer 1979:73). The conditions for "a true educational revolution included: (*a*) workers' ownership in the means of production in order to provide the necessary support and finance to education; (*b*) direct participation of the masses in educational matters; (*c*) a national, integrated system of economic planning to ensure the rational an efficient use of resources (*d*) a pedagogical orientation toward Marxist-socialism, manifest in institutional practices as well as content; (*e*) a special focus on the children of the working class; and (*f*) a fusion of manual and intellectual labor, of theory and practice (National Conference of Socialist Educational Workers 1971:50-51 *in* Fischer 1979:73).

In an effort to redress long standing health and social disparities that negatively impacted the poor majority, Allende tried to implement a greater governmental role in

[38] This was true of most of Latin American countries, where 90% of the wealth was owned by 10% of the populace and the remaining 10% of the wealth was distributed among 90% of the population. (Gilbert 1994).

assuring all citizens had equal access to basic resources such as health care and education. This suggests citizens had positive rights considered essential to the socialist governmental contract. Seemingly, the state was to function as the guarantor of basic rights and social justice for all citizens through its responsibility as provider. Citizens were to support as well as depend on government provisions.

Of particular relevance to children was Allende's emphasis on education, a formative socialization institution. Allende believed the Chilean educational system was responsible for transforming children into the New Man defined as "highly trained, not a slave to a machine, but a Conscious man, knowledgeable in the laws of Nature and Society. He is prepared not only for productive labor but for the planning of material production or social services and for the political management of society itself" (Fischer 1979:74). Under his government, children were treated with special consideration; they were the only "privileged ones" (Fischer 1979:90).

Citizenship under the Military Regime

In contrast, the military regime minimized state involvement in the well-being of its citizens and emphasized individualism. State responsibility to its citizens shifted from provider of social services to promoter of the entrepreneurial spirit. Through the neo-liberal economic policies it implemented, the military state revoked its role as the guarantor of the equal distribution of basic resources. Citizens were responsible for meeting their basic needs without subsidies or aid from the government. When additional aid was necessary, social policies intended to address poverty and inequality were framed

as providing aid to the needy not to poor citizens. This distinction re-framed the recipient as in need of charity not as a citizen with the right to aid (Dagnino 2003:9).

Especially during the first few years of the military dictatorship neither individual nor collective citizens' rights were respected; essentially basic civil and political rights were non-existent. Those who subscribed to Leftist ideology and the poor were especially singled out for multiple forms of violence and abuse. Essentially, citizen's basic rights were violated and rescinded with impunity by the military regime. Citizen rights were violated on a multitude of levels: the physical bodies of Chilean citizens were tortured, punished, and disrespected; violence(s), fear, and silence were normalized; citizens were assaulted psychologically through the creation of "suspicious environments" where other citizens could not easily be trusted; citizens were punished economically as employment opportunities in the formal economy were scarce during most of the dictatorship; poor citizen's were socially marginalized and excluded from society through relocation programs as well as through the denial of education via the revocation of government subsidies which would prepare them to participate in the new economy.

SENAME, the National Youth Service, was created during the dictatorship years. *SENAME* was responsible for resolving all problems or issues concerning children. It established correctional facilities, *Centros de Orientacíon y Diagnostico* (*COD's*), Centers for Orientation and Diagnostic, which dealt with and socialized delinquent children and youth. All street children, considered "problem children," interacted with programs and institutions created by *SENAME* specifically the *COD's* (see Chapter 5: *From Street Children to Criminals*). In Chile, the military regime responded to street children and other problematic *menores*, minors, by creating institutions designed to

correct delinquency but which in reality controlled them by depriving them of their liberty, monitoring their every move and segregating them from society.

Citizenship in Post-Dictatorship Chile

Rights and citizenship in post-dictatorship Chile are an obsession. Several measures have been implemented to assure infringements of basic and human rights as occurred during the dictatorship do not happen again, for instance, the Rettig Report. The notion of citizenship in Chile, as well as other countries transitioning to democracy, has shifted from the limited concept it was during the military regime.

> Previous conceptions of citizenship provided a strategy for the dominant classes and the state to allow for the gradual and limited political incorporation of excluded sectors with the aim of greater social integration. It was also a legal and political condition necessary for the establishment of capitalism (Dagnino 1993:5).

The notion of "citizenship" has become a common reference point for social movements who have utilized it as a political strategy for political inclusion and participation (Dagnino 2003). Citizenship as a notion has been recognized as crucial in the struggle against social and economic exclusion and inequality but also the broadening of dominant conceptions of politics, i.e. confronting the existing definition of the political arena – its participants, its institutions, its processes, its agenda, and its scope (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998 *in* Dagnino 2003:4). Discussions of citizenship in post-Pinochet Chile, as well as in other post-authoritarian regime Latin American countries, have been framed in human rights discourses, such as the "right to have rights" (Dagnino 2003:5) as well as

struggles of social movements or "citizenship-from-below" (Richards 2003:42; Paley 2001).

Preoccupied with reparations for human rights abuses and prioritizing the safeguarding of human rights for all, Chile ratified the United Nation's Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990 which *theoretically* provides protection for children and adolescents aged up to 17 years, 11 months and 30 days old. Indeed, Chile has undertaken the task of institutional restructuring by reforming *SENAME* to better serve children in need of protection. But, reality remains that street children spend an inordinate amount of time in *COD's* which function as juvenile jails and groom them into criminals.

Children, Citizenship and Menores

Children are a special category of disenfranchised citizens for theoretically the restrictions on their citizenship are temporary, intended to be in force only when they are young and developing, physically, emotionally, and socially, in other words, becoming adults. Minor children, excluded from full citizenship until reaching an "age of majority," are nonetheless highly important resources that ensure the continuation of the nation-state and civil society. Children are proto-citizens, or citizens-in-making, and as such are afforded special protection by the institutions responsible for socializing them into desirable citizens, such as the family and educational system (Messer 1993).

Historically, in Latin America, a repressive, penal approach was taken to deal with poor or abandoned children who were viewed as problems and threats to the social

order (Klees, Rizzini and Dewees 2000). The trajectory of the discourse on "problem children" has evolved from *menores,* a legal term meaning minors, to children and adolescents in "irregular circumstances" to children and adolescents "at or as social risk." The evolution of the conceptualization of "problem children" in Chile has paralleled the situation in Brazil where the category *menores* was created for the purpose of categorizing children to enable the judicial system to deal with them (Morrison 2004). As such, the concept of *menores* was, from the onset, burdened with criminality and individuals labeled as such had proscribed rights (Klees, Rizzini and Dewees 2000:87; Pilotti and Rizzini 1994). Children and adolescents in "irregular circumstances" were themselves characterized as irregular not the conditions they were in (Klees, Rizzini and Dewees 2000:85). This characterization seemingly held children responsible for their life circumstances. Categories of children "at social risk" and "as social risks" reflect a societal obsession with preserving boundaries such as the body, sex roles, and the family, the also convey a growing malaise and anger with children who cannot or will not fulfill expected roles (Stephens 1995:11). Needless to say, the rights and proto-citizenship of street children, who by definition are children and adolescents in "irregular circumstances" as well as "at *and* as social risks," and thus categorized as *menores*, are in constant jeopardy of multiple violations and abuse.

In 1989, the United Nations released the Convention of the Rights of the Child declaring children, by virtue of being human beings, were entitled to protection with respect to: 1) basic social policies concerning schools and health; 2) social support policies in the form of protective measures; 3) correctional policies related to social educational measures against juvenile delinquency; and 4) institutional policies with

regard to administrative and judicial organizations and children's fundamental procedural rights (Baratta 2001). The new discourse on human rights has been extended to children's and adolescents' rights transforming children from objects of protection and repression by the state and adult society to subjects with original rights in regard to these institutions (Baratta 2001). Chile ratified the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child in 1990. The CRC attempted to change social and legal conceptions of children from criminalized *menores* to children en route to becoming citizens (Méndez 2001).

Street Children

Of Chile's 15 million inhabitants, 85% live in urban settings and 46% of the urban population lives in Santiago (PAHO 2000; CIA 2000). Approximately 28% of Chile's population (~4 million) is under 15 years of age; 56.8% of all children are represented in the bottom two socio-economic quintiles and are labeled *children at risk* (MIDEPLAN 1997). Approximately 1,200,000 children are estimated to be in a vulnerable situation (Torres 1986). An estimated 47,000 boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14 work; 16,000 do so on a regular basis and 31,000 work irregularly (MIDEPLAN 1997). Boys represent 73% of the children who work regularly and 79% of those who work irregularly (MIDEPLAN 1997). The vast majority of street children emerge from this pool of *children at risk.*

The uneven enactment of citizenship mentioned earlier affects children, the proto-citizens of Chile, too. Street children were not afforded equal rights and protection as "normative" children (See Chapter 7: *Second Class Citizens in Making*). Proto-

citizenship, a precursor state to full citizenship refers to children's incipient rights and developing citizenship. But they were on different paths of socialization into adulthood: "normative" were being groomed for full citizenship whereas street children were groomed to be criminals.

Street children in Chile occupied a liminal and contradictory position where they were simultaneously child-like and adult-like yet at the same time they were neither fully: street children were child-adults.[39] This ambiguity in their social and political status led to contradictions in how society viewed and treated them, for instance, street children were not protected and nurtured as were "normative" children who were following accepted paths of socialization, instead they were imagined and constructed as "criminals-in-making." They were often conceptualized as different from "normative" children, the marker against whom street children's psychological, physical and emotional development is measured. As child-adults, children engaging in adult behavior, it has been suggested street children have defective personalities because they are believed to skip key stages in psychological development (Leon 1992). Although research, such as Aptekar's (1988) *Street Children of Cali* found social and psychological adjustment among street children in Colombia is not retarded by life on the streets, public perception of street children remained negative. Street children were perceived as threats to individuals and society in general (Bar-On 1997; Scanlon, Tomkins et al. 1998; Scheper-Hughes 1996). This perception of "dangerous" coupled with their categorization as *menores*, automatically criminalized street children. Perceptions and labels of criminality resulted in the proscription of their special rights as children as well as their

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[39] This description is not specific to Chile as is true of street children in general not solely in Latin America but globally.

proto-citizenship as citizens-in-making in the present and the compromise of their future status as full citizens.

Anchoring conceptualizations of street children in rigid and conventional notions of children and childhood, from which they inevitably deviate, has led to their pathologizing and criminalizing. As Stephens (1995) rightly notes, street children are viewed *as risks* to society. She further notes, that analogous to "dirt as 'matter out of place,' street children are 'people out of place'; and 'objects in the interstices of conceptual structures are often regarded as profoundly dangerous" (Stephens 1995:12). This certainly was the case in Chile where society constructed street children as "dangerous" because they lived and thrived outside "the normative socializing control of adult society" (Stephens 1995:11) and placed them on a continuum toward criminality by considering them "criminals-in-making."

As Paley noted, "delinquent" is a historically, politically and socially loaded term in Chile; delinquents were feared in the *comunas* during the dictatorship (2001:73). Perhaps this negative association contributes to the fear street children, categorized as "criminals-in-making" and treated as delinquents, elicited from society at large. I suggest the labels of "delinquent" or "criminal" negatively impacted the lived experience of children living on the streets for they were prematurely judged by society. Furthermore, those categorized as criminal are denied some of the privileges full citizenship bestows on those who possess it. As "criminals-in-making," street children were being groomed for this lesser citizenship. I suggest that street children in Chile, who were on a different socialization path than "normative" children, were afforded a lesser citizenship: street children were second-class citizens in making.

3

Children, Childhood, and Anthropology

Children have always been present in anthropology albeit assigned background status. Historically, anthropological inquiries regarding childhood were grounded in normative societal conceptualizations of children, a practice that contributed to the "muting" of children by treating them as dependent, incomplete, and immature beings whose value lay in the future they represented. Anthropological research on childhood reflected interest in the processes responsible for transforming children into adults not with the life experience or culture of children themselves. This approach to studying and understanding childhood was consistent with how social science in general regarded children and childhood.

The 20th century witnessed significant changes to conceptualizations of children and childhood. Beginning in the late 19th century, societal perception of childhood as distinct from adulthood gave rise to child advocacy movements, children were transformed from property to the embodiment of the salvation of society (Takanishi 1978). Referred to as "the child-saving era," "the age of reform," and "the quest for social justice," this time period witnessed the emergence of social movements for children that led to the creation of institutions and professions dedicated to issues of childhood, such as developmental psychology, early childhood education, and pediatrics (Takanishi 1978).

Children were essentially the exclusive and unquestioned intellectual domain of pediatric medicine[40] and developmental psychology[41] until the mid 20th century. With an emphasis on the "normative development of the child," these disciplines became the guardians of childhood through the surveillance of the child's growth and development (Armstrong 1979).

G. Stanley Hall, considered the founder of modern child psychology, was influenced by Recapitulation Theory, a model positing that the human developmental process mimics the evolution of man, i.e. children represent primitive man, youth represent medieval man, and adults are positivist (scientific) man. Hall viewed individual development during childhood as rigidly controlled by the process of recapitulation; the state of adolescence was the highest point of development, and adulthood represented a falling away, a decline into a state of rigidity (Morss 1990). In *Adolescence*, he characterized the period of adolescence as inherently unstable and traumatic, a period of "storm and stress" as the individual progressed along his or her evolutionary history (Morss 1990:35). Beginning with Hall's nature based conception of development formulated in the beginning of the 20th century to the exploration of nurture based

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[40] Pediatric medicine began to distinguish itself from general adult medicine during the late 19th century but did not establish itself as legitimate specialty within the medical profession until the Inter World War years (Armstrong 1979; Halpern 1988). Fundamental to pediatrics was "the shift from an emphasis on the differentness of the disease of the patients to the differentness of children themselves" (Armstrong, 1979:9). The two basic criteria of children's health status were 1. growth and development and 2. behavior as immature members of society (Capon cited in Armstrong, 1979). Growth and development became the "quintessence of modern pediatrics" and developmental pediatrics the "foundation" of the discipline (Armstrong, 1979:11). Through the acknowledgement of a need for a different kind of medicine (a proactive and positive kind of medicine), the institution of medicine legitimated the distinction between adults and children.

[41] The origins of developmental psychology can be traced to 1840 when Charles Darwin studied his own child, William, noting behavioral and physical changes during the first three years of his son's life (Bukatko and Daehler 1995). Darwin's influence on Western scientific study of childhood led to the "biologising of childhood" (Morss 1990); treating phenomena of childhood as natural facts, natural facts as biological facts, thus a biologising of childhood (Bar-On 1997).

theories of behavior in the 1920s (Lerner and Busch-Rossnagel 1983), developmental psychology claimed childhood as its intellectual domain.

Given the nature of these disciplines most attention was focused on childhood diseases and morbidity. As the guardians of childhood, pediatrics and developmental psychology concentrated on helping children grow to be healthy, adjusted members of society, in other words desirable members of society. Additionally, as experts on childhood these disciplines provided parents' guidance with regard to children's upbringing as noted in Wolfenstein's (1955) *Fun Morality* which examined changes in child rearing advice dispensed by the Children's Bureau.

The concept of childhood remained unproblematized until Philippe Ariés (1962) seminal work, *Centuries of Childhood*, proposed that it was a social construction. Ariés documented the emergence of the distinctiveness of childhood as reflected through art beginning in the 17th century. Tracing the social history of family life through the treatment of children, he claimed childhood to be a modern cultural invention. Ariés instigated academic and popular investigations into themes concerning children including the history of childhood (DeMause 1973/1974)[42], the trajectory of ideologies of childhood (Borstelmann 1983)[43], and comparisons between past and present childhoods

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[42] DeMause characterized the history of childhood as "a nightmare" due to the negligence, abuse, and lack of respect to which care takers routinely subjected children. His "evolution of childhood" was a temporal account of changes in child rearing practices; practices he considered necessary for the transmission of and development of all other cultural elements and the impetus for historical change (1973/1974:505). He identified and criticized shortcomings in the treatment of children from limited sources available that exclusively represented the upper and middle class. His work indicted past behavior and attitudes toward children and judged them according to present standards.

[43] Borstelmann examined the social construction of childhood from antiquity to the present by reviewing the history of childhood across time and space. He suggested ideologies of childhood were cultural inventions that reinforced societal beliefs about "human nature, the social order, and the cosmos" (Borstelmann:1983:1). Consistent throughout the trajectory of ideologies of childhood he delineated was the concern with the child's moral, philosophical, or psychological status and the socialization processes necessary to ensure he or she will become a desirable citizen.

(Postman 1994; James and Prout 1997; Kincheloe 1998; Zelizer 1985, 1998).[44] Children have since become more central, they have become subject of inquiry in disciplines beyond pediatric medicine and psychology.

Children in Anthropology

Few anthropologists have studied childhood in and of itself. A review of the anthropological literature addressing children and childhood indicates the discipline considered children's experience and culture as marginal to adults and culture. Only recently has anthropology begun to focus on children and their lives, experiences, and culture. Although there have been a few notable exceptions, for the most part children have been relegated to the margins of the vast majority of anthropological literature indicating that the discipline has seldom considered children proper subjects for study.

Anthropological studies of children trace their lineage to the school of Culture and Personality (1920s), a theoretical orientation influenced by Freudian thought whose objective was to illustrate the plasticity of culture and cultural relativity (Freedman and Boer 1979). According to this orientation, all people are born with equal potential; different circumstances of rearing and the environment are responsible for perceived differences (Freedman and Boer 1979). The child occupied a peripheral position as these inquiries focused on child-rearing practices and environmental variations between groups not on the culture of children. Culture and Personality studies focused on behavioral

[44] Postman (1994) writes about the "adultification of children" as the media blurs the boundaries between childhood and adulthood. Kincheloe (1998) proposes a "postmodern child," a technologically saavy and worldly child who is no longer assumed to be innocent. James and Prout (1997) view the child as an agent who actively engages with other actors and the environment. Zelizer (1985; 1998) considers the change in the economic value of children and claims modern constructions place value on their sentimental worth.

differences between populations and located their basis in psychological development (LeVine 1974).

Pioneers of Culture and Personality studies of children Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead believed personality patterns varied across human populations and were integral parts of pervasive, culturally distinctive configurations that gave them meaning and apart from which they could not be adequately understood (LeVine 1982). Child-rearing practices were considered significant indicators to the cultural values and emotional attitudes of a particular group and well as fundamental to shaping the cultural character (LeVine, 1982:54). Margaret Mead (1928), in *Coming of Age in Samoa*, sought to counter the belief that adolescence was a period of natural rebellion as posited by G. Stanley Hall. Contrary to the turbulence experienced by American adolescents, Mead found Samoan adolescence not to be confrontational; the rebelliousness characteristic of American teenagers was not present among Samoans teens. She attributed the difference in temperament to cultural factors rather than natural or biological factors. Although Mead observed children her interest lay in what children revealed about the adult of the society under study. Wolfenstein (1955) examined socialization via changes in child rearing advice given to parents by the U.S. Department of Labor Children's Bureau. The literature documents the transformation of the conceptualization of a child's basic impulses. The Culture and Personality approach exaggerates the internal consistency of culture and while there is variation in the range of personalities considered culturally acceptable there is no way of assessing the degree of adjustment between the individual and cultural norms (LeVine 1982:54-55).

During the 1950s and 1960s cross-cultural studies responded to the nature / nurture debate by focusing on environmental contributors to child development as anthropologists searched for universals in human development, child sex roles, and child rearing practices. John Whiting envisioned culture as composed of two parts, the determinants of personality and the expressions of personality, with personality acting as mediator between them (LeVine 1982:56). Environmental determinants of group personality were divided into two parts: 1) the maintenance system, which was the institutionalized ecology, economy, and sociopolitical structure; it functioned for the survival of the group in relation to its external environment; and 2) child training or socialization, which operated within the constraints set by the maintenance system, shaping personality in accordance with the adaptive needs of the group but often against the needs of the individual (LeVine 1982:56). Cross-cultural studies, starting with Whiting's (1963) edited *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*, focused on comparative child development as documented through systematic observation of children's social behavior and interaction (Whiting and Whiting 1973; 1975). These studies stimulated ethnographic research on child-rearing practices (Minturn and Lambert 1964) and follow-up studies on the development of social behavior, such as sex differences in behavior (Whiting and Edwards 1988) intended to scientifically document the influence of external, non-biological factors on human development.

Anthropologists trained by the Whitings' continued the psychological tradition of their mentors, writing abundantly about child-rearing practices and external factors influencing child development. Robert LeVine (1988) studied the parental perspective in child rearing; he viewed parental behavior as influenced by both biological and cultural

factors and molded by the environment, in other words human parental behavior as adaptive behavior. Robert and Sarah LeVine (1988) studied parental adaptive strategies for child survival among the Gusii in Kenya. Sara Harkness (1980) explored environmental variables affecting child development as well as critiqued the omission of cultural and social context in which behavior occurs. An important critique of these anthropological studies is they considered children as "sites" where human development can most easily be observed. The child, although central to the research, was secondary to the behaviors and environmental factors under study. This approach neglected the political development of children although it did receive some attention in other disciplines, most notable through the work of Robert Coles.[45] The attainment of citizenship was another area that was not addressed; children remained adults and citizens in making.

Anthropology Focused on Children

The following is a review of the anthropological literature that has focused on children. I included a few earlier ethnographies as they deviated from the standard treatment of children namely Audrey Richards' (1956) *Chisungu*, David Landy's (1959) *Tropical Childhood* and Iona and Peter Opies' (1959) *The Lore and Language of School Children.*

Rituals, as markers of transition, provided anthropologists with key opportunities to observe children and adolescents in the process of becoming through rites of passage into adulthood. Audrey Richards (1956) analyzed the purpose of the Chisungu, an

[45] See Robert Coles (1986). *The Political Life of Children.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

initiation ceremony for girls in Zambia. The Chisungu was a month long ceremony that ensured a young girl was prepared for the responsibilities of motherhood through a series of rites. Despite their centrality in the ceremony, girls' voices were missing from the ethnography. Richards herself noted "the girls are both central to the ceremony and the least interesting actors in it" (1956:62) and acknowledged she neglected to get comments from the girls themselves – a weakness in her analysis regarding the educational function of the rites. David Landy's *Tropical Childhood* (1959) considered the family, childhood and cultural transmission, i.e. socialization, in Puerto Rico. Children simultaneously occupied a central and peripheral position in the book as the muted objects of socialization. Child rearing practices were the true anthropological subjects. Children were mostly viewed as dependent and innocent tabula rasas. There was a brief reference to the belief that children, especially males, were born with innate personality characteristics but this avenue was not explored. The focus was the socialization processes that transformed them into culturally appropriate adults.

Folklorists Iona and Peter Opies' (1959) study of children's games and language in Britain was seminal in its focus and methodology. They approached the collection and preservation of play texts through observation of and interviews with children in addition to adults. They distinguished between nursery rhymes, which were approved by adults and transmitted from adult to child and school rhymes which were largely unknown or unremembered by adults. School rhymes were "transmitted from child to child, usually outside the home, and beyond the influence of the family circle" (Opie and Opie 1959:1). They suggested children's games and language reflected a culture that was not intended for and went unperceived by adults, i.e. children led lives outside of adult knowledge and

supervision. The Opies' explored the existence of a schoolchild grapevine for the oral transmission of rhymes, a form of organized cultural activity that indicated children actively transmitted culture without adult intervention (Takanishi 1978:20). Although the Opies' provided texts of childhood games and lore, there is no sense of the children or how the rhymes were significant and meaningful to them. The Opies' finding that children have their own culture in which they actively engage and transmit to other children is supported by street children and their active involvement in and transmission of street culture. Street children, as "normative" children do, mimic some normative behavior but they also have their own rules and values that are largely unknown by adults. The idea that children have their own lives as suggested by the Opies' is supported by this ethnographic work with street children.

In reviewing ethnographic literature concerning children's play, Schwartzman (1976) found four implicit metaphors used by anthropologists to present and interpret children's play behavior. The metaphors were: 1) *role studies* – play as preparation for adult life (functional for socialization of children); 2) *game activity* – descriptive accounts where toys and games are meticulously described while omitting children's unstructured play; 3) *projective test* – play as illuminating children's anxieties and hostilities as engendered through child-rearing practices; and 4) *trivial pastime* – play disregarded as not important to the ethnographic account (Schwartzman 1976:291). Anthropological studies of play attempted to explain the geographical distribution and sociocultural significance of games. Schwartzman's findings are indicative of academic theorizing regarding children and childhood and the type of information and informants considered legitimate and valuable sources of knowledge. Chapter 8: *The Street Child Body*

addresses "performing childhood," a survival strategy that encompasses both work and play, it is an economic tactic commonly used by street children globally.

Mary Goodman (1970) attempted to capture how children from different societies viewed themselves and how adults viewed them. She was concerned with the "culture of childhood," a missing component from anthropological inquiries noted as early as in 1938 by Newbury who stated, "the study of a tribe or people is confined almost entirely to [male] adult life from puberty onwards" (Newbury cited in Hardman 1973:86). Most anthropological studies concerning children present how adults view children, what adults do for and to children; the child's eye view of culture is not considered. Although Goodman intended on capturing the child's perspective her methods (statistics) and formal experiments undermined her goal.

Myra Bluebond-Langner (1978) studied the illness experience of young children in the United States. She developed a model similar to Kubler-Ross' to explain the stages children go through from becoming ill to awaiting their impending death. She documented the withholding of information by health professionals and parents in an effort to protect "innocent" patients/children and then explored how the curious patients informally attained answers to their unanswered questions. She documented the extent of children's knowledge about treatment, medication, and their given situation. *The Private Worlds of Dying Children* portrayed children as enlightened agents forced to deal with their death and who actively tried to help their parents accept it.

Barnett (1970) studied maternal-child bond and the process of growing up in Palau, specifically how it shaped personality and attitude. He portrayed childhood in Palau as a time when children learn "to live in an emotional vacuum, trading friendships

for concrete rewards, neither giving nor accepting lasting affection" (Barnett 1970:6). Growing up was presented as a discontinuous and sometimes painful process where the child was the center of parental (mother's) attention until about age 6 at which time special attention was withdrawn. Barnett applied Western psychological tests (i.e. Thematic Apperception Test and Rorschach) to evaluate Palauan mindsets; these tests were not culturally relative or an appropriate measure.

Gilbert Herdt (1981) studied male identity formation in Papua New Guinea; he explored male initiation rituals and homosexual behavior believed essential to the masculinization (making into a man) of sexuality. Although boys were central figures in the ethnography, the focus were the beliefs and symbolism surrounding masculinity and manhood. This ethnography contradicted accepted Western notions that view child development as just an internal, biological process.

Helen Morton (1996) studied children in a hierarchically structured society in *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood.* Although children were highly valued due to their future economic contributions, childhood was considered a time of strict socialization, whose central aim is to teach children to be clever, socially competent, and capable (Morton 1996:72). Tongan society perceived children as born with their own distinctive nature and with innate characteristics, i.e. mischievous and naughty, but these predispositions were malleable. Infants were conceptualized as incomplete social beings; they had not yet learned how to be Tongan (Morton 1996:71). The socialization process that transformed children into adults was enforced through severe physical punishment that in the United States would be considered abusive. It is noteworthy to point out that punishment was for disapproved behaviors and accompanied by a constant showering of

love and concern for the child as an individual; there was a separation between the child and the behavior. Morton approached socialization as an interactive process where children were active participants not receptacles waiting to be filled. Like many of her predecessors, the focus of her study was the process of growing up not childhood experience as such; hers is not an ethnography of childhood highlighting the voice and experience *of* children *as* children. Street children in Santiago were not separated from the behaviors and activities in which they engaged. The street child, the behavior, and the activity were criminalized and stigmatized. As a result, street children's proto-citizenship was proscribed and their future citizenship jeopardized.

Quesada (1998) addressed how children embodied war and violence in Nicaragua. *Suffering Child* captures the moment Quesada, an anthropologist focusing on adult mental health issues, realized children were also affected by the same political, social and economic transgressions that afflicted his study participants yet their suffering often went unnoticed. Quesada captured how structural and political violence(s) affected children, too.

In *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*, Goldstein (2003) focused on a key informant's familial, social and economic relationships to show that the lives of the urban poor continue to be impacted by racism, class conflict, as well as structural and everyday violence(s). Of specific relevance, she documented the short childhoods of child residents for whom the option to go to the streets oftentimes is more appealing that remaining in an abusive and starving family.

Children and childhood have emerged onto the anthropological radar not only as legitimate objects of study but increasingly apparent are complexities associated with

them that have long been unacknowledged or underestimated. The contributors to Stephens (1995) edited volume *Children and the Politics of Culture* look at the interrelationships between children's rights, children's cultural practices, and the problems associated with 'children at risk.' In *Small Wars: The Cultural Politics of Childhood*, Scheper-Hughes and Sargent (1998) addressed "the public nature of childhood" as well as "the political, ideological, and social uses of childhood." *Children and Anthropology: Perspectives for the 21st Century* was a recent effort toward critical self-reflection that reviewed the treatment of children by anthropology (Schwartzman 2001).

Street Children and Anthropology

Street children have been the subjects of some anthropological inquiry. One of the first was psychological anthropologist Aptekar's (1988) study in Colombia. *Street Children in Cali* identified the paradox inherent in street children as exemplified in the description of a key informant as, "this child, whom I came to know rather well, was at once a traveler beyond the world of the majority of adult Columbian society, and also a small child" (Aptekar 1988:xiii). Aptekar recognized the inconsistency street children represent in society due to their position which blurs the boundaries of childhood and adulthood. He drew a parallel between street children and the romanticized image of "Huckleberry Finn," both as free and independent. He concluded that the social and psychological adjustment of street children was not retarded by life on the streets. Similarly, the subjects of this study, street children in Santiago, were immersed in and

surrounded by contradictions. These contradictions were greater than mere inconsistencies in street child behaviors and activities, i.e. both child-like and adult-like, but they were present in the institutions, both State and Church, that were trying to help, manage, and control them.

In *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil,* Scheper-Hughes (1992) showed how society chose not see and thereby normalized the suffering of poor and marginalized shantytown residents. She addressed the conditions that essentially thrust children from poverty stricken shantytowns onto urban streets. She documented the extreme violence to which street children were subjected, specifically in the form of executions, due to societal constructions of them as dangerous and criminal. While street children were not the focus of her ethnography, she addressed them fleetingly yet powerfully. They too were subject to the everyday violence that brutalized shantytown residents via the normalization of their suffering.

Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) addressed the how street children in Brazil were treated as disposable beings. They linked glue addiction among street children with the development of shoe industries placing the emergence of the street child phenomenon in Brazil within a larger global and economic context. This, in particular, resonated with my findings as the presence of street children in Chile was exacerbated by Pinochet's neoliberal agenda for the country.

Lockhart (2002) addressed in-group sexual violence among street children in Tanzania. While social networks provided street children with a measure of protection, older members of these same networks were themselves threats to younger weaker children. This was also the case among street children in Santiago where several of the

younger boys were rumored to be sexually abused by older ones. And girls were constantly on guard against rape from insiders to their group.

Kilbride, Suda, and Njeru's (2000) *Street Children in Kenya: Voices of Children in Search of a Childhood* attempts to capture the complexity of life as a street child via a combination of participant observation, surveys and focus groups. The authors, representing a collaborative effort between anthropology and sociology, addressed the strong sense of community and the social organization among street children. Similarly to others working with this population, they found children living in the streets in Kenya were victims of abuse on several levels: from police abuse of power; the general public when seeking sexual gratification; and a tolerance of their very condition of homelessness and marginalization (Kilbride et al. 2000:36).

Street children in Kenya strategized to maximize the returns for their labor, for instance children who begged targeted individuals more likely to give them money as did street children in Chile. Street children were aware of the importance of public perception to successful begging specifically as they transitioned into adolescence; as they began to lose their childish looks and the assumed innocence associated with it, they were no longer efficacious beggars (Kilbride et al. 2000:70). The section entitled *Performing Childhood* in Chapter 8: *The Street Child Body* documents how street children in Chile utilize this same strategy to survive.

Kilbride and colleagues (2000) found street children were aware of social and class distinctions and recognized their social positioning. They addressed the hierarchies street children in Kenya must negotiate: societal and class based hierarchy where all street children were positioned in the bottom rungs and viewed with fear, stigma and

avoidance (Kilbride et al. 2000:79), and the hierarchy within street child social organization where girls were on the lowest level (Kilbride et al. 2000:123). Participants in this study were aware of class and social distinctions and their inferior positioning therein, but perhaps more importantly they internalized and reinforced and beliefs and constructs holding them there; a misrecognition that perpetuated symbolic violence.

In *The Street is My Home: Youth and Violence in Caracas*, Marquez (1999) focused on male street children and youth in Venezuela and categorized them according to a trajectory which reflected length of time on the street as well as characterizations of their preferred activities. The first and category were the *chupapegas* that the author translates into "glue sniffers" and its membership consisted of younger boys new to street life and seen by society and authorities as "mischievous." The next phase comprised two categories *malandro* and *monos*. *Malandros*, defined as thugs, were involved with drugs and behaved aggressive (1999:53) whereas *monos*, defined as "youngsters from the barrios," reflected a higher level of consumerism as they were more concerned with wearing name brand fashions and being popular with the girls (1999:53). *Chupapegas* were treated differently than *malandros* and *monos*, a difference apparently rooted in their perceived acculturation to street life; the former group was treated with leniency whereas the latter categories were criminalized. In contrast, street children in Chile were criminalized and stigmatized regardless of age although those who were or looked younger were at times able to manipulate society with their child-like appearance. Drug use and abuse among street children in Chile was normative. Essentially all street children in Santiago used inhalants, what varied was the frequency and whether they used or abused substances.

Referring to self-mutilation as "body style," Marquez analyzed it as a strategy that enabled street children and youth to evade police arrest as well as a signifier of machismo and masculinity (1999:202). In sharp contrast, male and female street children in Chile were treated more harshly by policemen if their arms reflected self-mutilation. Self-mutilation was a signifier not of masculinity but of criminality and deviance. They did not self-mutilate as a strategy to evade arrest instead their engagement in the activity reflected personal and psychosocial reasons.

In *At Home in the Street: Street Children of Northeast Brazil*, Tobias Hecht (1998) portrays the experiences of both male and female street children. This powerful ethnography positioned children's voices and experiences centrally. Hecht explored the "violent and violated lives of street children" as experienced day in and day out on the street. He documented gender differences among street child experiences and concluded girls were exposed to harsher experiences, a finding this study supports. In analyzing service agencies trying to help them, the author argued that street children viewed social service institutions as an integral part of street life not as a way out of the streets (Hecht 1998:174). The findings among street children in Chile presented here support this position as they utilized the services that facilitated their ability to better survive on the streets, such as showers and meals whereas they rejected services that contradicted street culture, such as refusing to turn over glue when it was discovered on their person and being disrespectful to religious practices and beliefs.

Of particular relevance to this project was Hecht's account of street children's incipient citizenship. He found citizenship in Brazil to be a complicated notion that in most situations carried negative connotations (Hecht 1998:170). This was because

Brazil's laws were conceived as relational, meaning they were couched within networks of family and friendships. Relational ties provided more protection to the individual than did universal laws. Hecht found family ties remained crucial to street children even though they were often "emotional and imaginary" (Hecht 1998:171). Parallel to the situation in Santiago, national identification cards were a necessity for all citizens and were mandatory for practical purposes such as identification if stopped by police and to gain employment yet street children often lacked this documentation and faced multiple barriers in attaining them. Bureaucratic red tape rendered, at least in Chile, obtaining this necessary document and possession of upright, desirable citizens extremely difficult for street children as the Chapter 6: *Case Studies: Ivan and Pamela* demonstrates.

Violence was simultaneously a parallel and a contrast between Hecht's (1998) ethnography and this one. It was parallel in its centrality in the lived experience of street children in Brazil and Santiago. It seemed the lives of street children were steeped in multiple forms of violence(s): structural, institutional, social, physical, verbal, emotional, and psychological. A contrast was that street children in Brazil contended with much overt violence such as public executions than did street children in Chile.

Emergence of the Street Child Phenomenon

Street children emerged onto public consciousness abruptly in the 1980s and have since become a global phenomenon with approximately 250 million reported worldwide (Morrison 2000). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates between 25 and 40 million street children live and work in Latin America, the highest number

documented in any one region (Lusk 1989; Trussell 1999; Beyene and Berhane 1997). Determining the number of street children is a difficult endeavor as they tend to be highly mobile and there is a lack of consensus regarding the definition of a street child (Beyene and Berhane 1997; Lusk 1989).

The term "street children" was introduced in the 1980's by UNICEF; it is a definition that concentrates on two characteristics: presence on the street and frequency of contact with the family (Scanlon, Tomkins et al. 1998; Agnelli 1998). "Street children" has proven to be a problematic and imprecise term that has been utilized as a catch all category that includes, in addition to the definitions above, abandoned children, runaways and throwaways (Glauser 1997; leRoux 1996). In an effort to further clarify the term, a typology consisting of three categories of street children was created: children *at* risk, children *in* the street, children *of* the street (leRoux and Smith 1998; Scanlon, Tomkins et al 1998; Lusk 1989; Agnelli 1986). The largest group in this classification scheme is the "children *at* risk category." All children of the urban poor fall into this category, it is the reservoir from which street children emerge (Lusk 1989). Children *in* the street use the street as their workplace to supplement their family's income; they maintain contact with their family (Lalor 1999; Lusk 1989). Children *of* the street use the street as their main living place and have minimal or no contact with family (Lalor 1999; Lusk 1989). Although there has been an attempt to distinguish between different types of street children, the boundaries defining and circumscribing these types are nebulous and furthermore, children occupy different types, *in*, *of*, or *at risk*, at different times.

A critique of the definitions of street children is they emphasize two peculiarities about the children: the place they occupied (the streets) and the lack of proper adult

supervision (Panter-Brick 2004:83). Panter-Brick (2002) has critiqued "categorical" thinking with respect to street children as being analytically unhelpful, as promoting a limited understanding to street children's actual lives, as stigmatizing street children, as deflecting attention and proper resource allocation from the larger population of the urban poor, and as manipulated to serve the socio-political agendas of funding and welfare agencies.

The street child phenomenon in Latin America is linked to rapid industrialization and urbanization, economic and land reform, and the persistence of colonial organizational structures. Children in the street are not a new phenomenon, they have been integral to the Latin American landscape for decades. Rather, what is new is *how* they are perceived; the social status of children working on the streets has changed *not* their physical presence on the street. In the past, street children were viewed as a symptom of larger problems, such as land reform, not as a problem in and of themselves (Rizzini and Lusk 1995). During the late 1970s and 1980s, Latin America experienced region wide economic crisis that led to reversals in previous patterns of growth and forced a series of social adjustments (Portes 1989). It was during this time, referred to as the "Lost Decade," that street children surfaced as a newly defined and constructed class *and* as a social problem. Episodes of violence expressly targeting street children occurred with increasing frequency. Incidents of extreme violence, such as the Candelaria Church Square Massacre in Brazil, where a group of sleeping street children were singled out and murdered execution style by off-duty policemen, propelled street children into international visibility (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman 1998). Human rights activists and organizations have focused attention to the plight of street children, the violence(s) to

which they are subjected and their basic rights (Dimenstein 1991). Numerous non-governmental organizations have attempted to alleviate the situation of street children as well (Lusk 1989; Scanlon, Tomkins et al. 1998; leRoux 1998; Campos, Raffaelli et al. 1994). Information about street children is often of a sensationalist nature focusing on extreme acts of violence that overshadow issues of daily survival. While inordinate brutality is a factor in the lives of street children, such acts are sporadic. The violence(s) that street children contend with daily are less readily identifiable, for instance structural and institutional violence originating from those supposed to help them, symbolic violence that they internalize, and everyday violence as expressed via parental and social neglect.

Literature on Street Children

A review of the literature focusing on street children can be organized into three categories: psychologically oriented, policy and program oriented, and a problem oriented approaches. Inevitably, there is overlap between these categories. This dissertation research addresses themes expressed in each of these categories for its focus is on the lived experience of street children. This phenomenological approach considers how these distinct yet interrelated themes and categories interact in the lives of street children.

Psychological Orientation

Street children were often conceptualized as different from "normal" children because they did not conform to conventional notions of childhood. Focus on the consequences of street life on "normal" child development, i.e. physical, emotional, and psychological development, was the basis of this approach. The claim that street children had defective personalities because as 'child-adults' they were believed to skip key stages in psychological development compared street children to "normal" children, as established through western child development models, and judged deviations from the norm as inferior (Leon 1992). While Ayerst (1999) found higher levels of stress and depression among street children in Canada than in non-homeless youth, Aptekar (1988) concluded that social and psychological adjustment was not retarded by life on the street for children in Colombia. Luna (1997) found street youth formed relationships that resembled families in structure, such as the oldest as head of household; these fictive families provided individuals with emotional and economic support and fostered a sense of belonging. The psychosocial needs of street children and the alternative ways these children fulfill their needs, such as love, security, and belonging, were considered in this orientation (leRoux and Smith 1998; Trussell 1999).

Problem Oriented

Street children were associated with specific health and social problems due to their behavior and activities. They were a population at great risk of contracting deadly

infections such as HIV and sexually transmitted diseases either through their engagement in high risk behavior, such as unprotected sexual activity or drug use, or through victimization by others, such as sexual assault. Lockhart (2002) analyzed social networks among street children in Tanzania, how they were simultaneously a protective mechanism and a risk factor to contracting sexually transmitted diseases. The social networks of street children were a "Catch 22"; they provided younger and weaker members with a sense of security and belonging yet they were also hierarchical organizations where older, more powerful street children physically and sexually preyed on weaker ones.

The incidence of drug use and their effects on child development was central in this literature. Luna (1997) examined narratives from deeply troubled street youth living with HIV in the United States. He glimpsed into the world of IV drug use, the complicated and painful lives of street youth, and how they used and were used by service organizations. Wittig and colleagues (1997) identified key factors that differentiated between drug using and non-drug using street children in Honduras: encounters with authority, length of time of the streets, and the quality of family relations. They suggested drug use among street children was part of being socialized into street culture. This finding was echoed in other studies, such as Ayerst (1999) who found drug use to be adaptive to street life.

Street children were treated as social problems and perceived as a threat to society as a whole and to individual citizens (Bar-On 1997; Scanlon, Tomkins et al.1998; Scheper-Hughes 1996). One study found street children were judged according to "Northern, middle-class norms of conduct and their ensuing definition of conduct" and

criminalized because they appropriate adulthood in their effort to survive (Bar-On 1997:75). Anthropologists, too, have addressed the construction of street children as a social problem. For instance, Scheper-Hughes (1992; 1996) noted the transformation of the accepted street urchin into the "dangerous" street child. Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) wrote about the designation of street children as a class of their own in Brazil; a class of disposable beings. They assessed economic, spatial, and social factors influencing the construction of street children as different, dangerous and undesirable. While they offered an excellent analysis, it reflected the opinions, concerns, and desires of adults; their work was *about* street children, not *with* them.

Policies and Programs

The literature was replete with reports of human rights abuses concerning street children. There were references to publicly sanctioned death squads expressly targeting and executing street children in public spaces (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman 1998). Street children were viewed as both victims and victimizers, they were portrayed as victims and intentionally victimized by abusive adults and older street children (Lockhart 2002; Campos, Raffaelli et al. 1994). They were members of social networks that simultaneously protected and abused street children (Lockhart 2002; Campos, Raffaelli et al. 1994).

Lusk (1989) and Rizzini and Lusk (1995) pointed out programs for street children were shaped by ideologies and assumptions about them. Intervention strategies were classified along a continuum ranging from social control to social change: (i) a

correctional approach, (ii) a rehabilitative perspective, (iii) outreach strategies, or (iv) a preventive outlook (Lusk, 1989:67). Depending on the approach taken, street children were (i) criminalized, viewed as youth in need of correction; (ii) transformed into productive members of society; (iii) empowered to act on their own behalf; and finally, (iv) the last approach viewed street children as symptomatic of larger social problems, such the unequal distribution of wealth. Bar-On (1997) described two perspectives regarding attitudes toward street children: the protection model and the fear model. The protection model emphasized the weakness of and the dangers to children and was espoused mostly by the professional community and advocates intent on "rescuing" children. The fear model considered street children as threats to the community; street children were perceived to need "proper direction" and to be controlled.

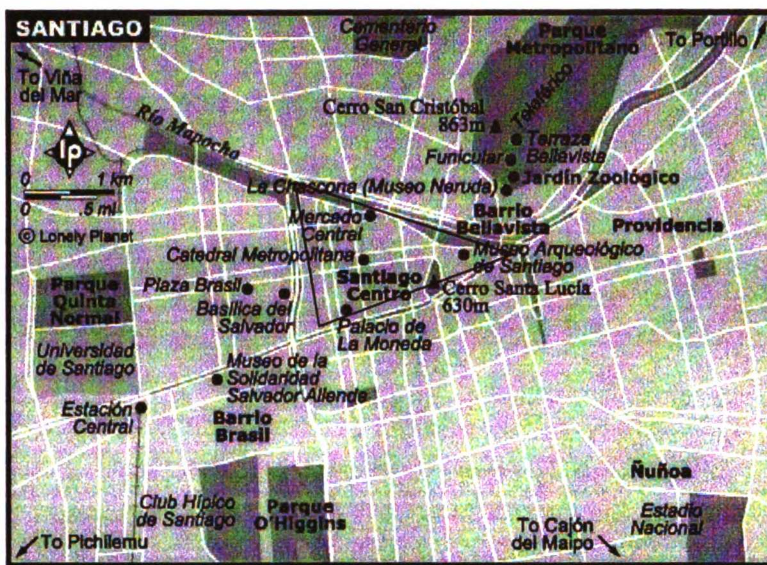
Research with street children found boys outnumbered girls on the street, leading to a genderization of the services provided – most service programs were geared to street boys (Trussell 1999; Lusk 1989). Programs oriented to meet the needs of street boys often did not have the economic resources to address the different needs of street girls (Lusk 1989; Dorfman 1984). Street girls tended to engage in activities such as domestic work and sex work that rendered them less visible than street boys. Campos et al. (1994) found street boys had lower levels of social support but more institutional support than girls, a situation that rendered street girls especially vulnerable to exploitation if they did not have social resources.

Street Children in Chile

There was no consensus from the institutions working with street children regarding the number estimated to live in Santiago or in the country. For instance, according to statistics collected by *SENAME* (National Youth Service) and from *Casa de Acogida*, a Roman Catholic Church program designed specifically to deal with street child problem; there were an estimated 6,000 to 18,000 street children in Chile's capital of Santiago alone. One of the reasons for this lack of consensus or discrepancy in totals was simply the definition of street child utilized. Were they referring to children *of* or *in* the street, or "child at risk?" Were they including children who work and how was "work" defined? Or, were they collapsing them into a single category? Information about street children was not only difficult to attain, it was unreliable.

Considered *menores*, street children were seldom the focus of societal attention. Periodically media venues, such as newspapers and televised news, focused in on the "street child problem" and produced sensationalist articles and televised reports informing and educating the general public about street children and their lives, portraying them as objects of fear and pity. These reports tended to highlight non-normative activities such as drug use and sexual activity in which street children engaged. But just as suddenly as they appeared, street children dropped off the societal radar and receded into the margins where they remained until another real or fabricated "event or crisis" thrust them into the spotlight again.

Street children who participated in this study led mobile lives around downtown Santiago, Chile's capital where the majority of social services and employment opportunities were centralized. The area demarcated by the triangle on the map[46] is considered downtown Santiago, an area roughly two square miles in size. Downtown Santiago was constantly congested with vehicular as well as pedestrian traffic as citizens traveled into or through the city for pleasure or business.



Places street children frequented such as the *Casa de Acogida* and "Chuck Norris" were located within downtown Santiago. "Chuck Norris," the *caleta* used by an extremely marginalized group of street children, was centrally situated but below street level and outside of public view in a pivotal *Plaza* in downtown Santiago adjacent to the Mapocho River, a polluted watercourse flowing through the city. The *Plaza* was a highly trafficked, important juncture in the city often referred to as the invisible boundary separating rich from poor *comunas* (neighborhoods) and citizens.

[46] Map of downtown Santiago from the ©Lonely Planet Travel Guide (2000).

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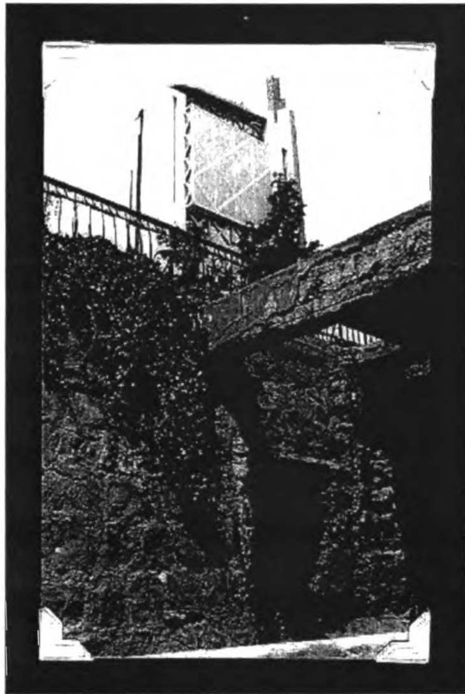
A Visit to "Chuck Norris"



It is almost 2:30 p.m. and Adan has not yet arrived at the "videos" by the *Plaza* where we were to meet for a formal interview at 2 in the afternoon. Although, I quickly learned to schedule interviews between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m., as this was a "safe" window of time when this group of street children and youth were most likely awake but have not yet started using inhalants, evidently, this strategy was not foolproof. Not only am I not surprised but I half expect Adan to not keep the appointment as multiple factors, such as simply forgetting, intoxication, being asleep, being arrested, or having an unstructured daily schedule, contribute to street children not keeping engagements or not being

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punctual. Furthermore, Adan has no incentive to do the interview other than he likes me. I know Adan is among a small group of street children and youth who stay in the *caleta*[47] they call "Chuck Norris," located in a drainage tunnel off the Mapocho River adjacent to the *Plaza* so I decide to ask for him. The group who stays in "Chuck Norris" often uses the water fountains in the *Plaza* to wash up when they wake up. Furthermore, lately on sunny Spring days like this particular day, they frequently lounge on the grass in the late morning and early afternoon, so I walk toward "Chuck Norris" expecting to encounter someone who can appraise me of Adan's whereabouts.

Walking through the *Plaza* toward "Chuck Norris" I notice two shirtless boys, Jorge and Samuel[48], washing their faces in one of the small reflection pools.[49] Jorge is a slight 12 year old who is small in stature and has the clearest of green eyes. We first met in the *Casa de Acogida* shortly after my arrival in Chile when he initiated a conversation with me. He had wanted to know whether or not I knew "bad words" and promptly took it upon himself to teach me how to curse. At the time, Jorge and his four sisters lived with their parents in a poor *comuna* located in the outskirts of Santiago. Accompanied by his sisters, he attended the day program at the *Casa de Acogida* where he made friends with others who, like himself, did not attend school and had a tenuous relationship with their home setting. Jorge's parents rejected him when they discovered he was huffing glue[50] so he briefly stayed in *Hogar de Cristo's* shelter for homeless children. The transition from living at home with his parents and siblings to surviving on the streets with the most

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[47] A caleta is a place where one stays. There are several kinds of caletas, i.e. a group of structures made of assorted material such as cardboard and pieces of wood is a caleta.

[48] Samuel is 18 and is legally an adult.

[49] The plaza has a tall monument with a pool at its base reminiscent of the Washington D.C.

[50] Huffing, or inhaling glue is a common way street children get high. Glue, or other inhalants, are placed in a plastic bag and the fumes breathed in rhythmically.

marginalized group of street children had taken a matter of months. Samuel is 18 years old and I mostly know about him second hand via his reputation among service providers who have known him since he was a preadolescent surviving on the streets. It seems Samuel often struggles with comprehension and according to service providers they believe it is indicative of permanent cognitive damage due to his incessant inhalant abuse. I stop to greet them and ask for Adan whom, I learn, left early to work. Samuel asks whether I have a picture I took of him earlier in the week. We walk a short distance to a relatively secluded nook, it is semi-circular in shape with a cement bench running along the circumference, to retrieve his picture from my backpack. The nook is located off one of the main paths that extends through the entire length of the *Plaza* and is on the side of the park closest to the *caleta*. An unofficial dirt path a few feet from the nook leads directly to the heavily trafficked street separating the *Plaza* from the aqueduct for the Mapocho River. The footpath is narrow and well worn; it branches off from the official manicured and cemented path passing through the brush and straight onto traffic traveling in both directions.

Jorge and Samuel are excited about seeing pictures of themselves and their friends. They laugh at silly poses and unflattering pictures, ask to keep pictures of their friends and try to steal photos they like and want. Soon two girls join us and also want to see the photographs. Jorge goes to the *caleta* to call Tomas as I have a couple pictures for him and want his signature and permission to use his photographs. About 10 others appear along with Tomas and gather in the nook to look at the pictures. Tomas is pleased with his pictures and immediately gives me a hair accessory as a gift. The atmosphere is chaotic bustle yet jovial as street children and youth gather around, all trying to see the

photos at the same time. During the ruckus, I see Saul, a 14 year old who I met in the same rehabilitation center where Ivan and Ernesto, two of my key informants, had stayed. A psychologist at the center asked me to convey a message to Saul from Vasily, who is fictive-kin and has strong affective bonds with him. Vasily wants Saul to know he misses him and is concerned about how he is doing. Immediately, Saul asks whether his mother or sister had left a message. They had not. He returns to inhaling from his little plastic bag of *tolueno*[51] and recedes into the crowd. Most street children are dressed in "hip hop" style, loose sporty clothing in varying states of repair and cleanliness. It is a warm day and some of them are not wearing shirts or wear short sleeves or sleeveless tops that reveal fresh and old self-mutilation scars on their young arms. Some arms are especially notable due to their heavy scarring, some appear to have scars upon scars upon scars. Some scars give the impression of having been painful cuts as they look deep, long and raised where keloid has developed. Other scars look as if they had been superficial cuts. I am familiar with most of the street children and youth present although there are a few I do not recognize. Those who know me come up to me, ask to look at pictures and request I take more pictures of them.

Adan, 16 years of age and roughly 5'10" tall, shows up with Cesar, an older and physically bigger youth I know by sight but with whom I have not had much personal interaction.[52] On one occasion I witnessed his violent temper, was aware he was at times unable to control it and that made me wary about him. Cesar and Adan return to the *Plaza*

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[51] Tolueno is a flammable liquid. It can be bought at any hardware store and in relatively inexpensive approximately 1000 pesos for a liter. It is commonly used to huff and get high.

[52] I had seen Cesar in a couple different situations…most memorably he became very violent while participating with Senamovil and he beat up his sister while on the Senamovil bus. Also, the only words he had ever directed to me were in the videos on the day Tomas rushed into the videos and crawled into the space between the games. I spoke to Tomas and snapped a picture of him, Cesar came up to me and asked me why I had taken a picture.

with a liter bottle of *toluene* and numerous little plastic bags acquired from one of the three big name pharmacies located in the immediate vicinity. An excited buzz starts among the group as they anticipate the feeling of being *volado,* high. Adan strides directly to me saying, "I made it. I'm here." and wants to do the interview then and there. He is concerned about keeping his commitment with me yet he appears so high it seems to me he is struggling to see straight. His usually handsome face is temporarily marred by a large, red, angry, swollen and infected-looking boil on his cheekbone. He has not received medical attention for it. I decline Adan's offer to do the interview at that precise moment and suggest we do it another day when he hasn't been huffing. Interestingly, different street children and youth responded on distinct occasions to my comment that I preferred to do interviews when they were sober that it was, in fact, better for me that I interview them when they were high as they would talk more freely then. I was not comfortable with this although it made getting interviews somewhat difficult as huffing was a constant in their daily activities.

Still in the *Plaza*, they immediately distribute the plastic bags and *tolueno* amongst themselves in an efficient and organized manner. There is no fighting or rushing. They fill the bags (approximate size was 5 X 7 inches) roughly one fourth of the way up and hold the bag to their face, covering their mouth and nose with it as they breathe in and out rhythmically. They are careful not to spill the liquid on their hands for in addition to wasting the substance it also burns their skin. The colorless and transparent liquid starts off clear in the bag but with use becomes increasingly cloudy.[53] The street

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[53] I was told by various street children and youth that they has special, magical powers when they inhaled. The cloudy stuff in the bag were "trips" sent by others. Those who knew how to control the substance and themselves could send "trips" to others (if someone sent you a trip, they could make you do something you

children present inhale *tolueno* at different speeds; some are absorbed by the act of inhaling and it seems nothing can distract them from it while others appear more controlled and inhale occasionally, as if they are savoring the high. The first indication that their senses are in the process of being altered is a glazed look in their eyes.

Adan continues inhaling as his 15-year-old girlfriend, Laura who is looking after him, stays by his side and helps him stand upright, an action that seems to grow increasingly difficult for both of them. Laura stayed at *Hogar de Cristo*'s shelter for children for roughly a month. She is very pretty in addition to being shy, quiet, and introspective. Like many adolescent girls, she keeps journals written in curvy and neat cursive letters where she chronicles her thoughts, emotions, and experiences.[54] Once such journal entry is entitled *Displaced From the World and What I Love: The Art of Living Day to Day*. Laura and Adan met in the shelter and a romance blossomed between them. As Adan's "wife," Laura is expected to wash his clothing and make herself available to him sexually when he desires her. She doesn't question her obligations she simply does what a wife is supposed to do. In return, Adan protects and provides for her. In the *Plaza* on this particular day, Laura and Adan are openly affectionate with each other, hugging and kissing in public.

The group is openly inhaling *tolueno* in a public and highly trafficked space. Knowing this is not socially acceptable behavior, they are vigilant for park security who patrol the *Plaza* on motorized, golf-like carts. Park security monitors the groups' activities while in the *Plaza* but does not bother them when they are in "Chuck Norris."

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did not want to do). If the person had enough control they could resist the trip being sent to them and trap it in the bag, hence the cloudiness.

[54] Laura gave me one of her journals. It was a notebook with a picture of the independent Queen Amidala from the Star Wars® series on the cover. It had a few entries where she tried to describe the experience of living on the streets. She wrote about social indifference and her invisibility as a street youth.

Most security guards watch from a "safe" distance and report the group to *Carabineros* and the mayor of the city, although some harass the group in their effort to "protect" the park and pedestrians. Periodically, a pedestrian rushes by while glancing quickly and furtively conveying both curiosity and disapproval of them, their behavior and activities. Noting one such pedestrian, someone suggests returning to "Chuck Norris" so they can have some privacy. They leave the *Plaza* in small groups of three or four. They use the dirt path, negotiate traffic, hop the metal fence and descend into the reservoir out of immediate public sight and awareness.

Soon, four of us remain in the *Plaza*. I am talking with Ramon, who at 16 years of age is one of the more notorious street youth among the service agencies. Ramon and his older brother (who at 17 is incarcerated in *Tiempo Joven*) have a long history on the street, with *Carabineros*, and with service providers. Ramon is reputed to be "unpredictable, aggressive and violent." Due to behavioral problems, Ramon has not been able to access regular services in the *Casa de Acogida* for years although he is currently participating in the new program, *Grupo de Apoyo*, or Support Group, created specifically to meet the needs of street youth like him.[55] Ramon is popular and respected among the group. In my exchanges with him, he is personable, charitable, witty, has a sharp sense of humor, and can be extremely charming. But rumor has it that he exerts dominance by raping both boys and girls. While others in the group are consumed with inhaling *tolueno*, Ramon holds back, he has his bag with *tolueno* but hasn't been inhaling with the desperation some of the others exhibit. We speak of my work and he agrees to

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[55] Specifically, I'm referring to the services offered by the *Casa de Acogida*. If a street child or youth cannot comply with the rules laid out by the *Casa de Acogida* they lose their access to services. But the last few months I was in the field, the *Casa de Acogida* implemented a program, *Grupo de Apoyo*, designed for those who could not follow the rules.

schedule an interview with me. In the middle of our conversation, he invites me to go to "Chuck Norris." Surprised and tempted by the offer, I voice my concern that the group might not appreciate my presence while they are huffing. Ramon tries to reassure me that it is safe for me to go by asking Jorge who is already heading toward the path. Jorge states simply *van a cogotearla*, I will be assaulted. Again, Ramon reassures me that I will not be assaulted because the group knows and likes me. He takes my hand and we walk over to the dirt path leading to "Chuck Norris."

Although I am not entirely convinced by Ramon's assurances, I decide this is a risk I need to take at this precise moment. I am scared as I walk down the dirt path and toward the street with Ramon. I have heard many stories by service providers and street children themselves about violent activities, such as beatings and rapes, taking place in this precise *caleta*. I am concerned about the perceived value of the items I am carrying with me and how having them might endanger me. Additionally, I am keenly aware that I am an outsider trespassing onto what this group of street children consider their private territory. As we arrive at the edge of the street, Ramon jokingly comments to the two boys walking ahead of us, "What do you think of my girlfriend?" Negotiating traffic traveling at fast speeds in both directions is difficult and my senses are not impaired! I suddenly remember the first time I met Ramon at the *Casa de Acogida*. He showed up a little shaken, scratched and bruised because he had just been hit by a car while negotiating this street. I watch in horror as one of the boys ahead of us suddenly darts across the street and narrowly missed being hit by a car. We followed suit. As I stand in the middle of the street on the solid lines that divide traffic, I find myself questioning – actually my brain is screaming – "what the hell are you doing?" Fortunately, everyone

crosses without further incident other than screeching brakes, rude remarks and curses from drivers.

We hop the fence demarcating the aqueduct for the Mapocho River from the street and step onto a concrete slab. Before I can see anyone I hear the boys ahead of us tell the group below that I am there. When I do see them, a total of 18 members are present, they seem to be frozen in disbelief looking up at me with their bags filled with *tolueno* in hand or held up to their mouths as I stand on the concrete slab above them. I notice Pedro, a 17 year old, I've seen in the past and have heard about from Ivan, one of my key informants. Ivan reminisced fondly of Pedro but I had not had any contact with him. All I can think to do at that moment is to ask permission to enter the *caleta*. Ramon, also, asks the group whether it is okay for me to enter the *caleta*. They look at each other a little dumbfounded and say I could enter except for Jorge, the boy who minutes earlier told me I would be assaulted in "Chuck Norris," but the others quickly tell him to shut up. With most of their permissions, I, my body coursing with fear, trepidation and adrenaline, enter the notorious "Chuck Norris."[56]

To enter "Chuck Norris," I walk alone across a cement wall (1 ½ to 2 feet wide) separating the Mapocho River from the drainage tunnel; the tunnel is the actual *caleta* "Chuck Norris." Having traversed the wall, entrance into the *caleta* consists of easing down the height of the wall which is approximately 7 feet tall to the ground below where the drainage tunnel is located. All eyes are on me as I drop down into the *caleta*. There is a palpitable tension in the air.

[56] I was told the reason the caleta was named "Chuck Norris" was because a boy whose street name was "Chuck Norris" used to stay in there and he was killed there.

The minute I land in "Chuck Norris" Ernesto, a 16 year old of whom I am very fond, immediately becomes very aggressive. I first met him through Ivan, a good friend of his, when both were staying in a court mandated rehabilitation center. When Ernesto escaped the rehabilitation center we kept in contact, accidentally at first and then intentionally, through the street, the *Plaza* and in service organizations. Now, Ernesto puffs out his chest, approaches each person and repeats in a loud, threatening voice "No one touches her. No one bothers her." I have never seen him behave this way and am unsure as to what to do. Knowing I am in a very vulnerable position, I figure I have to let them work things out according to their rules, the only ones that apply at this given moment. There is an odd and tense silence following Ernesto's display. Finally, Ramon invites me to move closer to the drainage tunnel itself. With his invitation I do so and everyone present observes me from a short distance, all the while huffing *tolueno.*

It is a beautiful, sunny day and the group of street children and youth is standing outside the tunnel *volandose*, getting high. Ash remains in front of the entrance to the tunnel indicate a fire had been built recently, possibly the night before as the ashes are not too scattered yet. A few articles of used, dirty clothing and a pair of overworn sneakers on the verge of disintegration are scattered about; the railing along the cement wall serves as a clothesline for two pairs of fashionable athletic style pants that are hung to dry in the sun. Many used plastic bags as well as empty liter containers of *tolueno* are strewn about. The grey cements walls are covered with black and red graffiti. There are messages of love and loyalty, heartfelt apologies, promises of eternal faithfulness, public declarations of fictive kinship some of which are scribbled over, and a prompting to "say yes to drugs" written in large, bold lettering.

As I approach the tunnel entrance, Laura comments that I am going to get contaminated in "Chuck Norris."[57] Ramon cleans off a very low concrete wall in front of the tunnel and offers it to me as a seat. The low wall is part of the reservoir structure. I believe it is supposed to direct water to the river, out and away from the tunnel but the group transformed its function into bench. Suddenly, the smallest boy among them rushes up to me. Ernesto, striking him with a hard backhanded slap, quickly halts the charge while he repeats his threat "No one touches her. No one bothers her." It seems the small boy is contemplating rushing me again when Pedro takes him aside and reinforces that he is not to touch me. I hear Pedro tell him, "Leave her alone. Can't you see she's nervous?" Pedro smiles when I self-consciously ask, "Do I really look nervous?" Pedro's attention to my comfort level surprises me. After all, there is no link or bond between us. It appears that just as I have heard of him, he has also heard of me.

Most of the group continues inhaling *tolueno* as they watch me sit down on the freshly cleaned bench. I make small conversation with Ramon and those who are physically closest to me in what, in hindsight, I recognize as an effort to ease my, their, our tension with the situation. Ramon asks me if I am going to take pictures. Although I want to take photographs of the group in the *caleta*, I have not done so or broached the subject because I do not want to take advantage of them and the *caleta* is, after all, their private space. Also, I do not know whether it is a good idea to take out the camera. At this point, I ask whether it is alright for me to take pictures of them there. Ramon tells me "Yes. Do your job." I turn to the group and ask whether I can take pictures of them and they also consent. As soon as I take out the camera, individuals and smaller groups

[57] This was fascinating comment. Why would I be at risk for contamination and not them? Are they already contaminated? What is doing the contaminating? Link to other comments street children made that mark a distinction between myself and them.

immediately start posing for pictures and the tension seems to ease. Ramon asks if I want a picture of the group inside the tunnel and directs them into it. After I snap a few pictures of them inside the tunnel, I ask permission to enter "Chuck Norris" myself to take pictures looking out.

"Chuck Norris" is a drainage tunnel whose opening is approximately 4 feet wide and 6 feet high. During the spring and summer, the floor of the tunnel is relatively dry as there is less rain and therefore less water coursing through the drainage system. It is during the warmer seasons that street children and youth stay there regularly. Ernesto is the only street youth who braved the wet and cold months in the *caleta*. The inside of the tunnel is cement, it is dark and visibility is poor despite being a bright and sunny afternoon. I am surrounded by darkness and looking out I gaze straight onto the graffitied wall prompting me the "Say yes to drugs." Once my eyes adjust to the dark, I see two makeshift beds constructed with cardboard on the ground, one has a blanket that was apparently taken from the shelter for children.[58] According to the group, the tunnel extends below the *Plaza* and under one of the most modern buildings in all of Chile. According to them, the deeper they go into the tunnel it decreases in size forcing them to walk hunched over and eventually to crawl.

Individual street children and youth approach me to ask that I take pictures of them alone or with their friends or fictive kin. They strike poses with their friends and use hand gestures like those commonly seen among urban youth in the United States. Some expressly want a picture of themselves holding the bag of *tolueno*. One of the girls pretties herself up by pulling her long hair up into a very high ponytail and strikes what

[58] The shelter for children had received new blankets exactly like this one at "Chuck Norris." Children staying at the shelter would help those not allowed or who chose not to stay in the shelter by passing them supplies, such as blankets or food, through windows.

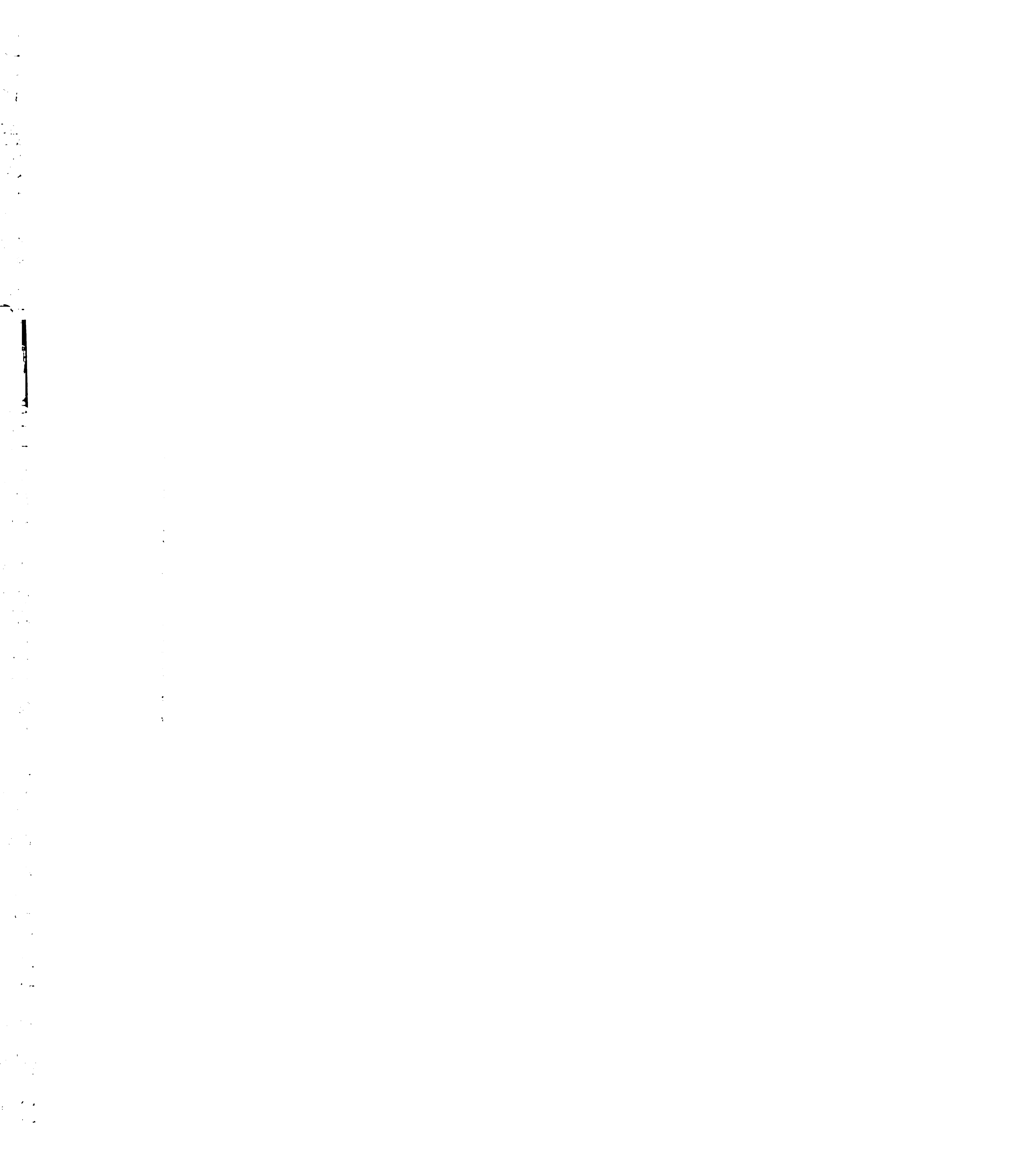
she considers sexy poses by baring her midriff. I later learned the group grew upset with her that same evening and collectively beat her.[59] There was no specific reason why the group punished her but the many reasons given included she was bossy and pushy.

Approximately 35 minutes elapse and the effects of the *tolueno* grow increasingly apparent in some of the group members. In addition to the initial glazed look, speech is slurred, there is a loss of motor coordination, and eyes look increasingly drowsy. Ernesto approaches me asking to speak to me alone. He struggles to speak and his movements are clumsy. Ernesto is very insistent on needing to speak to me immediately and alone. I acquiesce and accompany him to a corner of the *caleta* where he tells me, "You have to go now. I don't know how much longer I can control them." He struggles but manages to repeat his words. I inform the group I have to go, take the last three photos in the camera, thank them for allowing me to visit and leave.

Leaving "Chuck Norris" entails climbing and balancing on a low, broken wall and reaching up to grasp a thin metal rail, the same one being used as a clothes line. Once I am holding the rail, I simultaneously climb the wall and pull myself up and out of the drainage area.

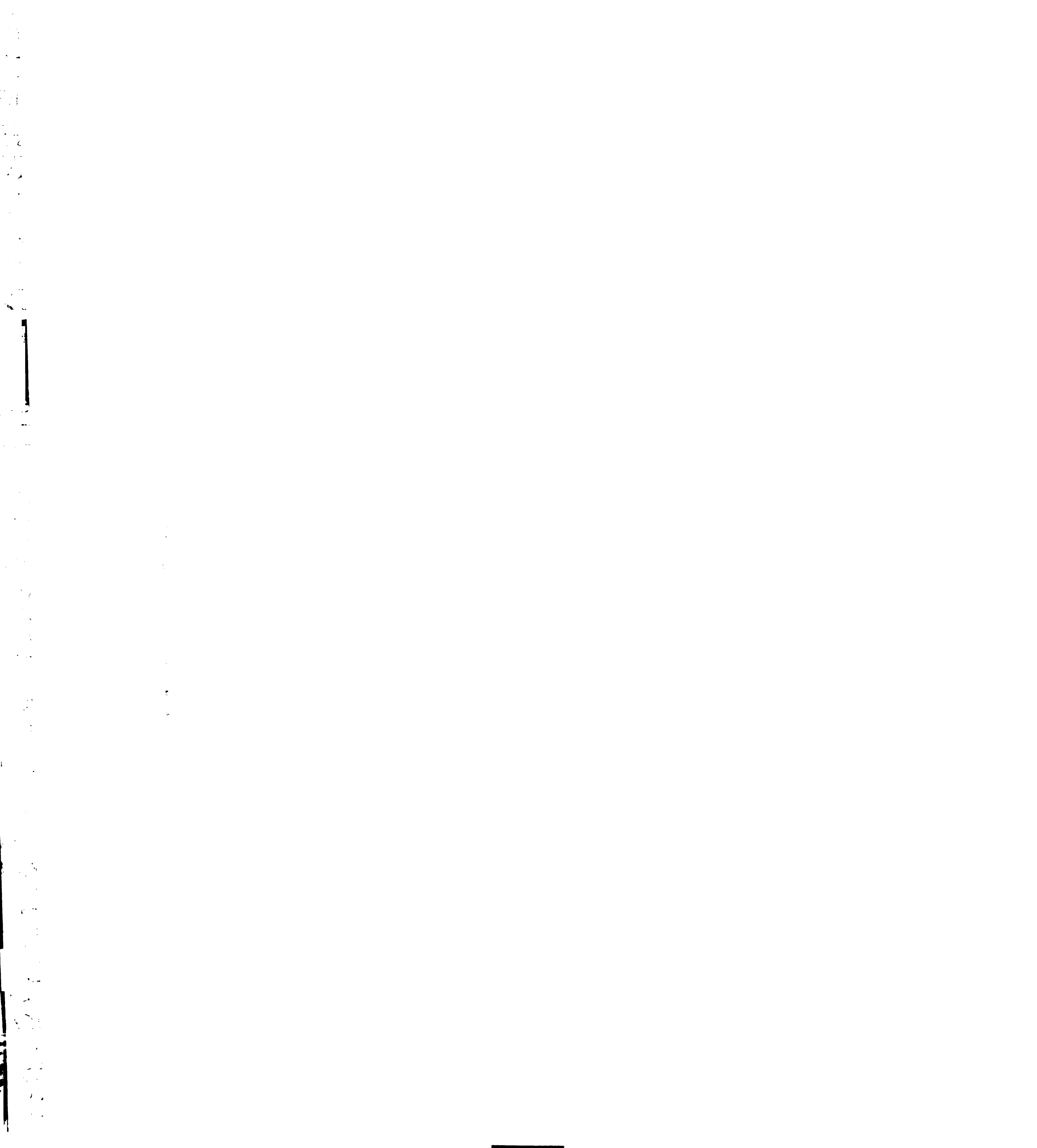
Rushing through the *Plaza* to get to the one-hour photo developing shop and then home to write up fieldnotes, a park gardener intercepts me to tell me he had been concerned about my safety and was glad I was okay. He saw me go with the group into the *caleta* and had worried for me. He comments, "What a shame they are drug users." He warns me the *caleta* is not a safe place and that I should not go there. Later, when I

[59] Throughout my fieldwork, I heard several stories of street children collectively beating a particular street child or youth. For instance, a girl was beaten by the group for having snitched on another street youth resulting in his being incarcerated. One male youth was beaten by the group when another youth in a drug induced state accused him of being the devil; the group collectively beat the devil.



am safe at home writing fieldnotes and looking through the pictures I took a mere 2 ½ hours earlier, I cry. The adrenaline that pushed me beyond my fears subsided and now I am drained. I feel honored and overwhelmed by the amount of trust the group showed me by allowing me to enter their private space and letting me take pictures of them in their own territory engaging in behaviors and activities they recognize as socially unacceptable and stigmatizing to them. But I am also crying because of the impotence I feel in the face of the destructiveness of their activities, especially huffing.

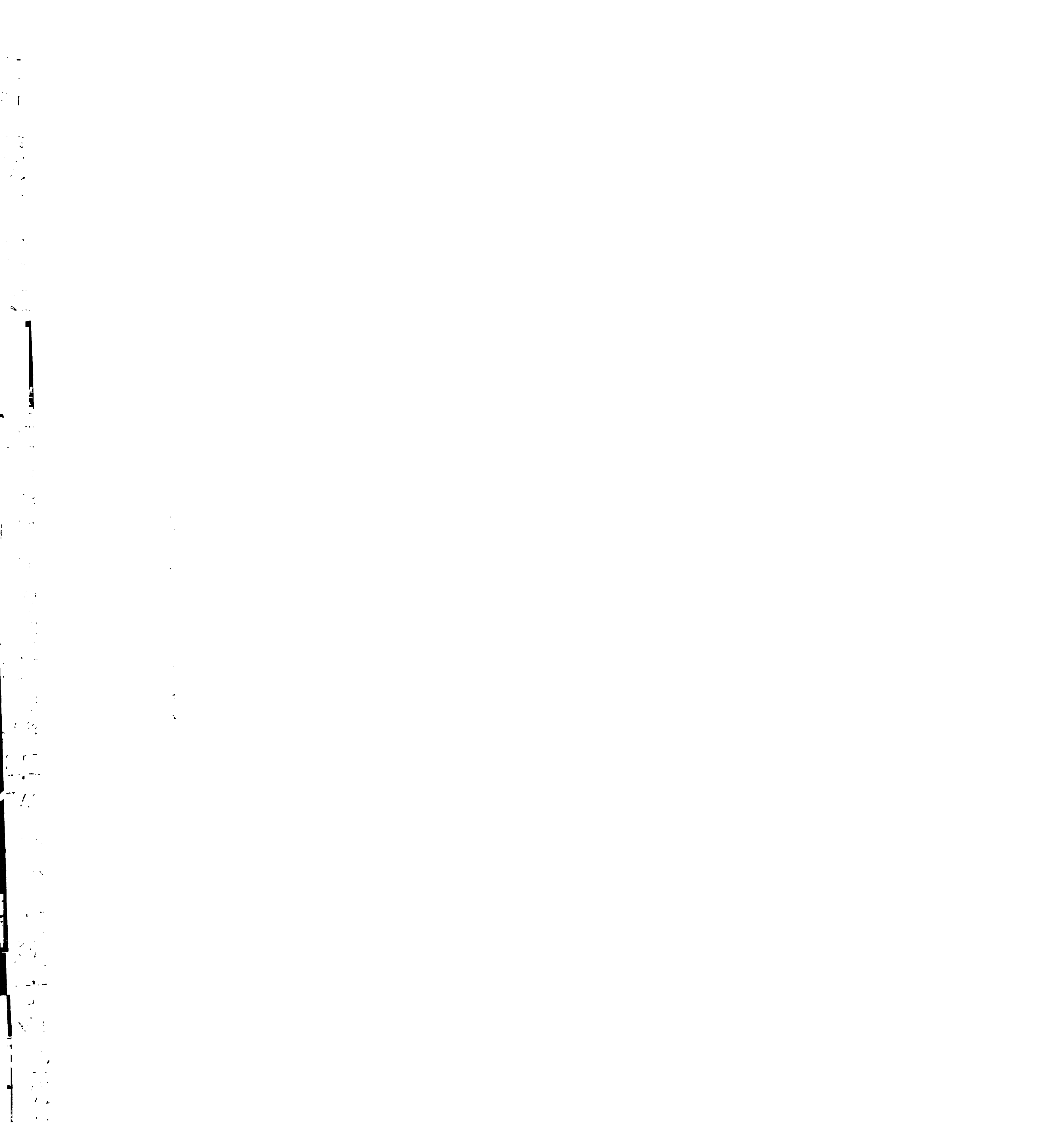
The next day, I go to "Chuck Norris" looking for Saul who did not show up for our scheduled interview. It is not my intention to go into the *caleta* to ask for Saul but regardless the moment Ernesto realizes I am on the concrete slab above "Chuck Norris" he immediately yells to me, "Do not come down." He rushes up to the slab and again tells me not to go down. Perplexed by Ernesto's behavior, I ask for Saul, only to discover he is not there and leave. The following day, I see Ernesto sitting alone outside of the *Casa de Acogida* waiting for the evening program to start. As I join him and he immediately comments, "I do not want you to go to the *caleta* anymore." Admittedly, I am surprised and hurt by his comment and ask whether it bothered him that I entered the *caleta*. He says "no" but reiterates that he does not want me going to the *caleta*. I continue probing, trying to understand why he does not want me going to "Chuck Norris." Relenting Ernesto says, "Some of them wanted to hurt you." Taken aback, I ask "How do you know?" According to him, some of the group members started talking about it while I was walking across the cement wall. They know I carry a camera, a tape recorder, and other valuables in my backpack. Ernesto looks at me, beaming with pride and says, "I protected you well." He continues, *Le tengo buenas y no quiero que la lastimen. Por eso*



no quiero que regrese a la caleta. "I like you and I don't want them to hurt you. That's why I don't want you to return to the *caleta*." He explains this was the reason he did not let me enter the *caleta* the day before. I thank him for protecting me. I remind him that I asked permission to enter the *caleta*. This is more for myself as I try to understand and digest what he's just told me. He states matter-of-factly, "You can't even trust those whom you trust the most."

In the days following my visit to "Chuck Norris," I speak to the psychologist who asked me to give Saul Vasily's message. She gives me Vasily's phone number because Saul will not be allowed to return to the rehabilitation center without first being incarcerated and attending a court hearing. In the meantime, Saul has been huffing heavily since he received Vasily's message. Vasily lives in Saul's hometown located roughly two hours away. Missing Vasily and his mother whom he had not seen in several months, Saul opted to escape and forget his pain by abusing inhalants. Saul shows up to our interview so amazingly high, he is incoherent, all he can mutter is the name "Vasily" and that he wants to go home. Instead of doing the interview, we call Vasily. Vasily informs me how to get Saul home and that he will be expecting him. I take Saul to the bus station, where I buy him a meal, some snacks for the road and place him on a bus heading home. Later, Vasily informs me, Saul saw his mother briefly and stayed with Vasily a few days then he left again. I never speak with, see, or hear from Saul again.

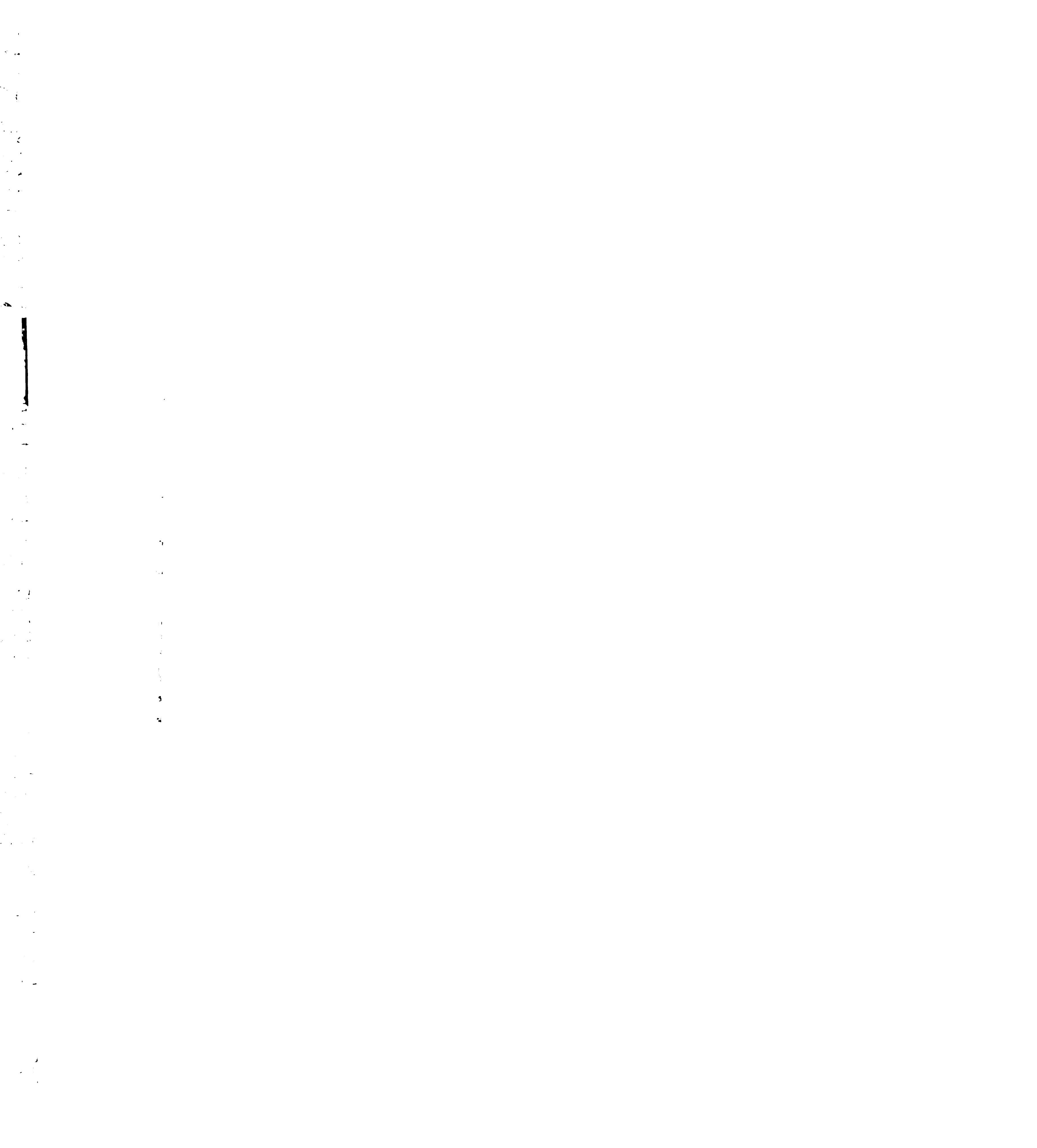
My visit to "Chuck Norris" was controversial with both street children and staff at the *Casa de Acogida*. Those who had not been there tried to verify that I had, indeed, been in the *caleta*. At the shelter for children, Guillermo, a preadolescent boy asks me to read him a story early in the evening. We retreat to his assigned room that at the time



happens to be vacant. Instead of reading the story he wants to talk. First, Guillermo nonchalantly comments he heard a rumor that I went to "Chuck Norris" but said he doesn't believe it. I inform him I did go. "But you only went to the top (the concrete slab)?" he replies. I tell him I went down to the actual tunnel. Initially, he seems incredulous but suddenly he becomes very distressed and literally begs me to promise him I will never go back again. Guillermo pleads with such urgency I do not know how to respond. He insists that bad things happen in the *caleta*. "You know why the little boys are there, right?" He claims that when high, the older boys rape the smaller boys inside the tunnel. He informs me people get beaten and raped there and pleads with me not return, ever. He insists I am not safe there, "They are armed. They could hurt you or even kill you. When they're high they just act." He is hurt and angry with me when I cannot promise him I will not return. But I do promise him I will be as careful as I can be. Guillermo does not speak to me the rest of the night. I later learn he spoke from experience when he described the activities that happen in "Chuck Norris."

A few staff members at the *Casa de Acogida* expressed their disapproval of my visit to "Chuck Norris." Some viewed my visit to a space where street children and youth engage in illicit activities as legitimizing their behavior. Furthermore, some believed my presence when they inhale glue or *tolueno* condoned the behavior. On principle, they refused to go to "Chuck Norris" and preferred to not be around when street children huffed.

The visit to "Chuck Norris" was a very powerful experience. The adrenaline rush that enabled me to enter a space that was normally "forbidden" masked the fear I felt. I think the moment when I was home, in a safe place, reviewing the pictures I took, the



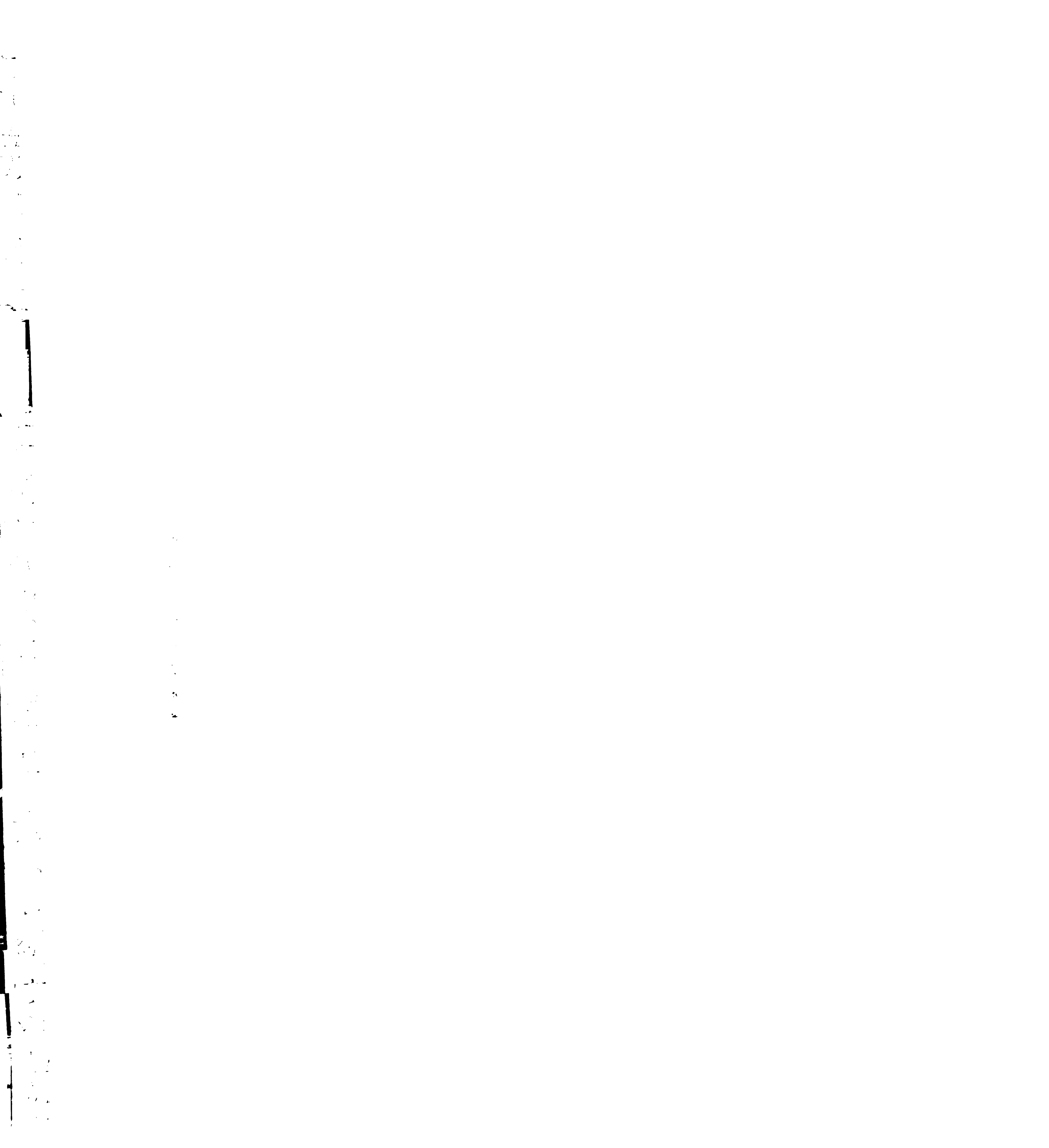
moment when I was overwhelmed by emotions was when I realized I crossed major boundaries with this group of street children. That realization was both disorienting and disturbing.

5

From Street Children to Criminals

Street children as a group are on a social, political, and legal trajectory which re-imagines and re-categorizes them from proto-citizens into criminals-in-making as they are moved along an invisible yet powerful continuum toward criminality. The concept of "continuum toward criminality" refers to public, social, political, and legal perceptions, categorizations and stigmatizations of street children by the very institutions designed to help them. Progression along this continuum toward criminality is propelled by institutional, structural, symbolic, and everyday violence(s) both on larger (macro) and smaller (micro) scales. This process, motored by institutional and structural violence(s), results in society affixing labels and stigma to children living on the street. On a smaller scale, progression along the continuum toward criminality is a process whereby street children, as individuals and as a group, in an example of Bourdieu's notion of *misrecognition*, identify with and internalize criminalized identities and in doing so are complicit in symbolic violence.

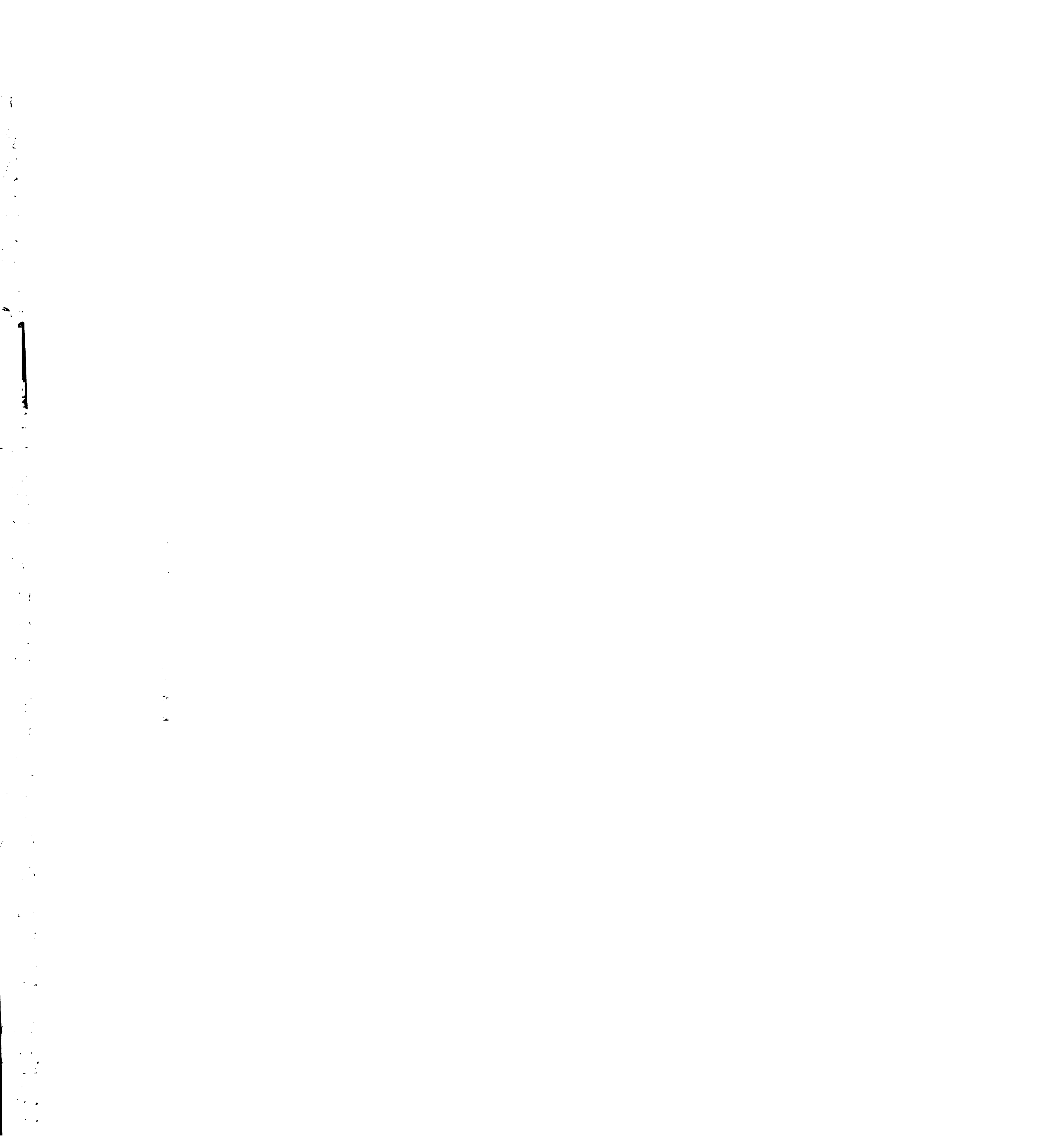
Children living on the streets challenge societal conceptualizations of childhood as a time of innocence and requiring of adult protection. By treating street children as anomalies and re-imagining and re-categorizing them as criminals-in-making, society does not have to re-evaluate idealized concepts of childhood it values (James and Jenks 1998). Furthermore, this conceptualization of street children as criminal and therefore dangerous justifies societal indifference toward them. This chapter considers the



criminalizing of children living on the street by two institutions established to address their needs. It suggests these institutions foster institutional and structural violence and in reality cause harm street children by re-imagining and re-categorizing them from children as proto-citizens into criminals as social outcasts. The goal of this chapter is to describe these two institutions and more importantly to illuminate the experiences of children living in the street within them. By juxtaposing the inflexibility of these institutions with the reality faced by street children, structural and institutional violence is exposed and its consequences can be recognized and considered.

Two institutions particularly important to the process of redefining and transforming street children from proto-citizens into criminals-in-making were the *Casa de Acogida* and *Centros de Orientacíon y Diagnostico (COD's).* The former represented the Roman Catholic Church and the later the state. Ironically, both institutions attempted to help children living on the streets but inadvertently propelled them further along a continuum toward criminality. Whereas the *Casa de Acogida* did so socially, *COD's* did so politically and legally.

Both the *Casa de Acogida* and *COD's* intervened when families failed to socialize their children properly, such as ensuring children attended school and engaged in socially sanctioned activities. When children left the primary socialization settings of family and educational institutions, the *Casa de Acogida* tended to be the next institution to attempt to socialize children into "good citizens" by trying to return wayward children to the family setting. Lastly, *COD's* stepped in to correct or discipline children using punitive measures equivalent to incarceration including depriving them of liberty.

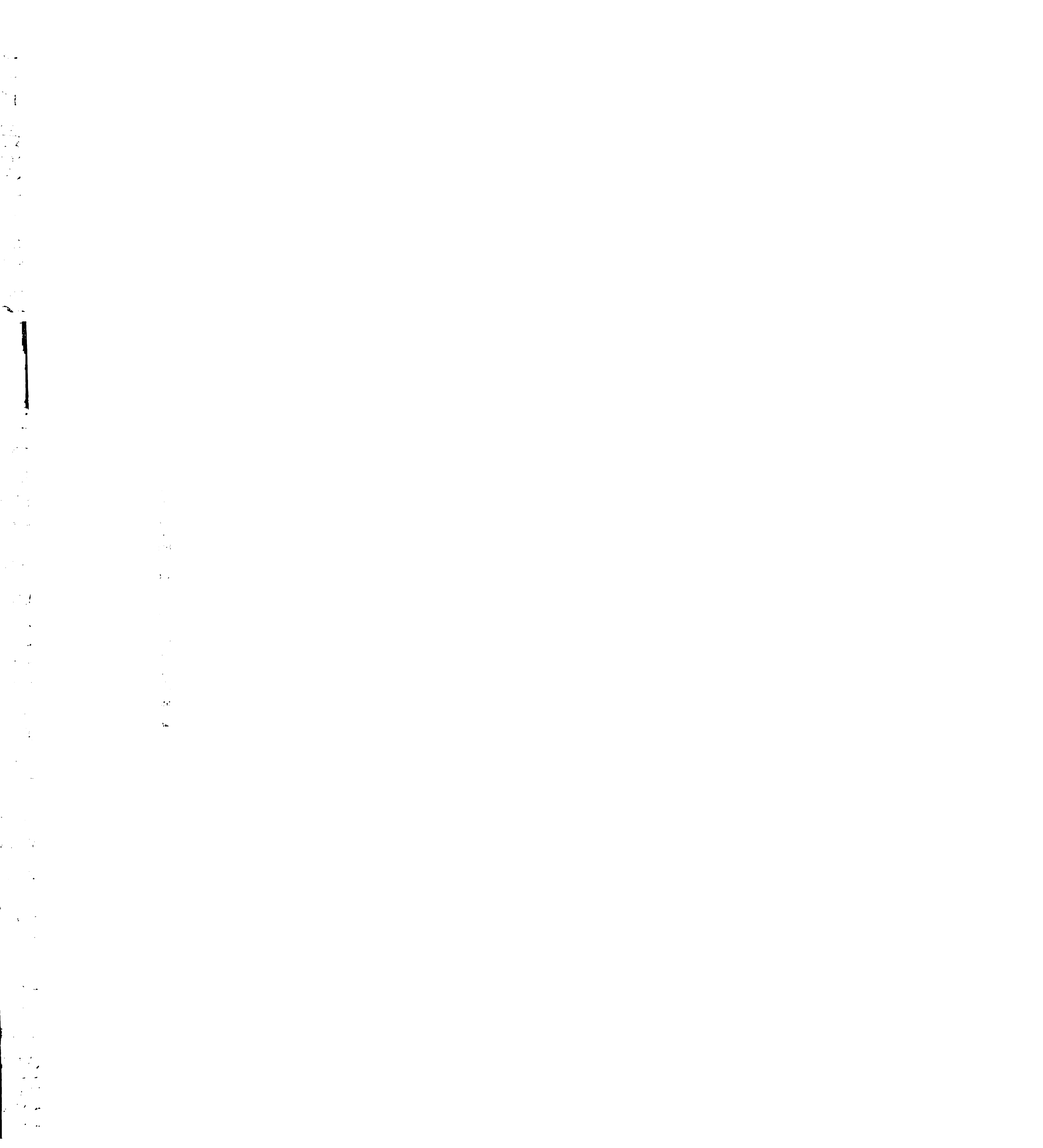


Casa de Acogida: It's All About the Family

Hogar de Cristo, a dominant Roman Catholic institution throughout Chile, created the *Casa de Acogida* in 1990. The program capitalized on the image and history of Padre Alberto Hurtado, currently being considered by the Vatican for beatification, who in the 1940's reached out to help poor children along the Mapocho River.[60] The *Casa de Acogida*, or "House of Welcome or Welcoming," began as a three year project funded by UNICEF and was the first program created specifically to address the growing problem of "children living on the streets" in Chile. In 1994, the *Servicio Nacional de Menores* or *SENAME*[61] (National Youth Service) entered into collaboration with *Hogar de Cristo* in funding the *Casa de Acogida*.

According to a *Casa de Acogida* director, a primary concern was to "re-insert" the child into the family structure because "a child with a bad mother is better off than a child with no mother at all." Efforts to better the lives of children living on the streets by the *Casa de Acogida* were divided into three interconnected branches: family, street, and home. These three focal areas were attended to through the day program which operated from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. but did not have the capacity to house children onsite; the street outreach program which was the preventive area of the program; and the homeless shelter for children which functioned in coordination with the day program to provide street children with a safe place to sleep. The services provided by the *Casa de Acogida* were accessible to children through the age of 17 years, 11 months and 30 days. Upon turning 18 years of age children were socially transformed into legal adults and were not

[60] In 2002, Chileans commemorated Padre Hurtado's birthday by creating a replica of the green truck he used to pick up children along the Mapocho and parading and celebrating it along the length of the country.
[61] *SENAME* was created and established by Pinochet's military government.



supposed to access the services intended for children. Instead they were supposed to be routed to the adult services *Hogar de Cristo* offers.

Casa de Acogida: Geography

The *Casa de Acogida* was located in a sordid section of downtown Santiago, a colorful and questionable area where both adults and children engaged in the informal and illicit economy. The black market was active with stolen goods trafficked and bartered in broad daylight. The area was known as a place requiring heightened alert for pickpockets and thieves who brazenly snatched purses or bags from pedestrians. The *Casa de Acogida* was next to a major metro stop, close to the commercialized Central Market and the wholesale district, La Vega. Located on a narrow triangular shaped block, it was surrounded by busy and highly trafficked streets. One entrance to the *Casa de Acogida* was next to a short red light district where scantily dressed women[62] stood outside hotels renting rooms by the hour[63] and proposition pedestrians.[64] There were several X-rated *cafes con piernas*, or cafes with legs,[65] and seedy bars in the immediate vicinity. The *Casa's* main entrance had a doorbell that rung directly in the secretary's office. It was quite common for the doorbell to not work properly or simply to have to

[62] The sex workers looked older (30's and above); they were not young, adolescent girls. Many were overweight and did not seem to dress in sexy, alluring clothing.
[63] In addition to renting rooms by the hour, it appeared the hotels also had long term residents for there were always clothes hanging out the windows drying.
[64] I found street children were familiar with many of these women. One boy informed me very discretely that one of the women was the mother of a girl who was on the streets.
[65] Cafes con piernas were common throughout the downtown area. They are coffee shops where patrons are served by young women wearing very short, tight, and revealing dresses. These coffee shops are mixed in with regular businesses such as movie theatres, banks, and clothing or shoe stores. The more X rated coffee shops have mirrored glass so passers-by cannot see the women inside who are usually scantily dressed or topless.

wait 10, 15, or 20 minutes for someone with a key to open the door. A second entrance to the *Casa de Acogida* faced the old train station – a beautifully remodeled old building with high ceilings that was transformed into the Centro Cultural Mapocho. The building hosted the meetings of Latin American Presidents in August 2001 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in 2004. Prior to the Latin American President's meeting, the *Casa de Acogida* was provided with supplies to paint the outside of the building. During the meeting, street children were kept inside the *Casa de Acogida* and discouraged from being outside both by program staff and *Carabineros*. *Carabinero* presence was magnified for the event – there were police on the premises of the Cultural Center and on the surrounding streets at all times.

Casa de Acogida: Space

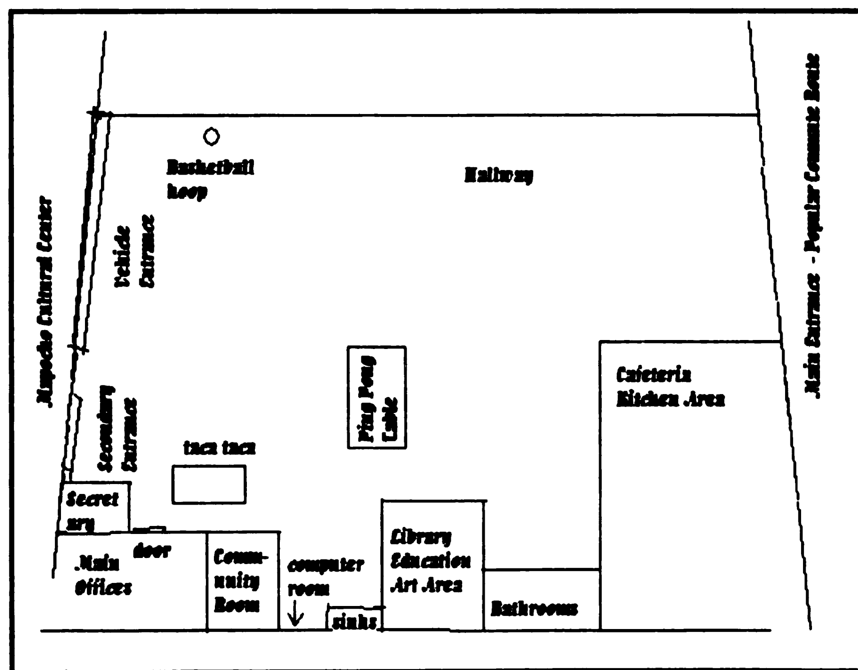
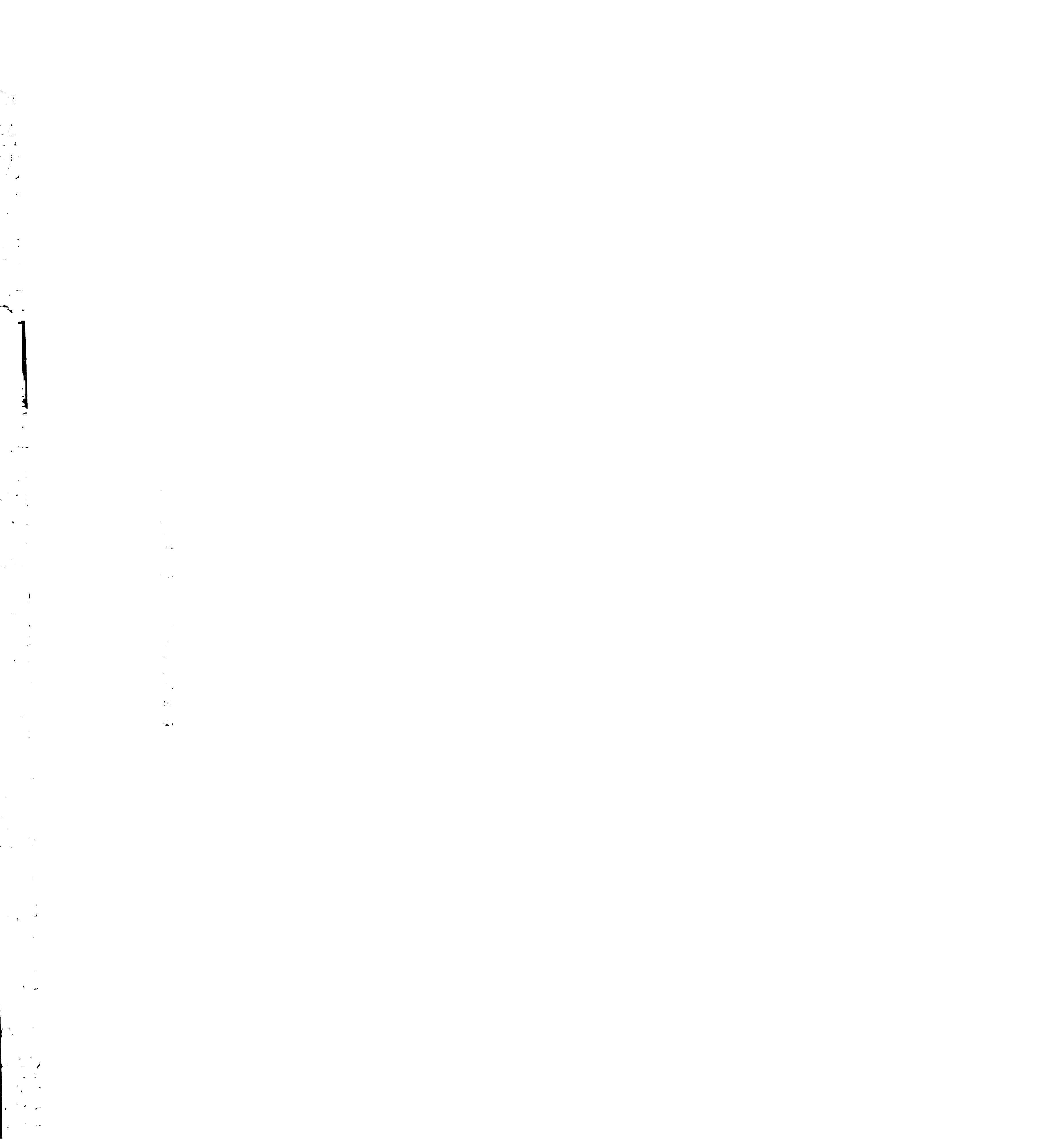
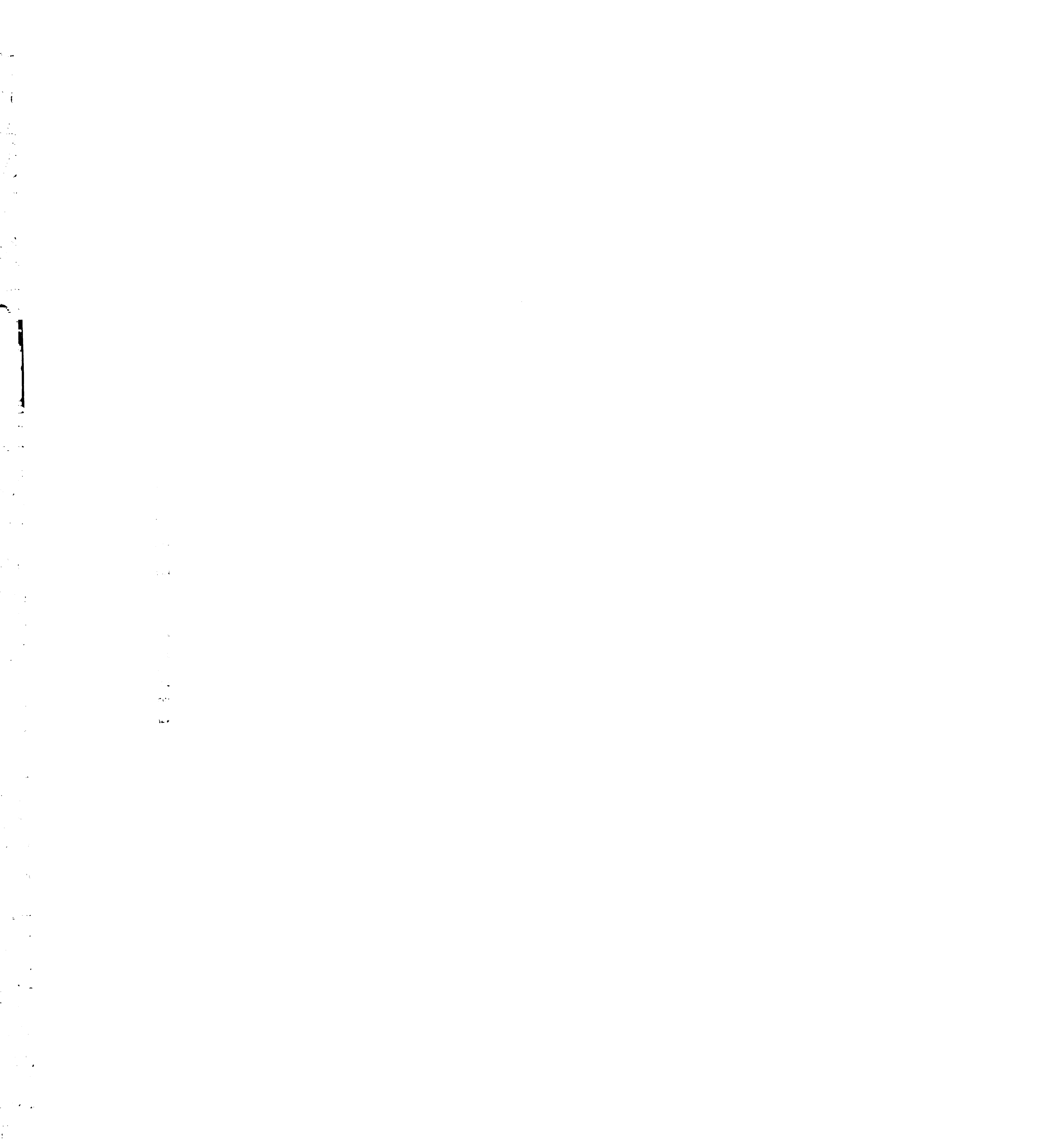


Figure 1: *Casa de Acogida* (not to scale)



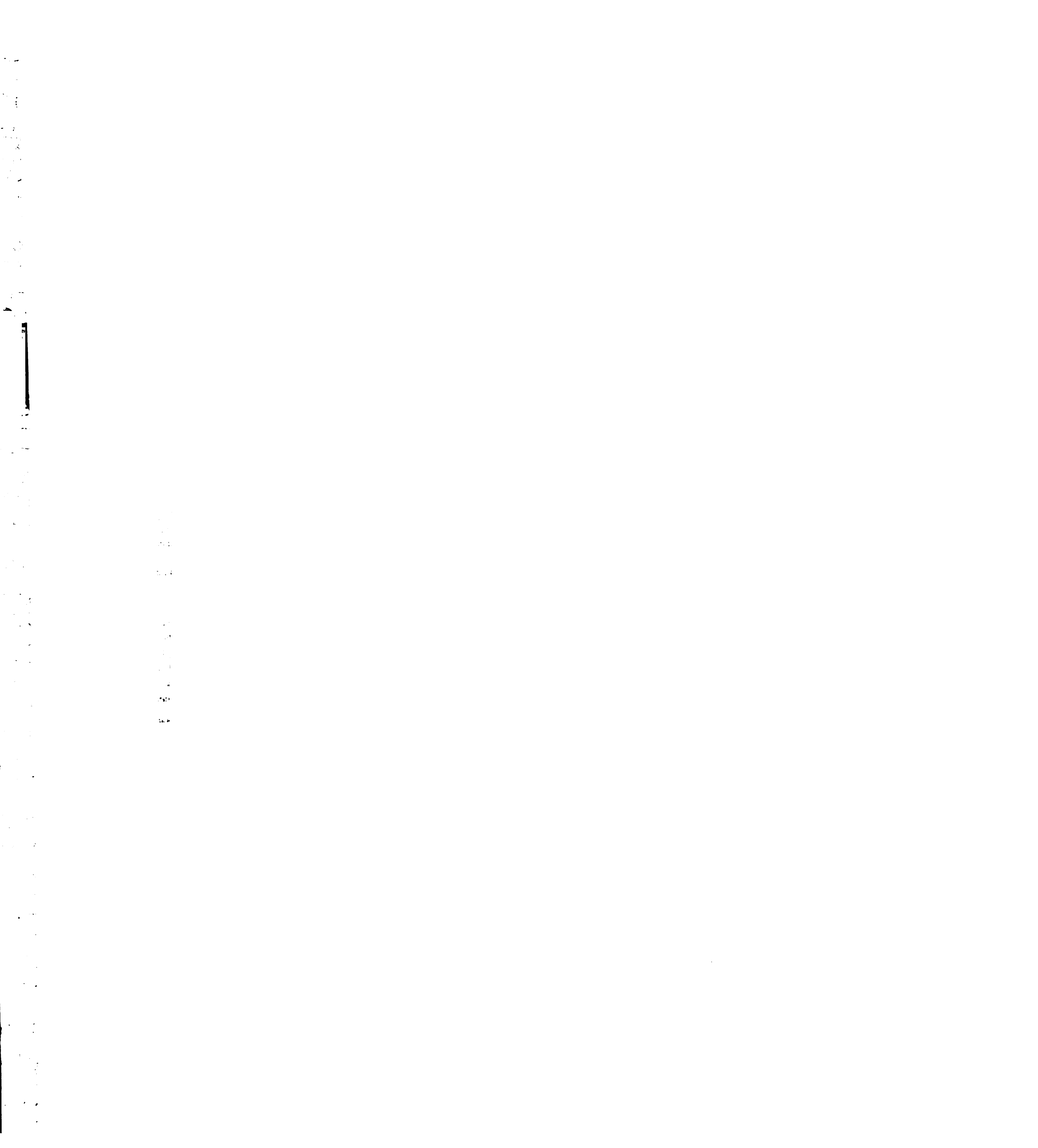
Although the *Casa de Acogida* did not occupy a physically imposing space, it stood out in its immediate environment simply because it was painted bright blue and was decorated with murals depicting children playing and laughing. Walking through the main entrance, one encountered a hallway roughly 15 feet long leading to the courtyard and two enclosed buildings that were attached although that was not immediately visible. The larger building was the administrative area which housed staff offices; it was normally off limits to children unless they were summoned inside to see the director, psychologist, or a staff member. A door with a large glass window that was permanently locked was the barrier that kept children out although it seemed they were always trying to get in. Inside the building, a hallway that led to four offices - one for the director, one had six desks for social workers and street outreach workers, one office was used by staff to do interviews and to keep the stereo used to play music for the children outside, and the last office was used by the psychologist when meeting with children. Also there were two bathrooms for the staff. Chairs were set up along the hallway for individuals to wait for their appointments. There were lockers toward the end of the hallway for use by staff and volunteers. Connected to this building but accessible to the children were a TV / community room and the secretary's office (the doorbells rang herein this office). The TV room had a cabinet that theoretically was always locked, inside it kept a TV, VCR and games for the children to play. Numerous stackable chairs in various states of (dis)repair used for watching TV or meetings lined the walls. The community room had two windows, one facing the courtyard and the other the laundry area, both had metal grating.



The laundry area was essentially an open space between the two main buildings. It led to the courtyard although it did have a metal gate that could be closed. There were two large sinks against the wall where children hand washed their clothes. A gutter ran along one wall and the other wall (shared wall with the community room) had a bench. A centrifuge was located by the gutter and dumped the excess water from the freshly washed clothing. Since there was no dryer, the children used the centrifuge as a dryer by letting it wring out as much water as possible before hanging up the articles or ironing them dry as oftentimes the clothes on their back was the only clothing they owned. Centrifuge motors burned out quickly and there were times when they had to do without a centrifuge and wring clothing manually.[66] Next to the sinks was a door that led to the computer room. The computer room was a tiny room with four old computers inside. The computers are mostly used to play games (Mario Brothers ® type games), although a few did use the computers to write letters expressing love or sorrow. Children treasured letters they received; they would read them over and over again and show them to friends and staff from the *Casa*. The letters seemed to represent concrete proof someone cared about them. A ping pong table was stored in the laundry area but oftentimes it was out in the courtyard being used by children and staff alike. It was sometimes used to play ping pong but just as frequently the balls and paddles were used for a game of "target practice" with unsuspecting targets.

Right outside the laundry area was the "library," the assigned space for tutoring in educational subjects, such as math and reading. During the course of my fieldwork, the "library" was used less and less for academic tutoring and eventually became a space

[66] When a centrifuge motor burned out, it was not immediately replaced. I was under the impression that part of the reasoning was to discipline the children for not using the centrifuge for what it was intended.



where children engaged in arts and crafts.[67] This room had large window that did not have metal bars and the children would climb in and out when playing or simply trying to disrupt whatever was happening inside the room.

Adjacent to the "library" were the girls and boys bathrooms and showers. Inside each room were three bathroom stalls, three sinks, and two showers. The showers were separated from the rest of the bathroom by a tile wall but they were communal. There was nothing superfluous in the bathrooms such as mirrors or decorations. Essentially, there was nothing removable or breakable or that could potentially be used by the children as a weapon to harm others or themselves.

Off to the side of the bathrooms was the eating area, a room measuring approximately 13 X 13 feet. The off white colored room had two rectangular tables that sat 10 people each and was decorated with different arts and crafts the children have made at the *Casa de Acogida* and a crucifix that was centrally located. Chairs were kept stacked in one corner of the room. A permanently locked door led to the kitchen area which was off limits to the children. A serving window next to the locked door was used to pass food from the kitchen to the eating area. Dirty trays and dishes were stacked at this window to be returned to the kitchen for cleaning.

The courtyard was open with no roof overhead but it did have netting that although it did not protect from the rain, it provided shade and some protection from the sun. The wall facing the administrative building had a colorful mural depicting children playing and being respectful. The mural depicted boys and girls of various ages and of differing shades of skin color. It was painted by the children as an art and craft project.

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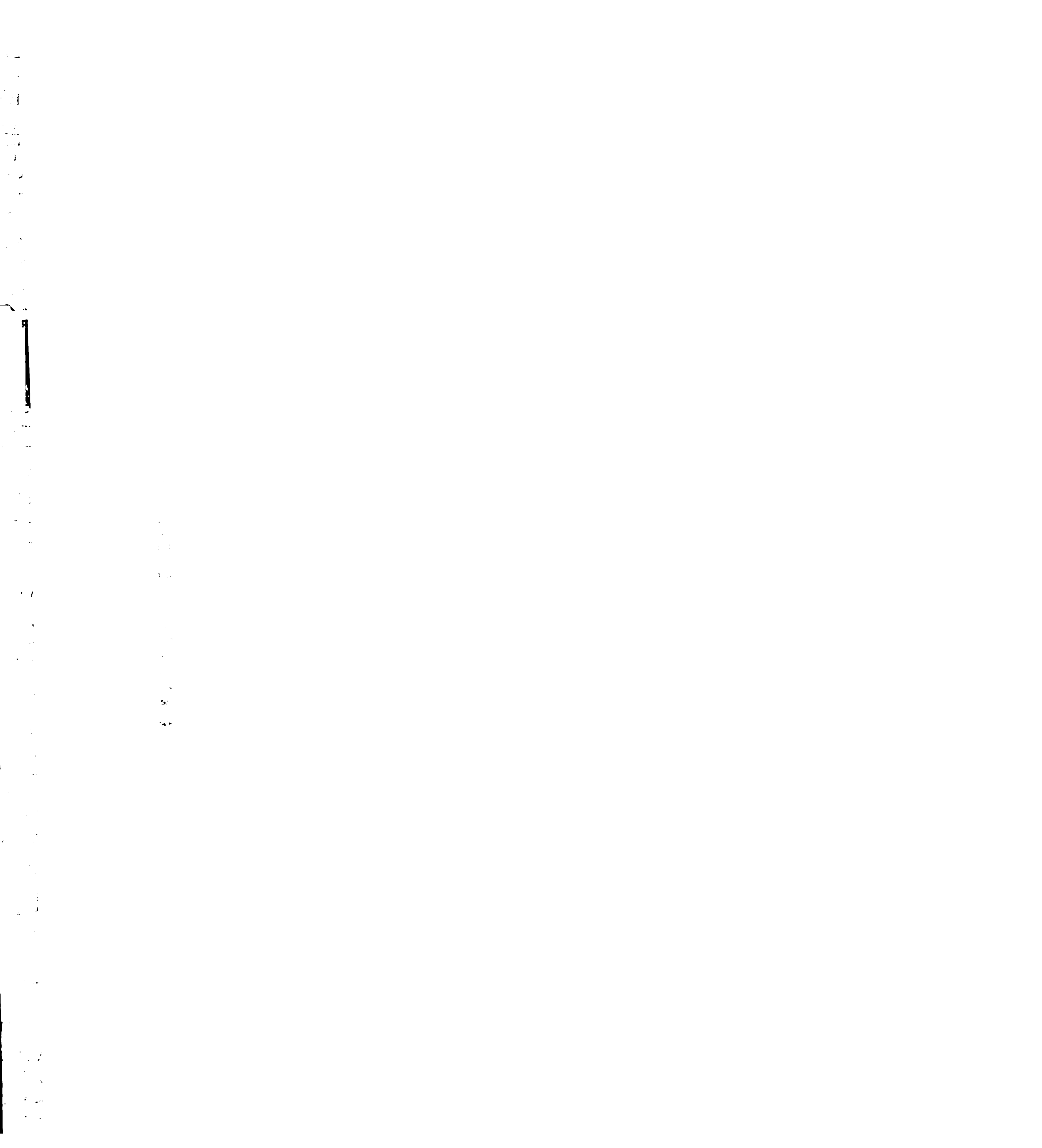
[67] Arts and crafts workshops are done by outsiders who volunteer their time and material to work with the children. Projects included painted glass workshops, music workshops (batucada), and painting.

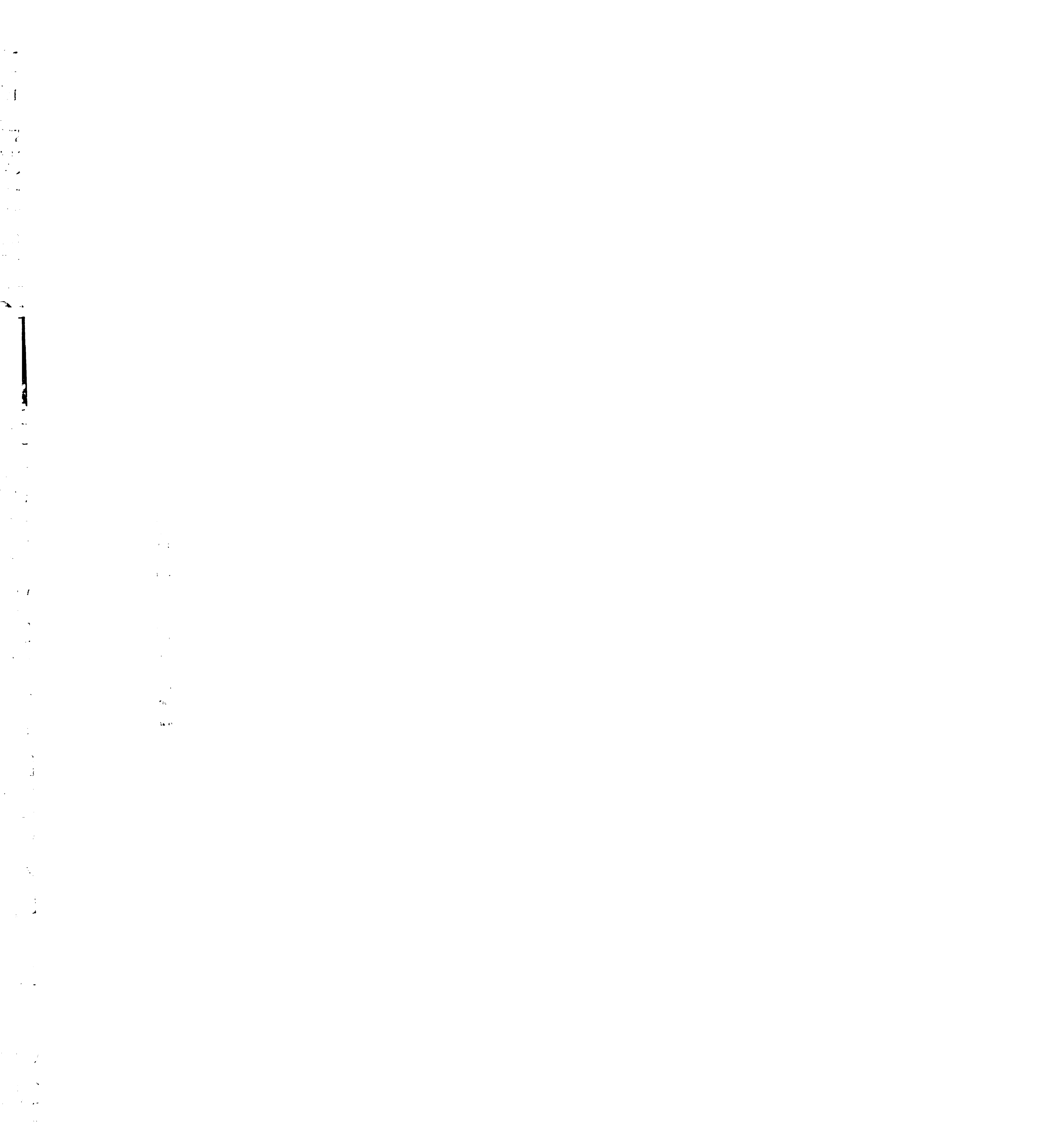


Above the mural was a basketball hoop. An 8 foot solid metal fence connected the wall with the mural to the staff offices. This same fence opened to allow cars to enter. A permanent fixture located just inside the entrance and outside the secretary's office window was the *taca taca* or foosball[68] table. Outside the TV room facing the courtyard, unused chairs and tables were stacked. The stereo speakers were mounted on the wall above the window. The music selection was controlled from inside the staff offices area.

A Day in the Casa de Acogida (Day Program)

Attendance in the *Casa de Acogida*'s day program was inconsistent. Factors influencing attendance included but was not limited to peer pressure, need or desire to get money, the weather, boredom, and drug abuse. Children and youth commuted from various locations to the *Casa de Acogida*: the homeless shelter for children, home, and local *caleta*s - makeshift shelters on the street or as in the case of "Chuck Norris," a water drainage tunnel. They tended to arrive in small groups of two or three to the main entrance well before the 9 a.m. admittance time and waited impatiently outside. As the group grew outside (ranging anywhere from 6 children to 20) some waited quietly while others yelled to the guard, rang the doorbell incessantly, and pounded on the door trying to get it. Some tried scaling the iron fence to look inside and sometimes jumped over. It was not uncommon to see street children try to liven up friends who were visibly intoxicated from glue sniffing (huffing) or simply smoking cigarettes to pass the time. During the weekdays there was much vehicular traffic as people commuted into the city

[68] The foosball table is a table with four rows of soccer players and two goalies. Each team is represented by two rows of players and one goalie. The game can be played one on one with each individual manning the entire team or as a team effort between two individual (total of four people playing).

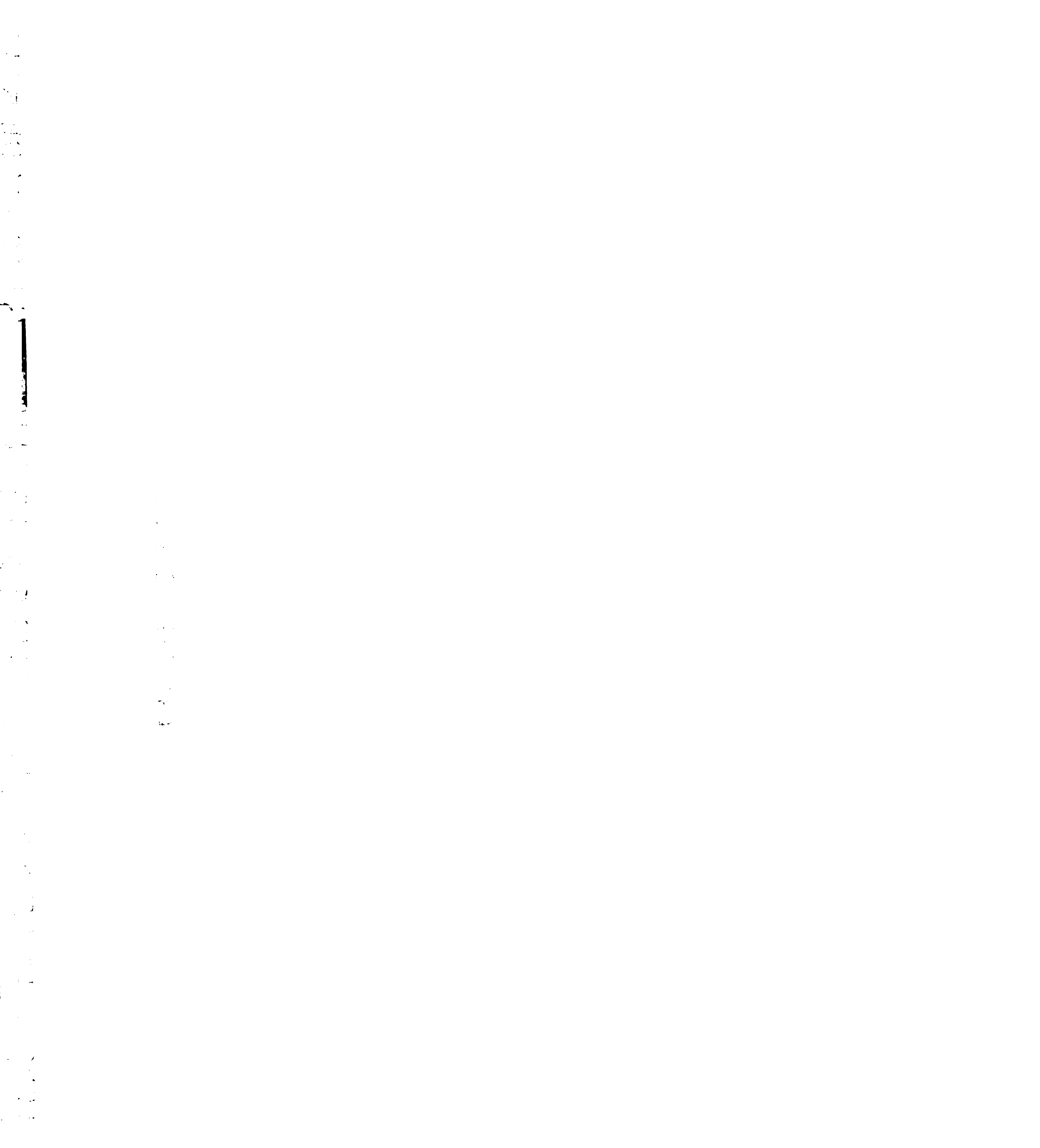


to work. Often, people stared at the children when they drove by but they did not look at them when traffic stopped, at a standstill street children became invisible. The scene before the commuters was that of rowdy preadolescents and adolescents not in school and smoking cigarettes or huffing solvents outside a bright blue building decorated with murals of happy children. Sometimes when traffic stopped in front of the main entrance, a one or two street children would venture onto the street, approach the still cars, and ask the drivers for money. Sometimes they got lucky and were given spare change but more often than not they were simply ignored. Especially when stopped directly in front of the *Casa*, drivers seemed to go out of their way to not see street children.

At 9 a.m., the main entrance opened and the waiting children were assessed for admittance by a guard or staff member.

It is 8:30 a.m. and three boys who look to be 10 to 12 years of age are outside the door smoking and talking with the guard. One of the boys is falling asleep. Another boy asks the guard if he can get a drink of water. The guard allows one boy at a time to enter. A boy asks whether they can enter and the guard responds, "You know the rules." The boy answers, "I don't respect them."

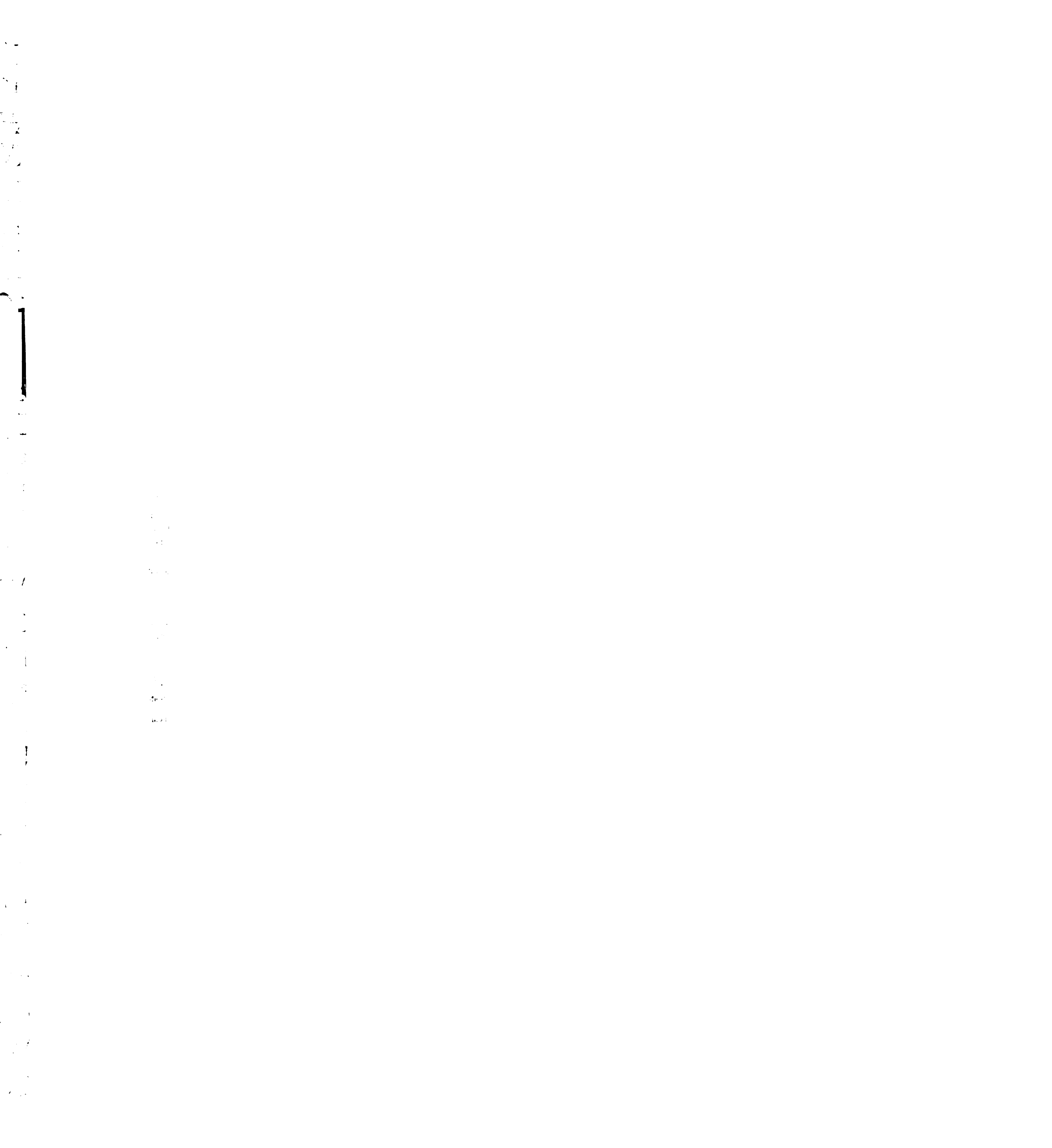
The guard lets me in when I tell him I am there to observe. He remembers me from my first visit to Santiago and asks what I am doing. I explain I am writing an ethnography on street children. I admit I am still trying to figure out how to best collect data, especially going out on my own. His response is immediate, "You can't go out on your own. They are delinquents. Some of them disappear for a while and when you tell them 'I haven't seen you for a while' they say the police picked them up and they've been in jail." He informs me he has a lot of experience dealing with "choros" toughs and has



dealt with being held up. He tells me he considers himself someone who can deal with those types of situations as he shows me a gun strapped to his belt. According to him, he carries it at all times. He laughs as he admits street children in the Casa call him "El Paco" (Paco is slang for Carabinero). Referring to my observing the Casa for the day, he sarcastically says "Let's see what you think after you've spent a day with the angels."

Inevitably not all children were allowed to enter either due to intoxication or past behavioral problems within the *Casa*. If there was doubt as to children being high, he or she was asked to exhale so the staff person could smell their breath to try to detect glue or *tolueno*. Those who were visibly intoxicated were usually denied entrance. Although, depending on the situation and the person, if the staff person thought admittance to the building might be a deterrent from further huffing they would exercise personal discretion and break the rules. Street child response to being denied entrance ranged from trying to negotiate admittance with the staff member, anger that was openly displayed by cursing at the staff member, a mad dash inside to wreak as much havoc as possible before being physically pushed out of the property, climbing over the locked metal door onto the roof and disrupting activities (this seemed to be a favorite), or simply walking away.

Once admitted much warmth was displayed between staff and children as children sought out favorite staff members to greet with a hug and kiss, usually their affection was returned. The children were immediately ushered into the eating area where they sat down at the tables to await breakfast. The staff person assigned breakfast duty was the liaison between personnel in the kitchen and children in the eating area. The staff member tried to lead the children in prayer or had a child recite a prayer of thanks prior to



being served food. Breakfast was usually a single white bread roll[69] served with jam and margarine accompanied by hot flavored milk.[70] During breakfast the children engaged in lively conversations with each other and staff about recent events such as who was beat up for being a snitch, who was thrown out of the shelter, and who was fighting or arguing. Breakfast was not a quiet time.

Aurora, a tiny 6 year old girl, is constantly picked on by the other children yet despite her size disadvantage she definitely fights back. A boy, approximately 10 years old, hits her and without hesitation she pulls her leg back and kicks him with all her might. Shortly after, another boy runs by and grabs an accessory from her hair. She immediately screams at top of her lungs, "culiado," meaning asshole. She curses like a sailor. The contrast of hearing intentionally foul language coming from a little, seemingly frail and, therefore, innocent girl is jarring. During breakfast, Aurora approaches different adults and sits on their lap; restless, she migrates from lap to lap. At one point, she sits on my lap and as I speak to her she slowly starts pressing her face to mine until I realize this is no accident, Aurora is intentionally pressing her cheek to mine.

Oftentimes, children would grab others food, it did not appear to be out of hunger but rather in an attempt to assert dominance or simply to irritate the other. The *Casa de Acogida's* policy was that children had to arrive by a certain time in order to get breakfast. Those children who were not punctual enough for breakfast did not receive any. In response, children pilfered and hid bread to give to comrades who had not yet

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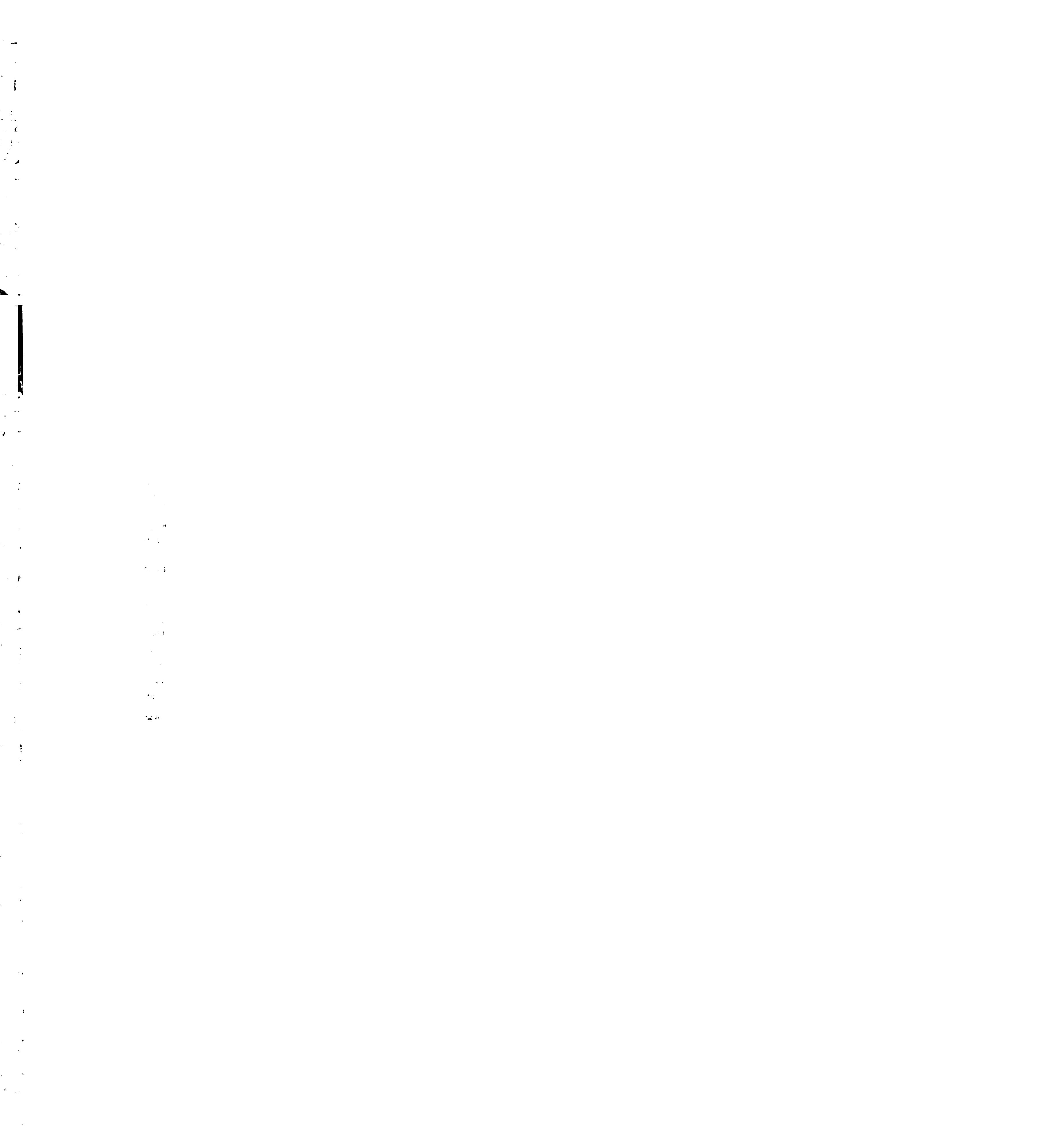
[69] Sometimes the bread was served heated, sometimes toasted, and sometimes cold. Regardless, the children had no choice of how they wanted their bread.

[70] The children complained incessantly about the lack of variety, they claimed to be bored with bread, butter, and jam. The presence of paté or mortadela in addition to the ever present bread and butter always caused excitement during mealtimes. One girl, bored with the plain roll would buy the kind of bread she liked *hallulla* and have it for breakfast the hot drink being served.



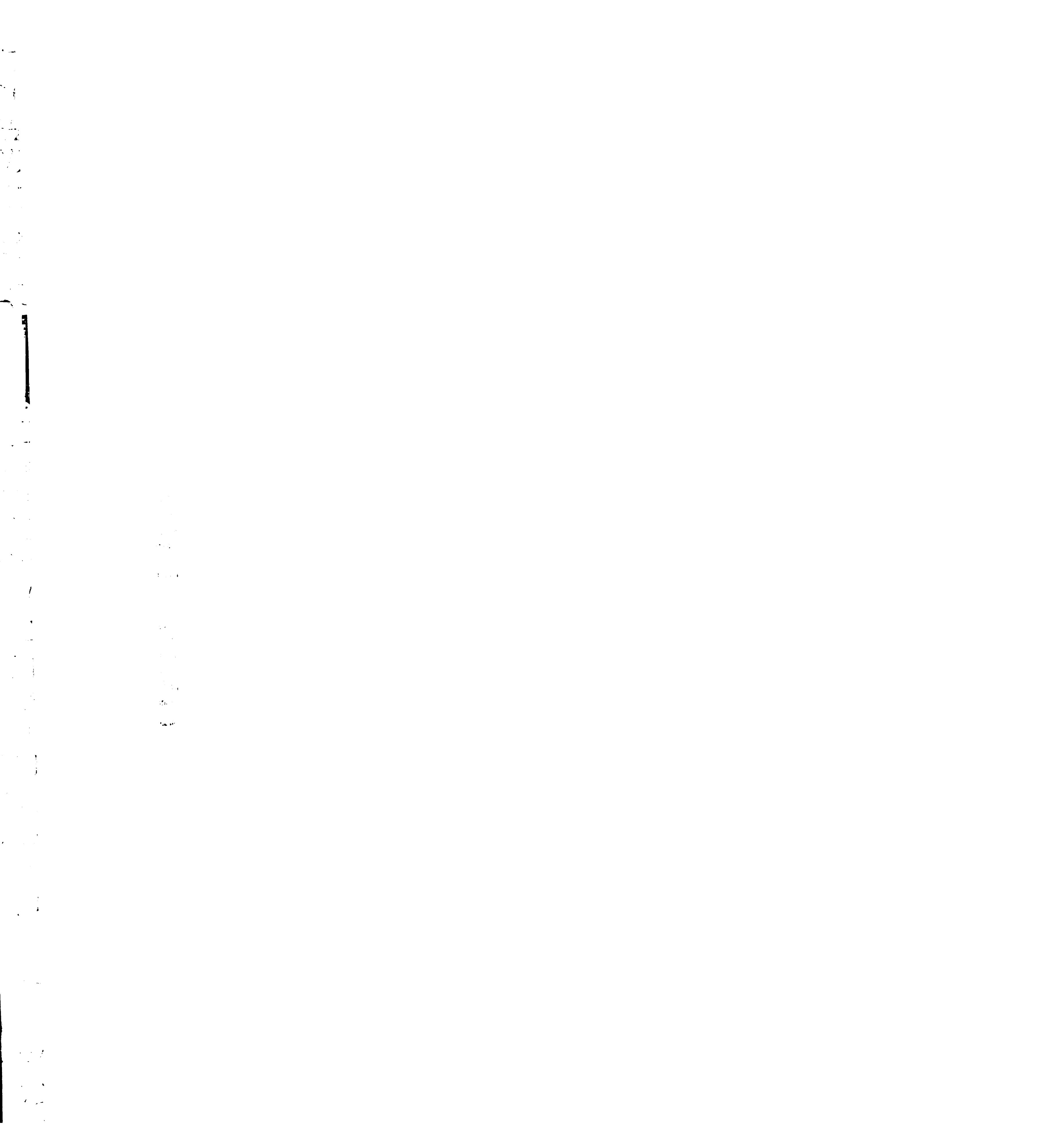
arrived. Sometimes, they did this openly declaring they were saving that bread for a friend who was arriving shortly but usually they did it covertly. When breakfast was done, each person returned their dish, cup and utensils to the kitchen area via a window through which the food is served and the emptied dishes taken away.

Personal hygiene was scheduled roughly from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. immediately following breakfast. Children partook of three activities during this hour: 1) stay in the enclosed yard and play foosball, ping pong, or basketball; 2) hand wash their soiled clothing; or 3) take a shower. Staff members and volunteers supervised all these activities and encouraged children to do all three, rotating from one to the other. Those washing clothes received a bar of soap and clothing if they did not have something to wear while they washed.[71] The staff person or volunteer assigned shower duty stood guard over the shower area to ensure boys and girls stayed in their respective bathrooms and provided them with necessary toiletries such as body soap, shampoo, deodorant. The staff encouraged the children to shower and wash their clothing first but many children needed coaxing to do their *tareas*, chores, or simply preferred to play.

The morning agenda changed during my fieldwork. Initially, they were more structured with hour and half long classes in the "library" to review math, reading and writing skills after the personal hygiene hour. Lessons were at times moral in nature.

Marisol, attending the Casa de Acogida for a month, is in the Library talking with a staff person who tells her, "You have to learn to resolve your problems like a rational people, not by hitting." Meanwhile, a small group of children play "Pacos," a game they created similar to "tag" that pits street children against Carabineros. Those caught are

[71] During the warmer months, the boys (usually) would strip down to their underwear or a t-shirt and underwear to wash their clothing. Girls tended to be more modest.



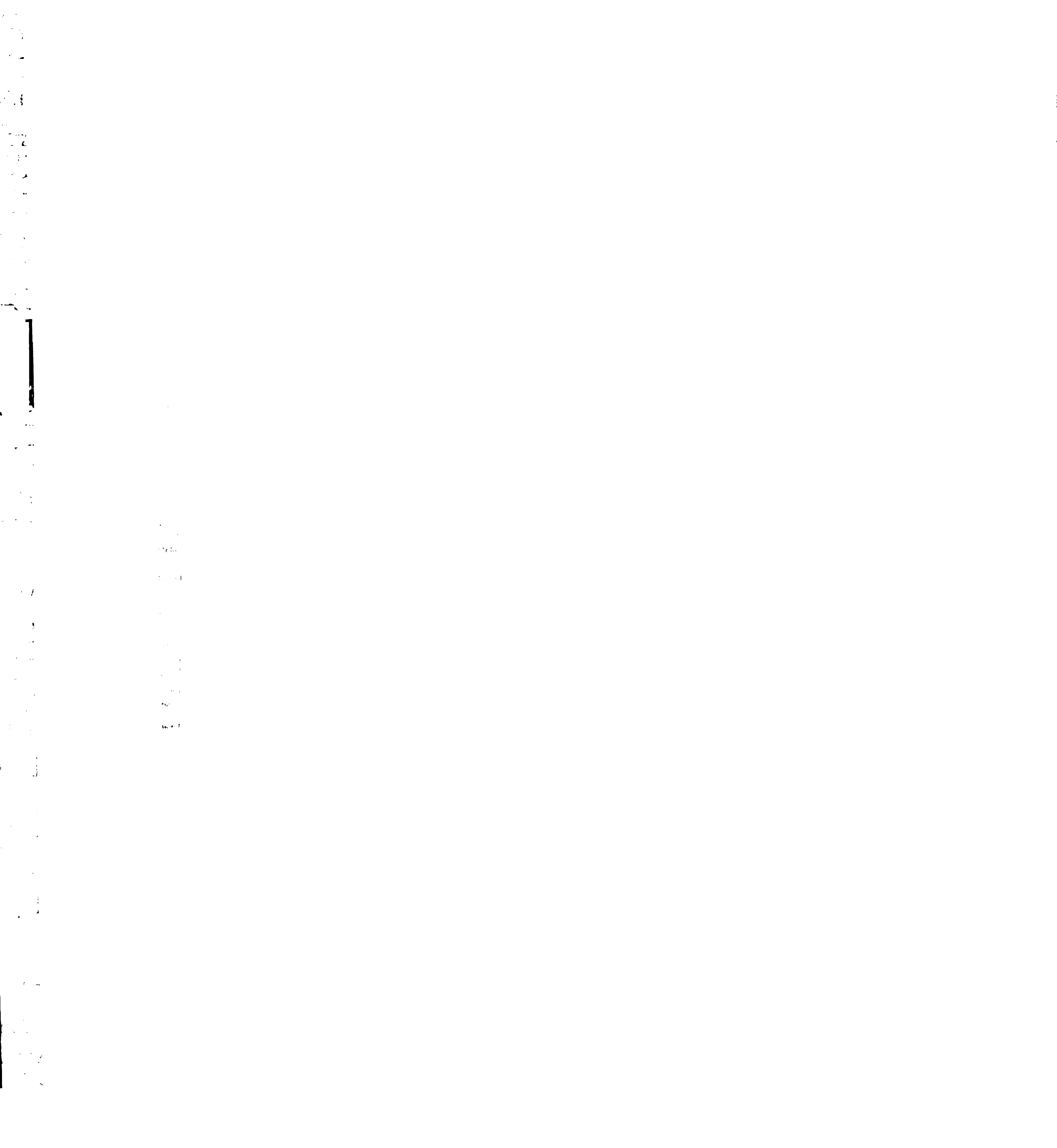
hauled off to "jail" and are given a beating en route to Precinct 34[72]*, located in the library. Those "in jail" have to figure out how to escape.*

These classes ceased altogether and were replaced by arts and crafts type activities. A play break followed this session.

Lunch was served at 1 p.m. The meal was prepared during the morning hours after a tally of the number of individuals present was taken. All the children were supposed to help prepare the courtyard for lunch by setting up tables and chairs (six chairs to a table). The eating area where the children had breakfast was inaccessible except for an open window with a table set up inside so the kitchen personnel could distribute dishware and food to the servers. One staff person sat at each table accompanied by five or six children. One child volunteered or was assigned to be their table's server, he or she was responsible for bringing plates and utensils from the kitchen area and transporting the meal and drink to the table. During the meal, only the table's server was allowed to walk back and forth from the kitchen area to his or her table, all others were supposed to remain seated at their table. Lunch usually consisted of three courses – a soup or salad followed by the main meal (meat and rice, pasta, fish and vegetables), and dessert (flavored gelatin was a favorite), and of course the ever present bread. Each individual returned their dishes, placemat, and utensils and received a dessert in exchange. Cleaning was a group effort; everyone was supposed to help clear the courtyard by wiping down and restacking tables and chairs and sweeping the floor.

The afternoon was spent playing organized sports or games, video games in the computer room, listening to music, or watching the television in the community room. Children frequently complained about boredom in the afternoon. By this time, children

[72] Precinct 34 dealt specifically with children; the majority of arrests of children were routed there.



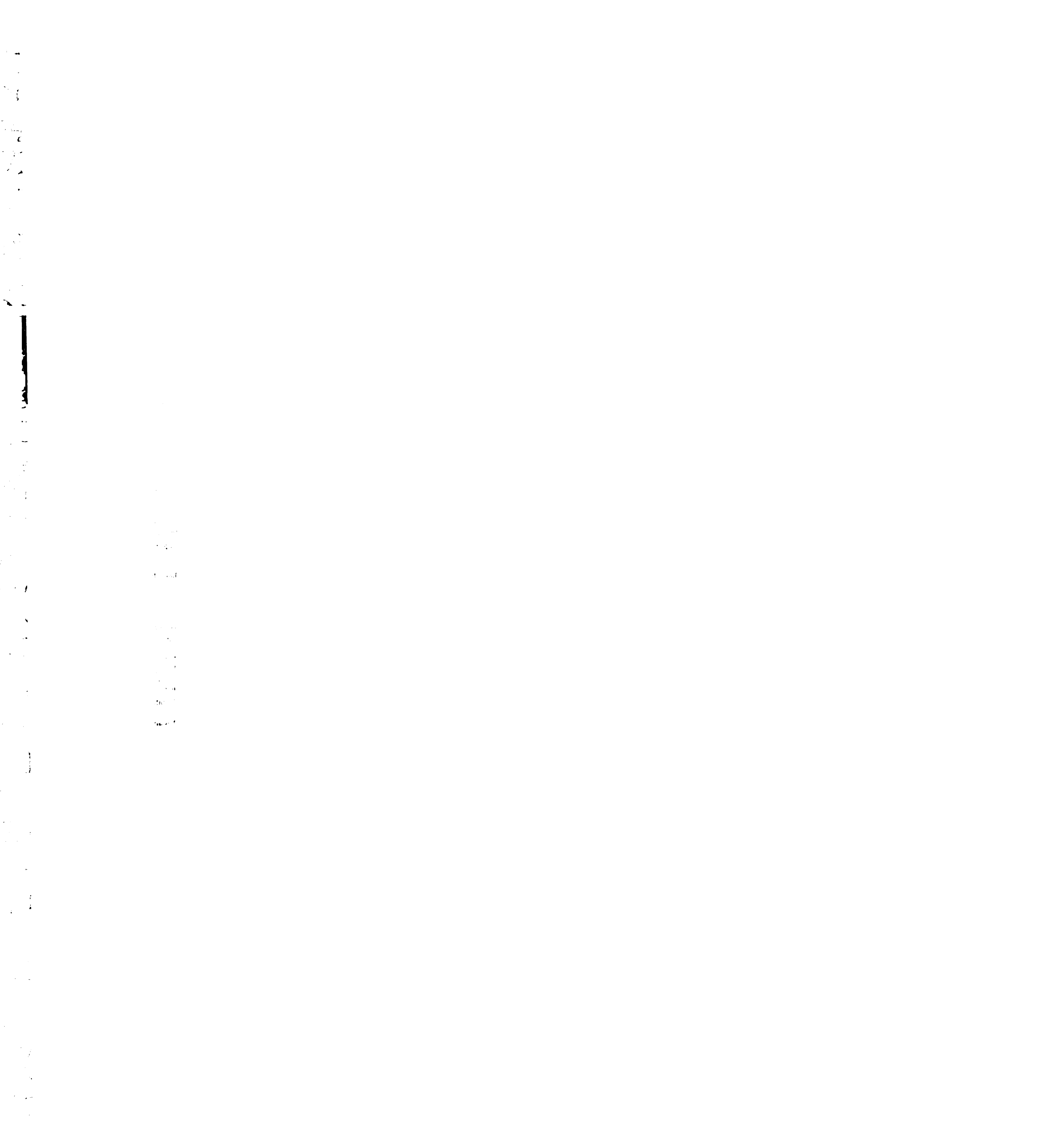
had washed up and eaten two meals and being on the streets was much more lucrative as they could earn some money and have fun without having to obey the rules set by the *Casa de Acogida*. Many children, especially the older ones and the ones not staying at the shelter for children, left at this time although leaving meant the strong possibility of having to deal with the *Carabineros* harassing them as well as risking arrest.

From 5 p.m. to 5:30 p.m., a snack called *once* was offered in the eating area. *Once* is the word for the number eleven, and refers to a snack or tea time like meal. *Once* was usually a white bread roll served with mortadela, bologna, or some kind of paté and a flavored cold drink.

At 5:30 p.m., the children left the day program in the *Casa de Acogida*. The children staying at the shelter for children were allotted half an hour to commute there. Children staying in *caletas* they had made for themselves in various parts of the city were free to go and do as they pleased. And still others, a very few, went home to parents and family.

***Casa de Acogida* – Outreach Program**

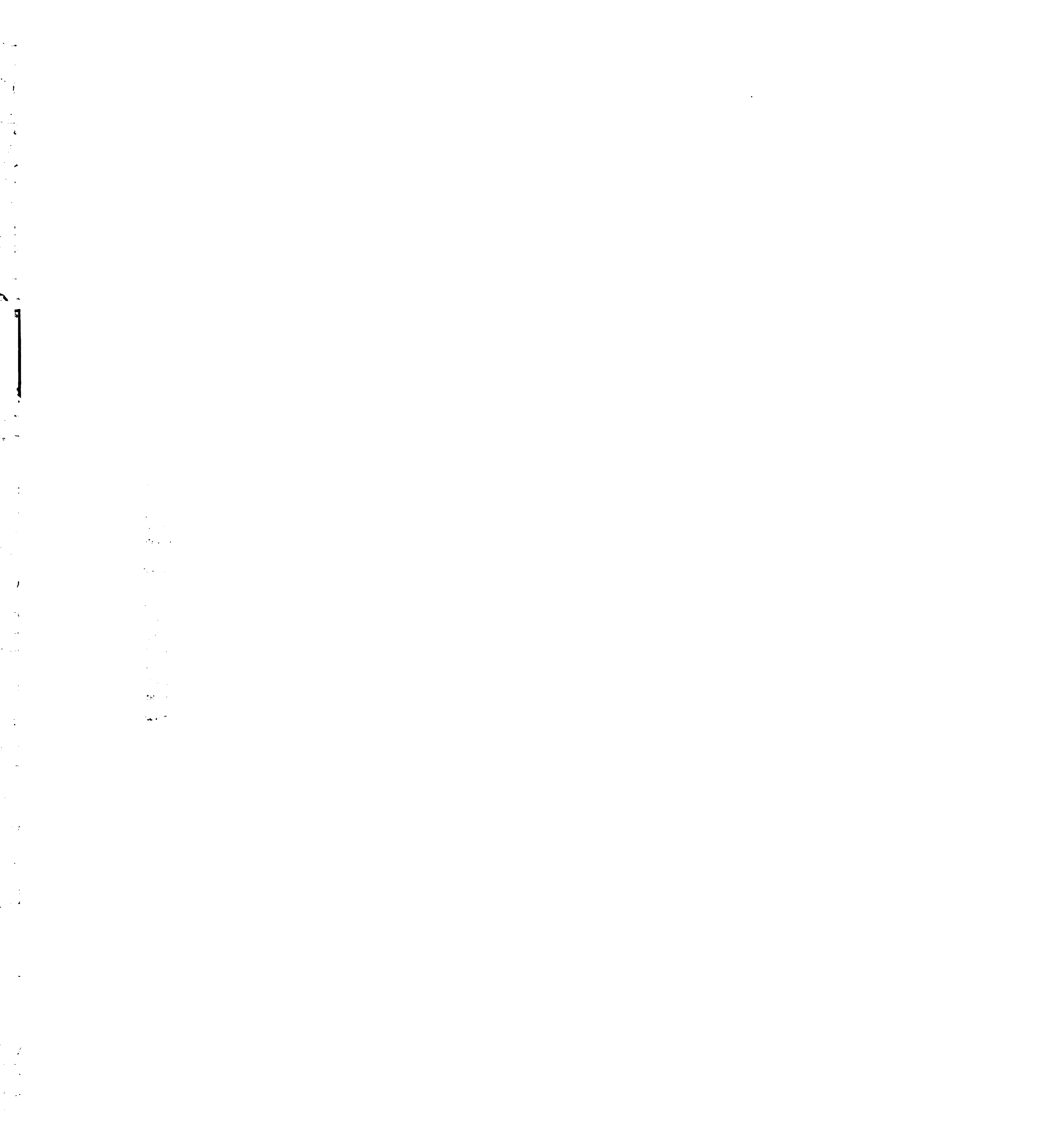
A new project introduced by the *Casa de Acogida* six months prior to the end of my fieldwork intended to meet the needs of street youth who for one reason or another were unable or unwilling to abide by the rules of the day program, such as not inhaling glue on the premises, not fighting, or not being respectful to staff members. Noncompliant children were not allowed to access the resources available to compliant children during the day. The new project allowed "problem children" brief access the



Casa de Acogida for a two and half hour period in the evening, once the day program (children and staff) had vacated the premises. During this time, street children and youth could shower, wash their clothes, eat a meal – most commonly bread and mortadela, pate, or jam with a drink, hang out or play in the yard, but most importantly they were supposed to work more closely with psychologists and staff member assigned to follow their case. Like the day program, no substance abuse was tolerated in the *Casa de Acogida* and was punished by revoking access to the space and the resources. If street children or youth showed up high, staff would assess if they were coherent enough to be allowed inside. If they were deemed not lucid enough, they were asked to leave and come again the following day but sober. Again at staff discretion street children and youth who were high were allowed to enter the premises to allow them a safe place where the effects of the inhalants – the drug of choice – could start wearing off.

The majority of youth who attended the pilot evening program were a small group of children staying at the "Chuck Norris" water drainage tunnel and they were an especially vulnerable group. They tended to be a little older, roughly between 13 to 17 years of age, usually had higher levels of substance abuse and addiction[73], and tended to have extensive personal histories with the *Casa de Acogida*'s programs, the police and *COD's*. Since this group had fewer options of *socially* acceptable places to be during the day, they spent more time on the streets working and loitering, they abused inhalants more, and they had increased odds of interacting with police officers. This group developed familiar – not friendly – relationships with officers. In general, members of

[73] Glue was the most commonly used drug. It was widely available in hardware stores. It was inexpensive, costing roughly 30 cents (200 pesos / 695 pesos for $1.00) for a tube of glue that provided the days high. *Tolueno* was also a popular and readily available drug. Alcohol was imbibed but not regularly. The children claimed to also use other drugs, such as marijuana and cocaine.



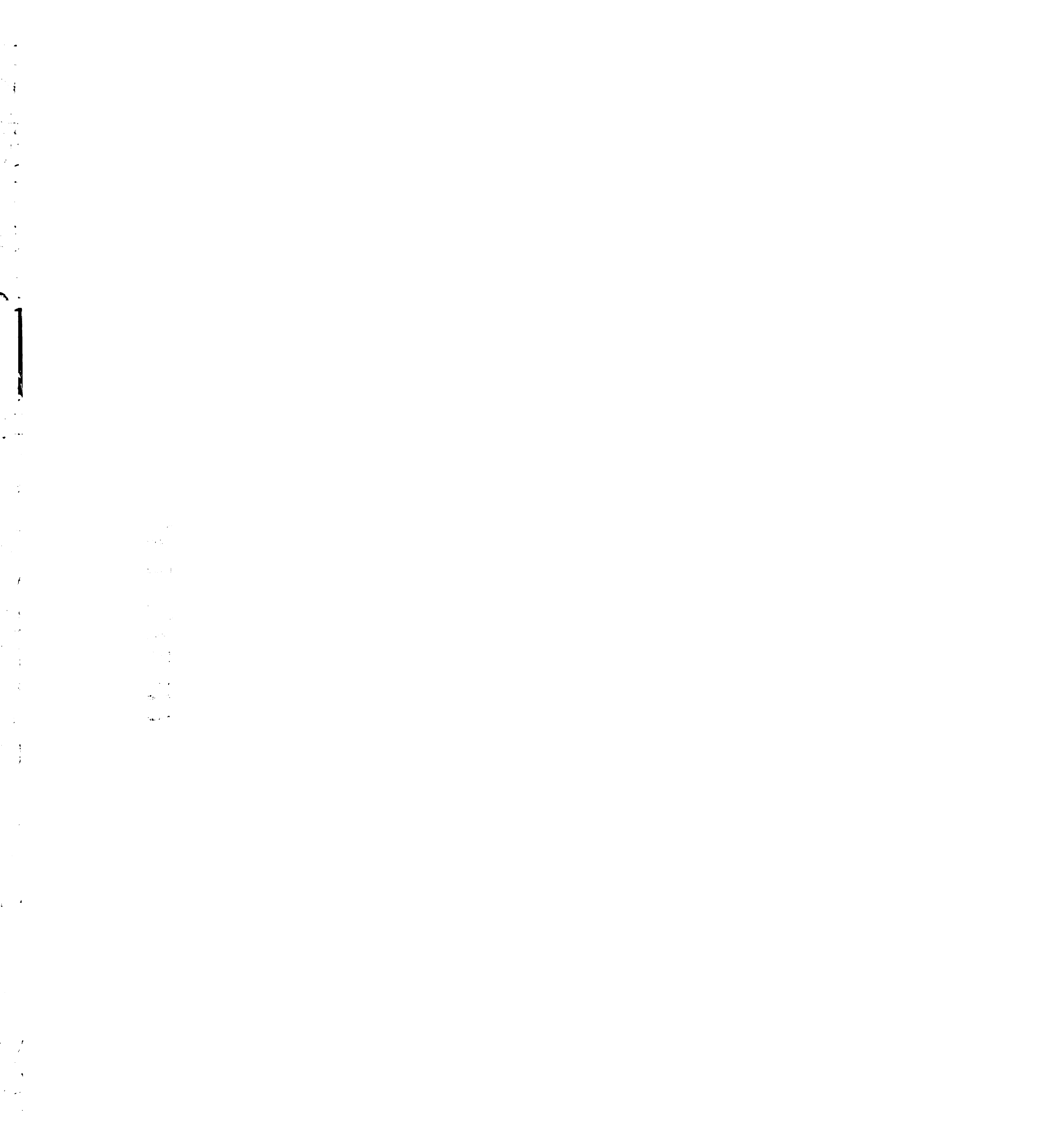
this group had long histories of arrest and incarceration, and exposure to institutionalized violence.

Younger children were not allowed to access the evening program and were encouraged to attend the day program. Some younger children expressed anger at being excluded, they liked the idea of being on the streets during the day and going to the *Casa* for a few hours in the evening. But the *Casa de Acogida* was making distinctions and separations between street children based on the level of street experience and internalization of street culture. At times, I wondered if it was also a moral distinction based on who was deemed more redeemable.

The inauguration of the new project in August coincided with an increase in the number of children staying at "Chuck Norris." The project started at the tail end of a cold and wet winter, a time when children avoided staying on the streets where adequate shelter was not guaranteed. Only one boy braved staying "Chuck Norris" during the winter but as soon as the weather started warming up "Chuck Norris" was constantly occupied by street children coming and going.

Hospederia de Niños (Shelter for Children)

The shelter for children was supposed to provide a safe and temporary place to sleep for legal minors up to 17 years 11 months and 30 days of age while family issues were resolved. In addition to being a place to sleep, it was a place were bonds, friendships and associations were formed, it was a place were street culture was learned and taught, it was also a place where children negotiated multiple forms of violence(s).



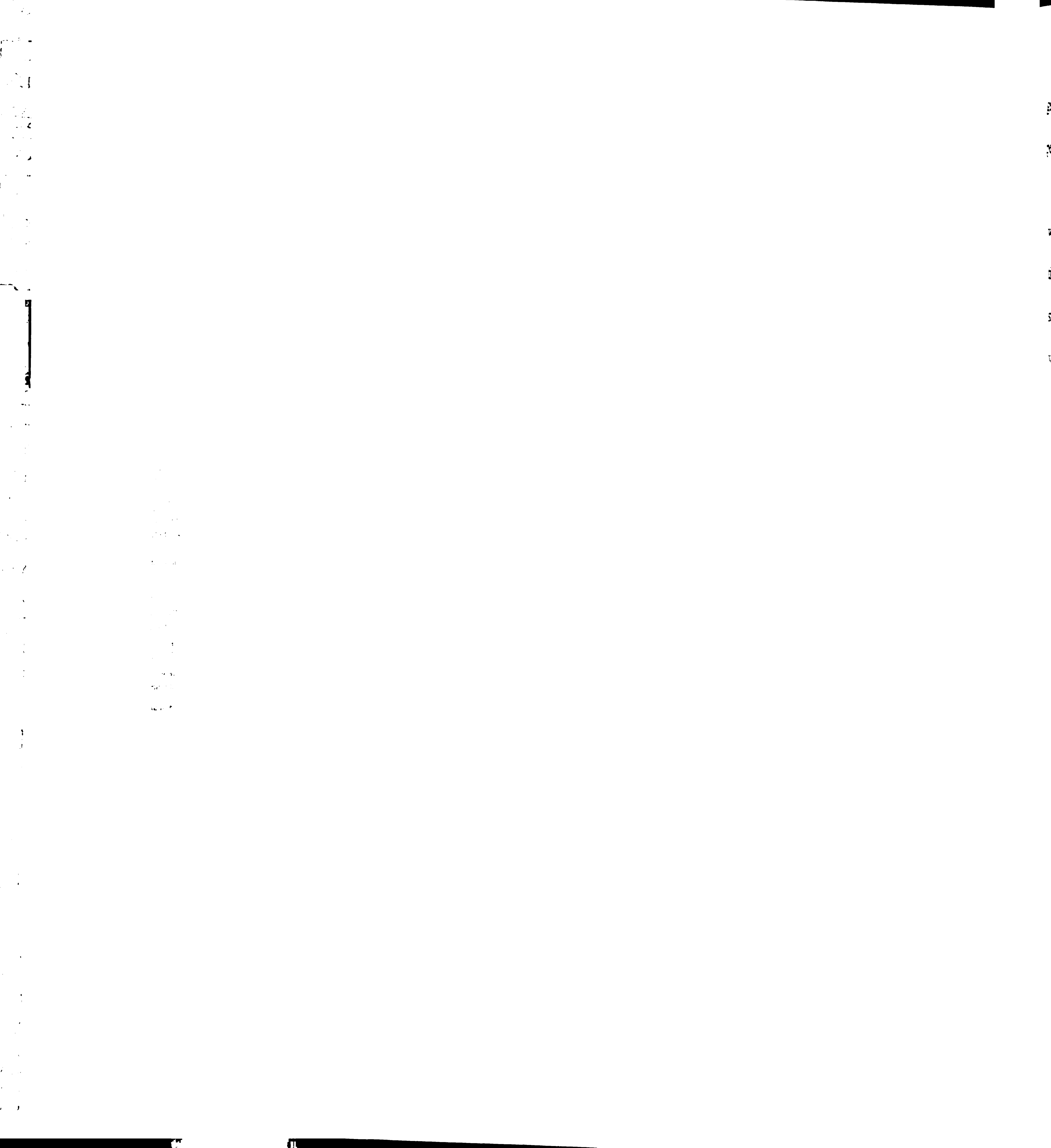
When the shelter for children was opened it was manned almost entirely by university students who were recruited and volunteered through their Catholic Church membership. Although a priest from the *Hogar de Cristo* worked closely with the volunteers and there were two full time employees available, ultimately the volunteers managed and organized the shelter. The original shelter was located in a poor and troubled suburb of Santiago where drug deals in broad daylight were common and the darkness of night provided cover for myriad of illicit activity.[74] Volunteers tended to travel to and from the metro station in small groups as a safety precaution. Halfway through my fieldwork there was major turbulence in the shelter as the *Casa de Acogida* commandeered management and organization of the shelter. In an effort to provide the children with more consistency, two employees were hired to work full time specifically in the shelter under the coordination of staff from the *Casa de Acogida*. University volunteers continued to supply extra labor but their role was minimized. This change in management was accompanied by a relocation of the shelter itself. The new shelter was located in a residential neighborhood whose community representatives protested vehemently when they discovered a shelter for children was the new tenant. They openly expressed their fear of and concern over the troubles they associated with street children, such as crimes, rape, and drugs. Instead of detailing each shelter, I will highlight what they shared.

[74] One Sunday evening, activities in the shelter were disrupted due to the ruckus surrounding the rape of a young boy by a drunkard across the street from the shelter. The children witnessed the incident from inside the shelter. They yelled obscenities at the intoxicated rapist. One boy climbed out of the shelter via the roof and threw rocks at the rapist. The volunteers called the police but the drunk left the scene, as did the victim. The children were very upset by the incident. No one in the surrounding houses dared or bothered to go outside and investigate the ruckus.

Both shelters mimicked a home setting with a living room with a television and a stereo system for entertainment and a dining area where meals were eaten "family style.[75]" Sleeping accommodations were assigned according to sex and age. There tended to be fewer girls so they all slept in one room regardless of age. Boys were assigned to one of two rooms according to age. This separation was due to an incident[76] years prior when an older boy sexually assaulted a younger boy in the middle of the night. Each person had a bed to him or herself in the communal rooms.

Travel between the shelters and the *Casa de Acogida* was done via public transportation, *micros* or buses, or on foot. For the first shelter, the children usually traveled by metro without paying the fare. The children would approach the security guard and tell him they were from *Hogar de Cristo*'s shelter for children and were traveling to the *Casa de Acogida* or vice versa. Usually, the guard let them enter without a hassle although there were some who did not. The second shelter was accessible by *micro* and walking. The children would try to get on without paying the fare but success was inconsistent. During the time I was in Santiago there were two violent assaults against *micro* drivers by adolescents, in one case the boys were 14 and 15 years of age and in the second the boy was 13. Both incidents received wide media attention due to the age of the adolescents involved, the existence of a videotape capturing one of the assaults that was aired repeatedly, the use of weapons in both assaults – a knife and a gun respectively, and the fact that one of the drivers was murdered. The lack of *micro* driver

[75] By this I mean platters with food were placed on the table and were passed around for each person to serve themselves.
[76] This "incident" was referred to by the volunteers but not one spoke openly about it. Learning about this was akin to pulling teeth. I first learned of it from a street child.



generosity, as they were independent owners of the bus and lost money when they let people ride for free, was likely influenced by the threat ignited by those incidents.

Beginning at 6 p.m., volunteers would assess children for admittance. The norm was to allow a small group to enter at a time as they were to shower immediately and there were not enough shower facilities for everyone to use at the same time, furthermore, staggering avoided potential problems. So, the children entered in waves while a volunteer stayed outside with them while they waited.

It is roughly 6:20 p.m. as Pablo and I sit conversing on the doorstep outside the shelter while we wait to be allowed to enter. We notice a group of 5 people walking in our direction. Two boys we recognize for they frequently stay in the shelter but the two older boys (late adolescents) and the young woman with them are unfamiliar. One of the boys walking toward up, Carlos, seems to be mildly retarded. He tends to annoy children and adults alike with his behavior such as screaming "I'm hungry" at the top of his lungs the entire time dinner is being prepared, as he is sitting down to dinner, and in the middle of the meal. Children are constantly taking his belongings or hitting him. He is meek despite trying to act tough. The group approaches and stands in front of us as we remain seated on the door stoop. I say hello to the group and specifically address the two boys I know. The woman asks whether I am a "Tia," the term all female volunteers are called. When I tell her I am, she asks if Pablo is in the shelter. Knowing Pablo is sitting next to me, I say there are several Pablo's staying in the shelter (this is sort of the truth but he is the only Pablo at the shelter that evening) so, I ask does she know his last name? She looks to Carlos who is standing a few steps behind her, signals toward Pablo and asks if he is the one. Carlos silently yet defiantly nods yes. Suddenly, a foot flies a few inches

past my temple kicking Pablo in the face. She kicks him in the face again. Pablo puts his hands up to shield his face but he does not utter a single word. I react as quickly as my shock allows me to, simultaneously trying to get between her and Pablo and pounding on the door for help. She warns Pablo, who at this point is cradling his head in his arms, not to mess with Carlos because he will have to answer to her.[77] *The group leaves before a volunteer could open the door to help us.*

Once everyone entered, household chores were assigned to each child, i.e. sweeping the dining area floor, setting the table, and cleaning the bathroom. Chores were usually completed after dinner. A shelter for women, also run by the *Hogar de Cristo*, cooked food for the first shelter for children. Each evening a volunteer and a couple of children would go to the women's shelter to return pots and pans used to transport the previous evening's meal, hand over food items such as rice or pasta for preparation for the next day's meal, and pick up that evening's meal. There was roughly a block between the two shelters but those transporting food had to be cautious of street children who were not staying at the shelter[78] running up to them to steal food, especially on evenings when an especially desirable meal was offered. A cook was hired to prepare meals on site for the second shelter.

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[77] This woman had established a *caleta* five blocks from where the shelter was located. There were several *caletas* in this area. These *caletas* consisted of dwellings built from any material readily available – cardboard, pieces of wood, aluminum – located on the sidewalk by a road. There was another *caleta* a few blocks away outside an empty warehouse. Through *Senamobil*, I learned the young woman was diagnosed as schizophrenic. She was the dominant person in her *caleta*, a dominance she kept through physical, verbal, and emotional abuse of those living in her *caleta*. *Senamobil* dealt with her because two street children lived in her *caleta*. The children were in a very unhealthy and abusive relationship with her and were unable to extract themselves from the situation. For example, she intentionally broke the arm of a 13 year old boy, a boy who was known to be a violent and trouble maker among the street children and agencies working with them.

[78] Either because the chose not to stay or because they were not allowed to stay.

Dinner was "family-style" with platters of food set on the table for each person to serve themselves. Inevitably, someone would pile a disproportionate portion of food onto their plate and such behavior was chastised as selfish and inconsiderate. Bread was present at essentially every meal. Meals were hit or miss experience sometimes they were good, other times just palatable, and still other times unappetizing as well as bad tasting.

The shelter coordinator for the evening decided to forgo the planned and anticipated meal of pastel de papa (a sort of shepard's pie), a favorite among the children, and instead serve the newly donated meal of pasta with some sort of mollusk. While heating the meal, I couldn't help but feel disgusted with it. It simply looked unappetizing, unpalatable and unpleasant! I decided I would rather go without food that night knowing I could buy myself something first thing in the morning. I did feel the need to disguise my disgust because the children had to eat this meal. Marcos came into the kitchen asking to help stir the food. When he looked at the food in the pot, he grimaced and exclaimed loudly and with absolute disgust, "Not even dogs would eat that! I may live on the street but I have respect. I am not going to eat that. How do we know it hasn't been poisoned?" Other children joined his very vocal protest and eventually the coordinator relented and we happily dined on the pastel de papas after all. We threw out the unappetizing meal.

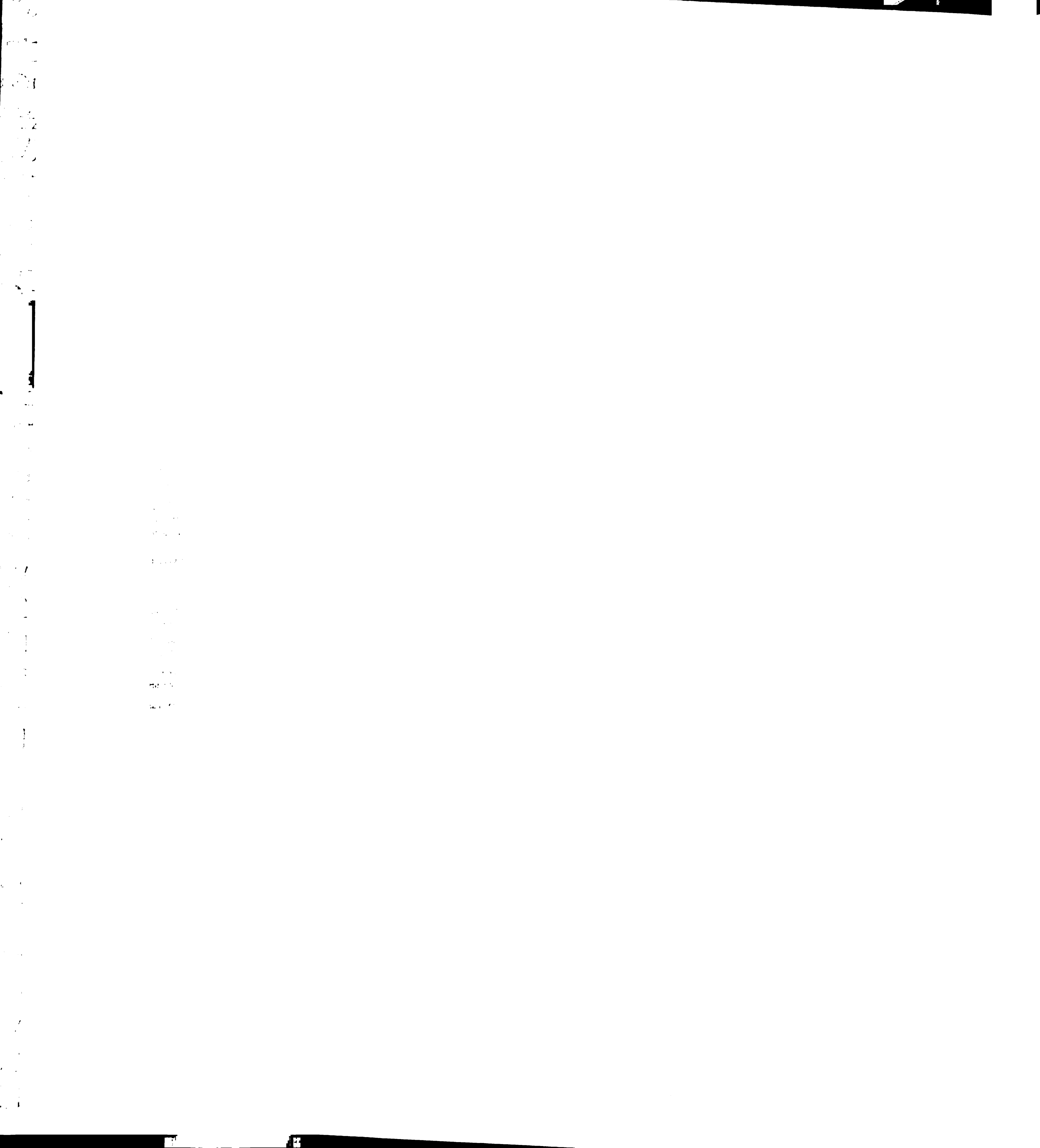
This incident struck me for several reasons one of them being the false belief that street children have to passively take whatever is given to them simply because they do not have a choice. Marcos spoke of respect and dignity yet these are not terms usually associated with street children. I found his statement to be incredibly powerful because he was asserting himself as a dignified person with standards regardless of his economic,

social, and political standing. Furthermore, his concern about the possibility of the food being poisoned raises interesting questions.

Chores followed dinner. Some days chores were performed more quickly and willingly than others. Not doing chores was not usually a reason children were denied access to the shelter but it was noted and if it was a recurring problem someone would speak to him or her about it. Once chores were completed the children relaxed a little in the courtyard or watched TV before starting to get ready to go to sleep at 9 p.m.. Frequently, children and volunteers conversed during this time. Most children had favorite volunteers and volunteers had favorite children although volunteers tried not to blatantly play favorites.

At 9 p.m., children began to get ready for sleep by washing their faces and brushing their teeth. Often, they took a book to bed with them and asked a volunteer to read from it. Safe in bed, they listened to the same stories again and again, enthralled by the tales. I read many bedtime stories to many children and this helped build a bond between us. I believe it afforded me protection and loyalty from and by them while I was in their territory. Children formed long-lasting affective bonds with volunteers very quickly; some were substitute parent-child relationships and others idealized and unattainable crushes based on physical attraction or desire. Children tended to recall volunteers fondly long after they no longer stayed there and traveled to the shelter to see favorite volunteers. At 11 p.m., those who did not make the 6 o'clock curfew entered the shelter. They were to go straight to sleep – no meal, no shower, nothing.

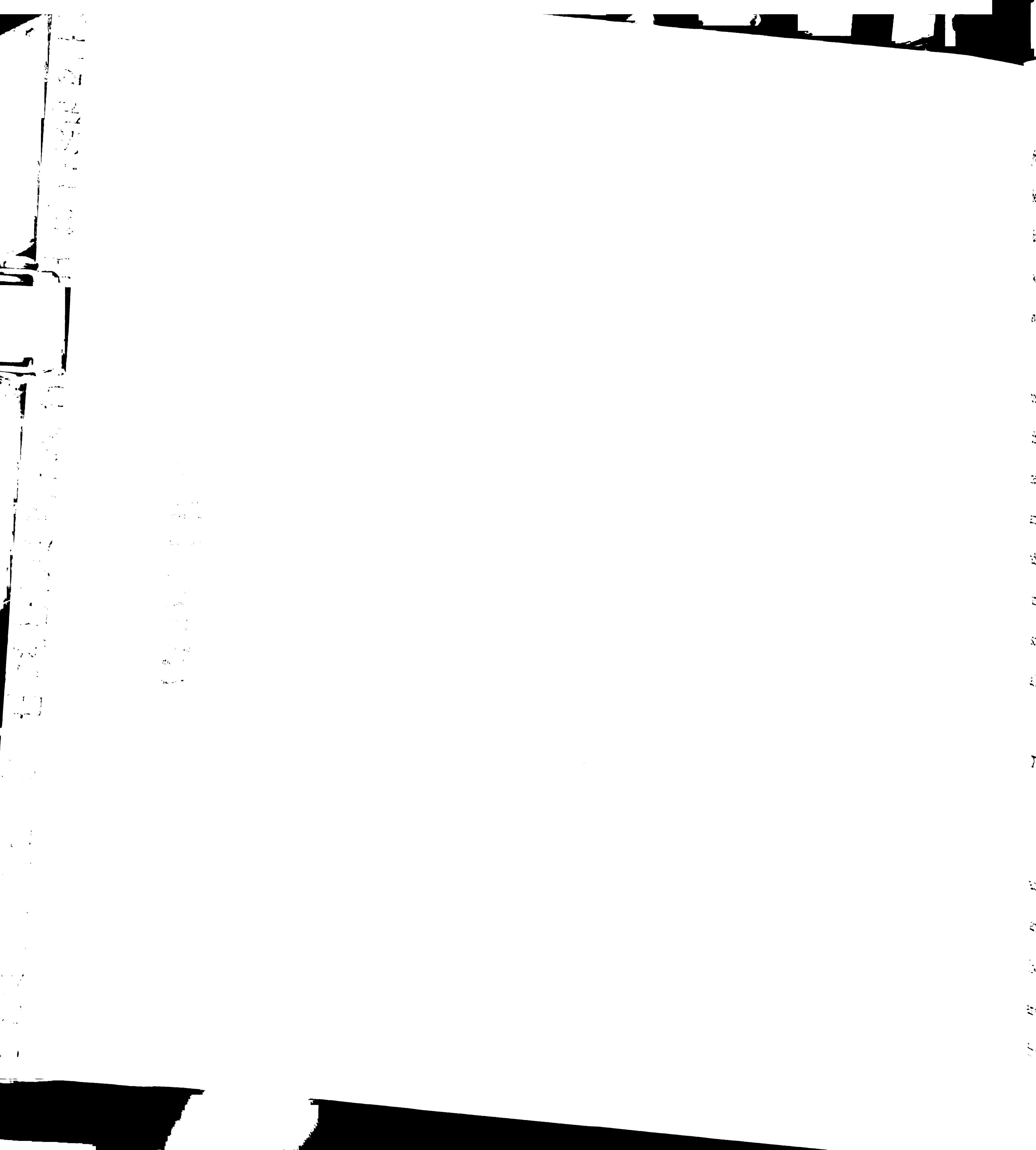
Marcos entered the shelter at 11 p.m. one evening. He was told to go straight to bed by the evening coordinator. Marcos asked me to read him a story. The coordinator



said I could not because he had come in late. I was caught in a power struggle between this particular coordinator and Marcos as they had had a few strained exchanges in the previous week. I told Marcos I could not read him a story but I would stay with him a little bit as he went to sleep. When the coordinator said I could not do that either an argument erupted between him and Marcos. The argument escalated to very real threats of physical violence by Marcos, a 14 year old adolescent. In a rage, Marcos tore a metal locker door off its hinges and threatened to hit the coordinator. I knew he was angry enough to do it but I also knew he was fond of me so I stood between them. Marcos warned me numerous times to move out of the way because he liked me and did not want to hit me but he was going to hit the coordinator. Risking his rage, I refused to move and tried to reason with him. In his frustration, he threw the locker door across the room to an opposing wall. He left the shelter that night knowing he had broken the rules and most likely could not return.

Although, children were allowed to smoke cigarettes in the courtyard, they were not allowed to have inhalants on the premises. Those found in possession of inhalants were asked to leave.

Fernando approaches a volunteer at the shelter with two tubes of glue that went undetected during his admittance. He tries to negotiate by telling her he will respect shelter rules and not "volarse" while on the premises. He is willing to hand over the tubes to the volunteer but wants them returned in the morning. The volunteer is caught between the shelter's strict rules, the morality of returning a damaging substance to a child knowing he will use it, and Fernando's apparent desire to stay and respect shelter rules. Fernando's negotiation with the volunteer fails and he is asked to leave. His exit

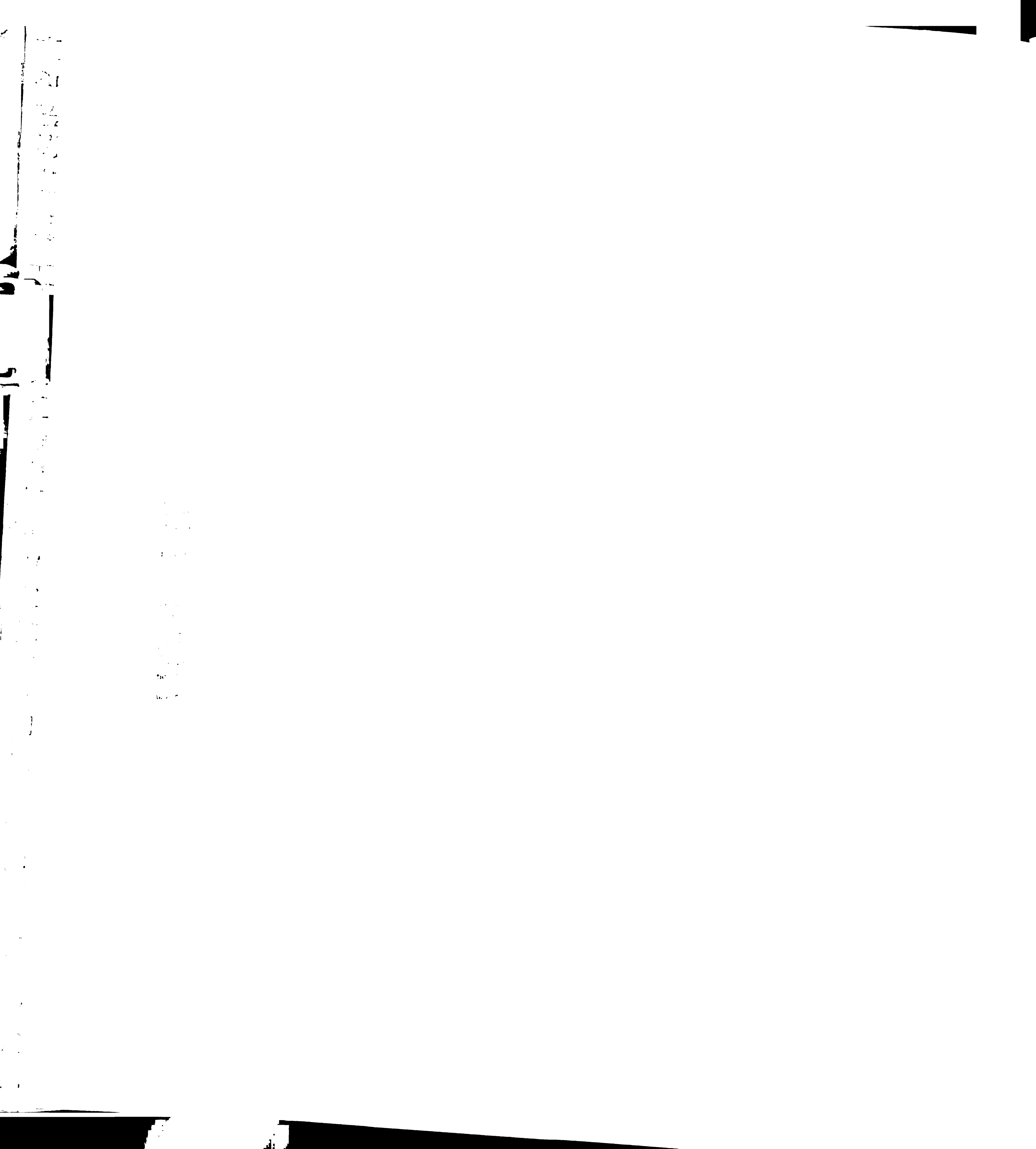


from the shelter is not quiet or cooperative; he was literally pushed out the gated door because he would not leave of his own accord. Later that evening, Fernando noisily disrupts the shelter when he returns angry and volado. He was upset that even though he was trying to follow the rules, he was not allowed to stay. Fernando was arrested that evening and sent to COD San Joaquin.

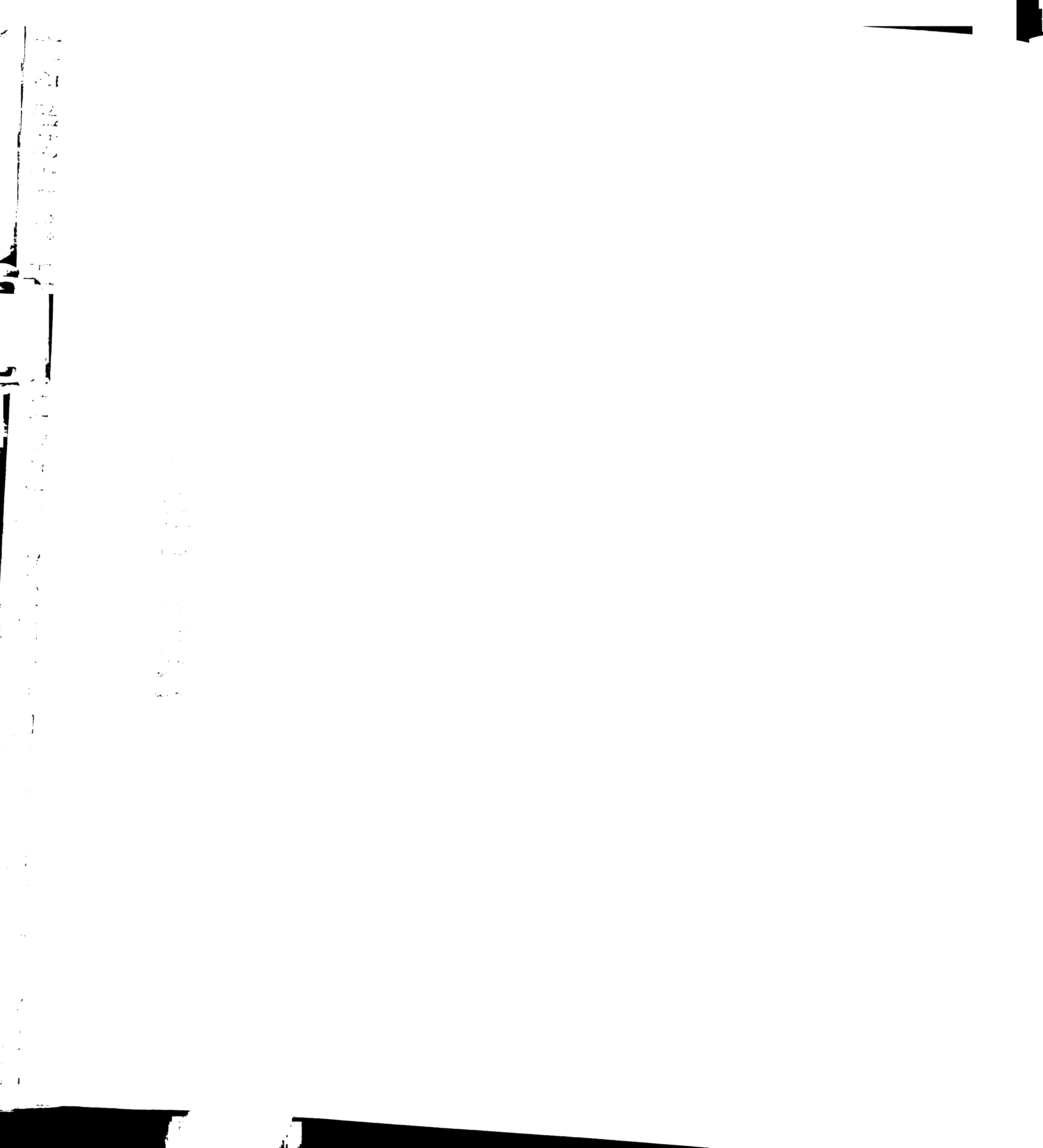
As stated earlier, the shelter was intended to be a temporary solution, children could stay there while their family issues were being resolved. Inevitably, there were children who stayed long term in the shelter. For instance, Raquel stayed in the shelter for nearly a year and half continuously. Her case became problematic because she wanted to attend school but the *Casa de Acogida* would not allow her to use the shelter or program address as her home address as per policy. The lack of a permanent address made it impossible for her to matriculate into school. Raquel was frustrated unable to go to school and not wanting to participate in the day program. Eventually, an exception was allowed for Raquel to attend classes.

The Casa de Acogida: An Assessment

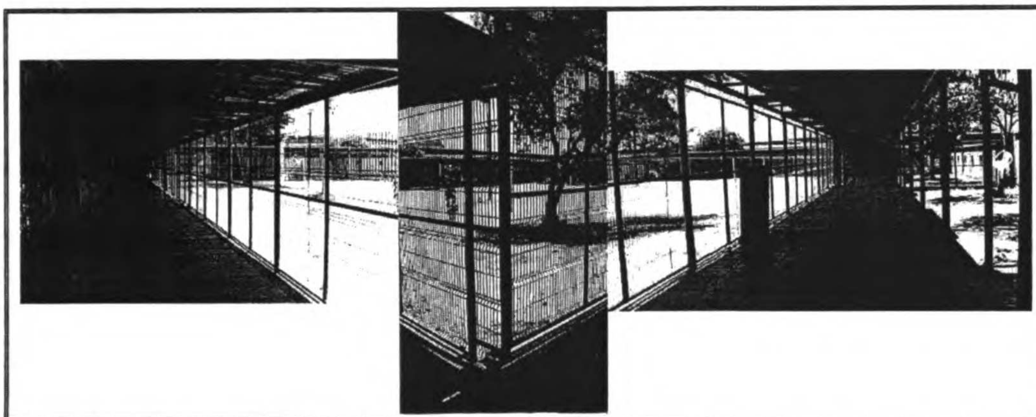
The *Casa de Acogida* and the shelter attached to it were programs that were actively trying to better the lives of children living on the street but they were overtaxed and relied on charity to function. They provided street children and youth with physical locations "to be" during the day and night that intentionally or not kept them out of public arenas. In doing so, they provided street children with shelter from potential harm arising from being on the streets but they also kept them out of society's view; a strategy that



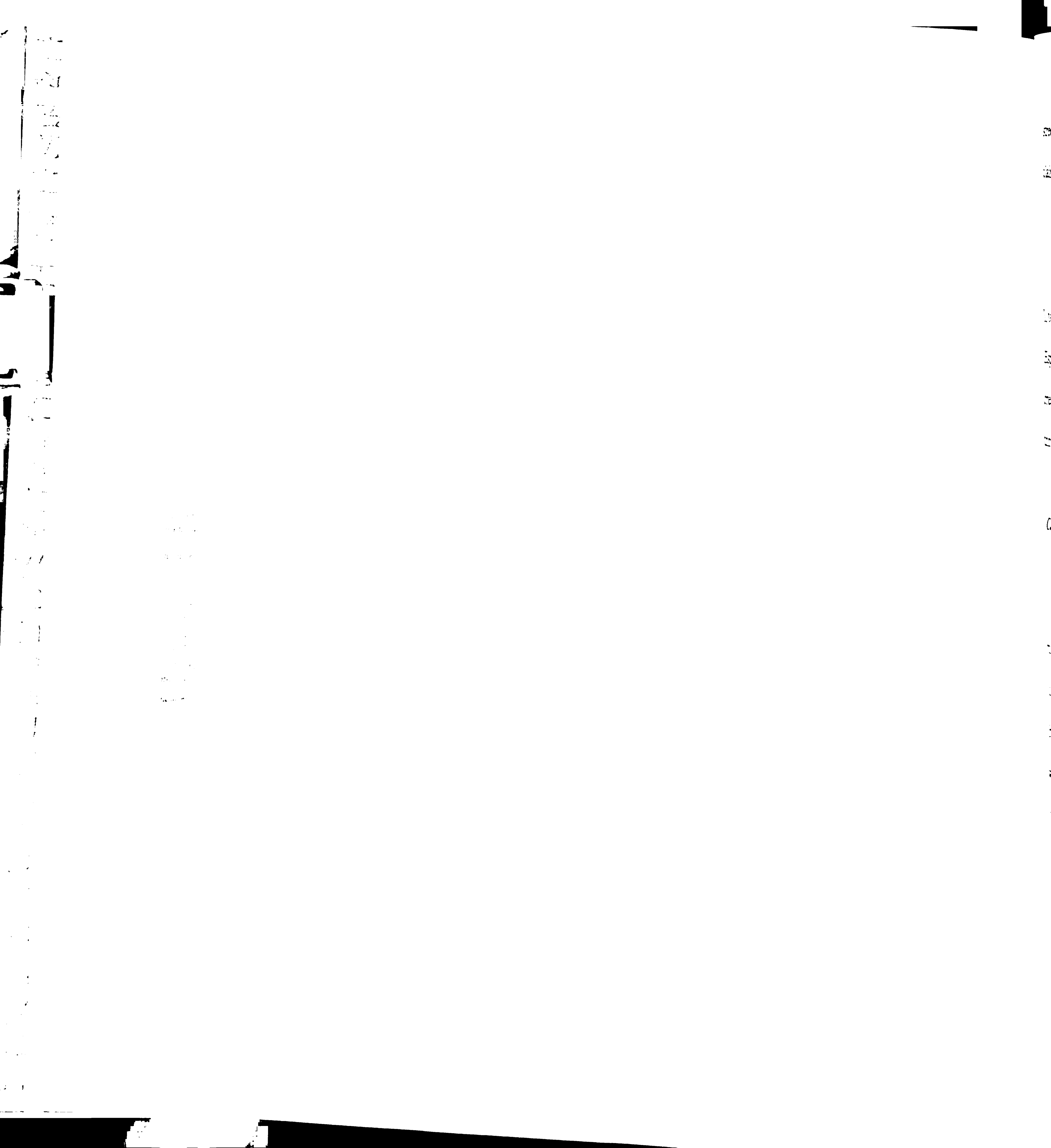
perhaps contributed to street children's social invisibility. The *Casa de Acogida* attempted to monitor children' time and activities and punished them for deviating from acceptable norms by denying them services. This in turn, reinforced normative and deviant roles in childhood as well as socially acceptable and unacceptable spaces for children. For instance, it was ironic that street children who stayed in "Chuck Norris," who arguably needed services most, could neither access the day program nor stay in the shelter. Furthermore, the *Casa de Acogida* and the shelter for children mimicked socially acceptable institutions that traditionally socialize children, specifically the family and very minimally the educational system. That street children fondly reminisced about volunteers in these places and the affection they showed them suggests the *Casa de Acogida* has been successful in creating substitute parent-child spaces and relationships. Paradoxically, children who live on the street are often escaping dysfunctional family settings and the idealized family the *Casa de Acogida* superimposes on them is not usually a feasible or necessarily desirable possibility. In fact, it is yet another reminder of what they do not have and contributes to their further estrangement from the idealized childhood expected of them and frequently thrust upon them. It seemed the *Casa de Acogida* unintentionally perpetuated institutional violence through morally motivated attempts to return street children to "idealized" families and to discourage unacceptable behavior or activities.



COD's: "Doing Time"



Once on the streets and outside of socially acceptable spaces for children, some of the institutions with which street children had most contact were *Centros de Orientacíon y Diagnostic (COD's)*, essentially correctional centers. These centers were created by *SENAME* (National Youth Service) which was founded in 1979 under Pinochet's military dictatorship and ultimately answered to the Ministry of Justice. According to a program director at *SENAME*, it was designed to "step in when parents did not fulfill their role as protectors." *COD's* were established as centers where children, or *menores*, who lacked adequate parental protection were institutionalized while family life was stabilized. Usually, *menores* were admitted into *COD's* after being arrested by police for reasons such as, engaging in criminal or questionable activities but possibly the most common reason was for "protection," a notion with a broad reach. It applied to young children wandering on the streets without adult supervision, to children loitering or more specifically not in school, to children huffing inhalants, to young children hanging out with older more street wise children, to children under 16 years of age, to children hopping from micro to micro trying to earn money, to children policemen recognized as



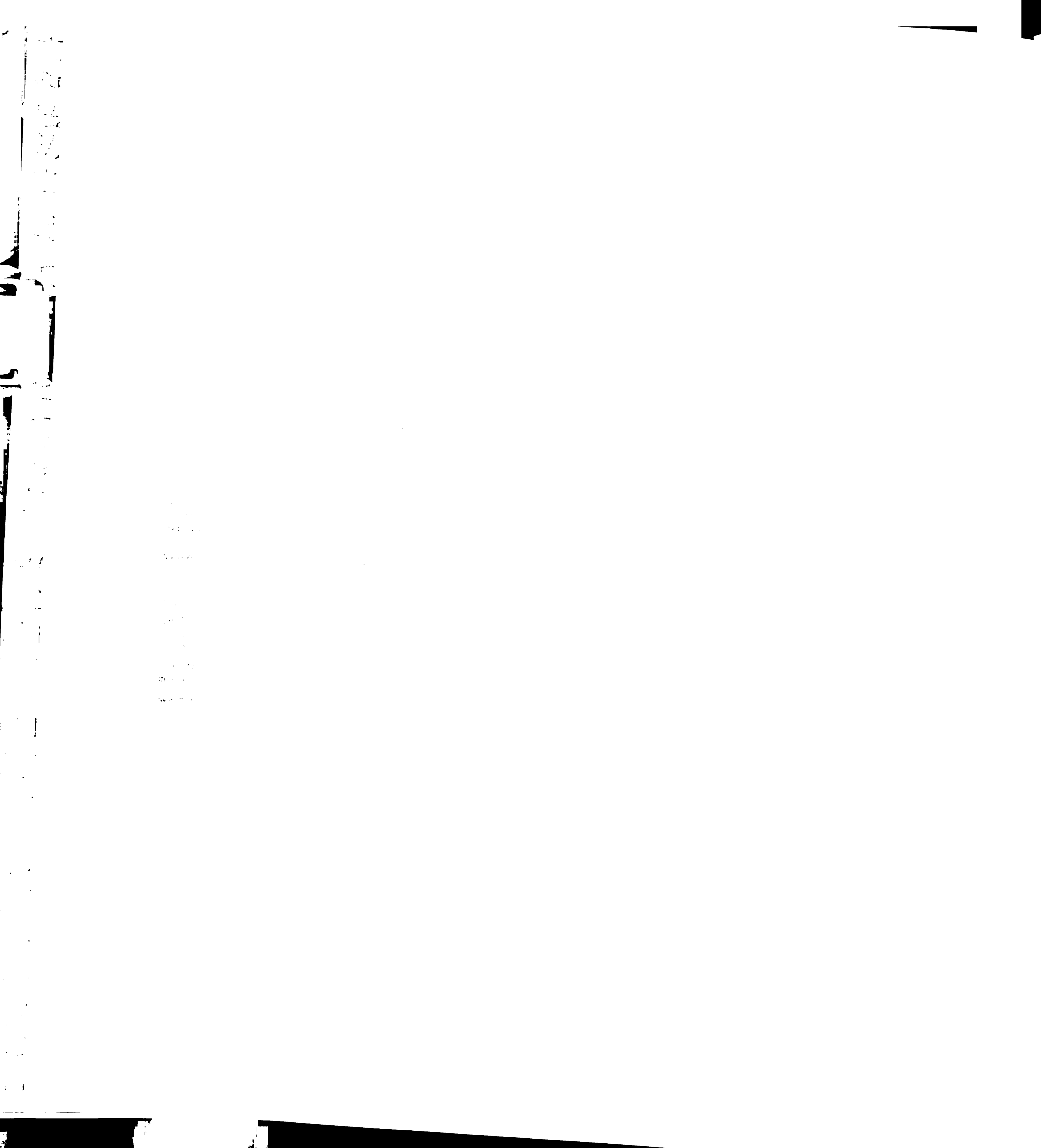
street children, and the list continues. A woman working for a service organization claimed:

> "Arresting street children was viewed as a 'protective or preventive' measure by the *COD's*, but the end result was protecting society from the threat posed by street children rather than providing street children with protection."

I, too, often wondered who in reality was being "protected" – the child or society? Especially, as noted in Chapter 2: *Chile and Citizenship*, given the term *menores* was created by penal institutions specifically to categorize children and deal with them through the judicial system.

Carabineros (Police)

Children living on the streets in Santiago spent a significant portion of the day and night in public arenas, i.e. the streets, parks, commercial centers (video games) engaging in a myriad of legal and illegal activities. Furthermore, they did so outside the normative bounds of "family" structure. Thus, interactions between *Carabineros* and street children were so common and routine that they often knew each other by name and or nickname. *Carabineros* picked up children on the street for a variety of reasons including loitering, stealing, and "protection." Street children were transported to a police station via police vehicle, an army green truck with grills on the windows and door. Once in the police station, children were transferred to the center most appropriate to deal with their specific situation. Age and history of the individual child or youth determined the type of center to which he or she was transferred. For example a first time offender was usually sent to



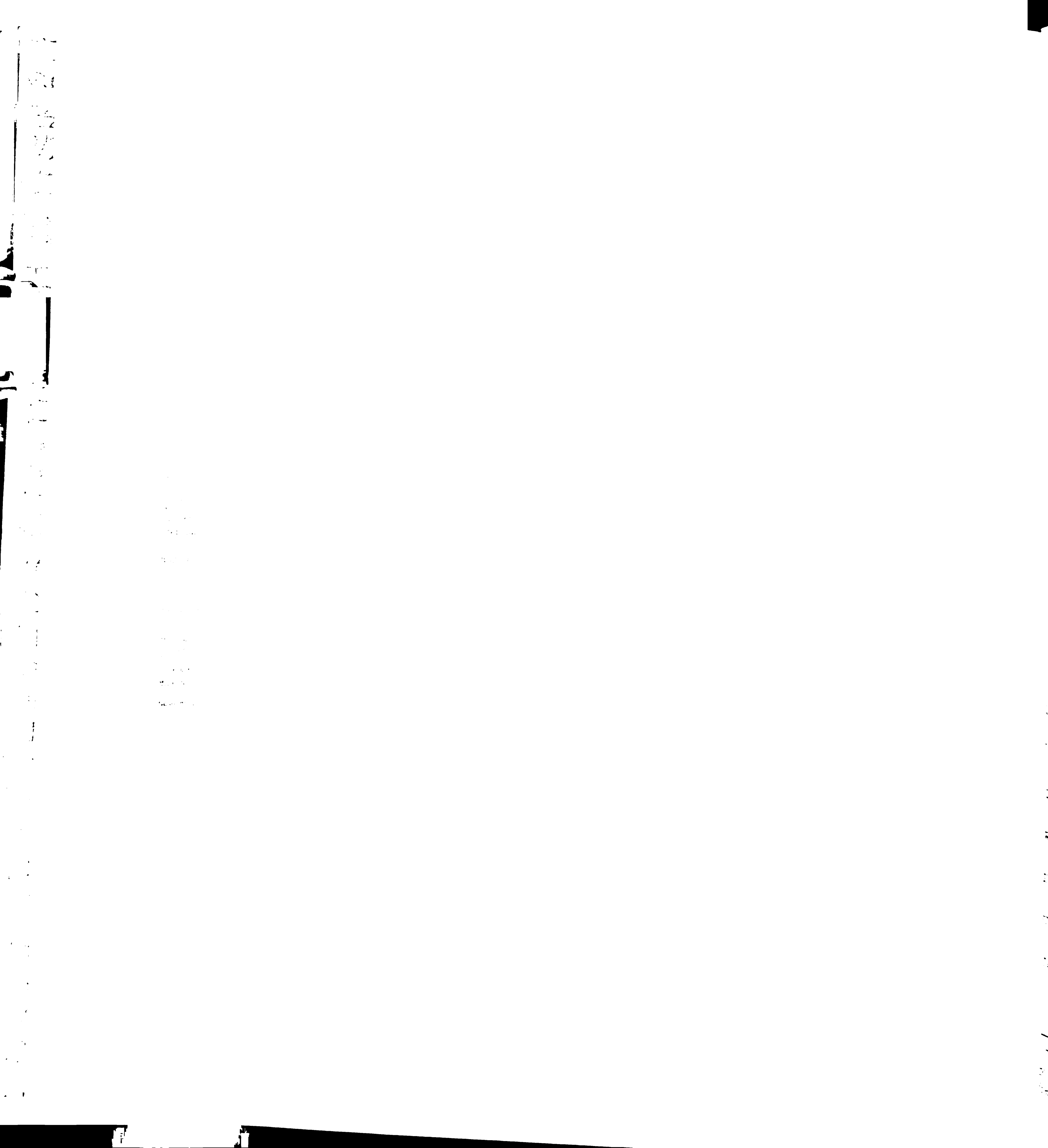
CTD[79] *Pudahuel*, a center with minimal security measures, whereas as someone with a "record" might be sent to *COD San Miguel* which was much more difficult to escape due to increased security measures. Aware of this, street children often gave a pseudonym or incorrect age in the hopes of being transferred to *CTD Pudahuel* where they could easily escape.

The majority of children with whom I spoke harbored great animosity toward *Pacos*.[80] Street children and adults working with them recounted many stories detailing abuse of authority and power by policemen toward children living on the street while on the streets and when detained.

Ivan has two small round scars on the knuckles of his left hand. When I ask him about them, he recalls being 8 years old and living in a home for orphaned or unwanted children managed by Carabineros. While there, a police officer burned him with a lit cigarette as punishment.

Numerous street children told stories of beatings and harassment on the streets by *Carabineros*. This dissertation has many examples of such abuse for instance in the *Introduction* one adult witnessed a *Carabinero* intentionally trying to run down a street child with a motorcycle. When she confronted him, he warned to mind her own business. The boy was able to escape onto a passing micro while she confronted the *Carabinero*. (Also see Chapter 7: *Second Class Citizens in Making*).

[79] Centro de Transito y Distribucion.
[80] "Pacos" is a commonly used but derogatory term for policemen.



Some *Carabineros* had reputations among street children living in the downtown area of Santiago for their cruelty and for specifically seeking them out with the intention of harassing them. Not all interactions with *Carabineros* were described in negative terms. Some children recognized them as necessary and that they were doing their job. Some children admitted in their interviews that if they were respectful to *Carabineros*, *Carabineros*, in turn, treated them better.

Matias describes his recent arrest as, "Not bad." He was arrested because a girl accused him of raping her. Matias claims a female Carabinera knew him and said, "I know this boy. He's not a rapist." According to Matias, the Carabinera protected him and brought him treats during the few days he was incarcerated.

Arrest procedure

Street children were picked up for many reasons including but not only sleeping in public areas such as the benches in the main *Plaza*, stealing, and being high in public. Upon arrest, street children were usually transported via an army green *Carabinero* truck that had a rear door that was both the entrance and exit. Along each side of the truck there was a small, darkened window with bars across it. Inside there were benches along the sides of the truck and also in the area opposite to the door which was connected to the cab of the truck. Children on the street referred to this truck as the *carnicero* meaning butcher.[81]

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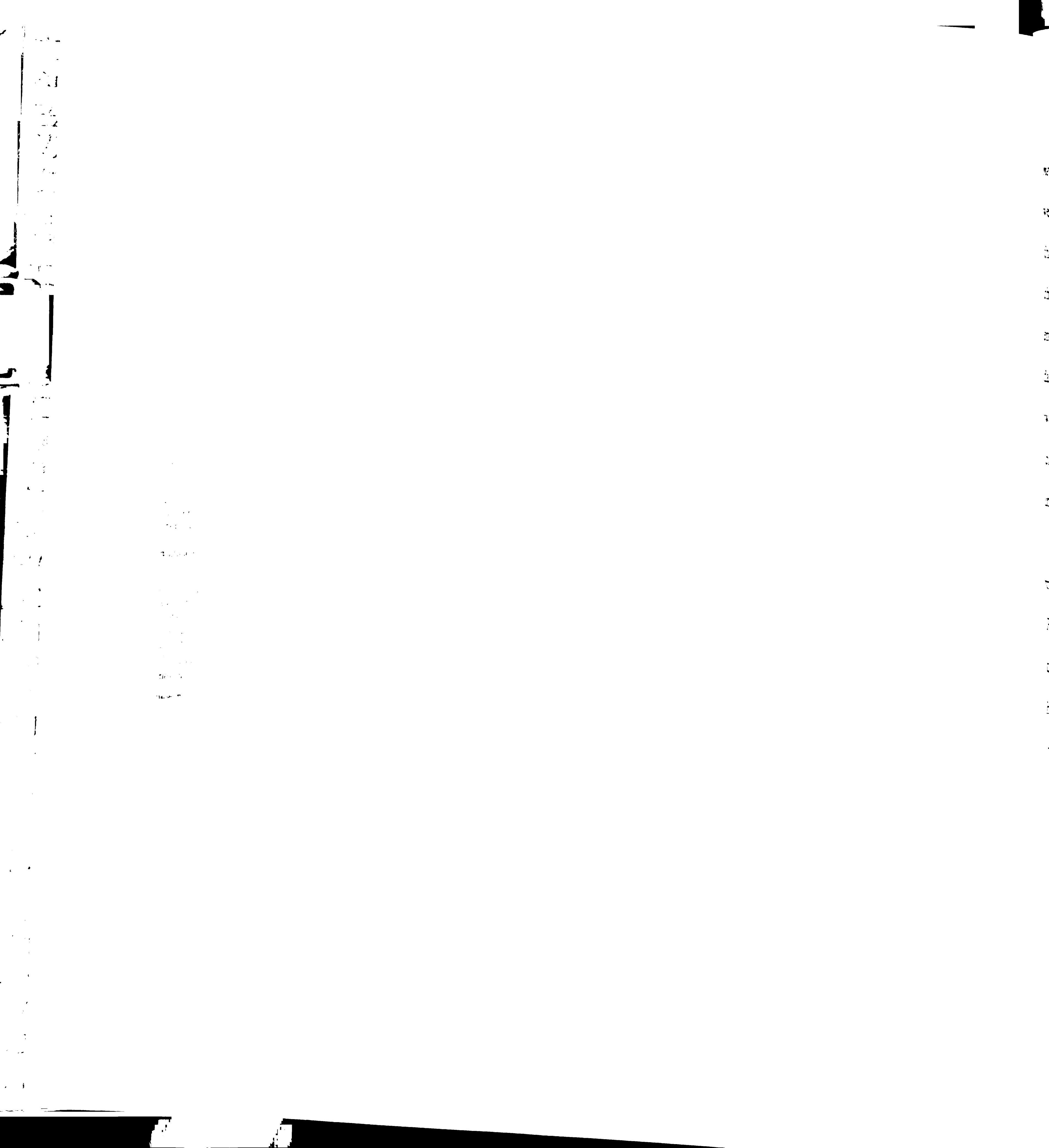
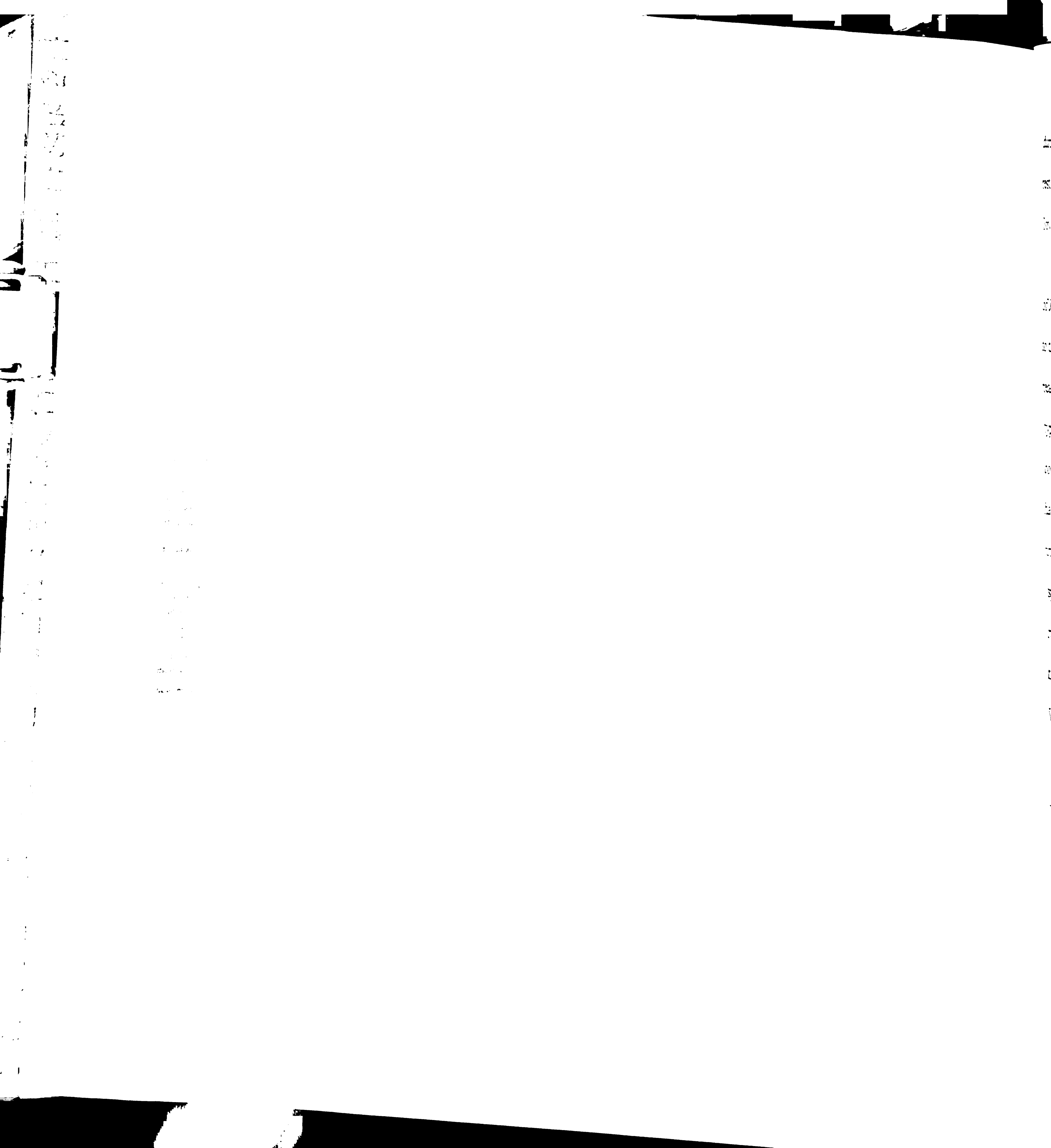
[81] This name for the police vehicle is incredibly symbolic of how children living on the streets view the police and being arrested. Unfortunately, I do not know the origin of this name, specifically if it is tied to the dictatorship when being arrested meant torture, death, or disappearance.



Legal minors were taken to the 34th Precinct which specifically dealt with *menores*. Some children claimed to have been taken in handcuffs but many said they were not handcuffed.[82] The length of time spent in Precinct 34 depended on when the child or, at this point already categorized as a *menor,* was picked up. For instance, if the child or youth was picked up in the evening, then he or she would most likely spend the entire night incarcerated in the precinct while awaiting transfer to a *COD* the following day. If the child or youth was picked up on the weekend, they may spend the entire weekend in Precinct 34. Eventually, children stood before the *Tribunales de Menores*, courts for minors, where a judge sent them to the appropriate *COD* or rehabilitation institution.

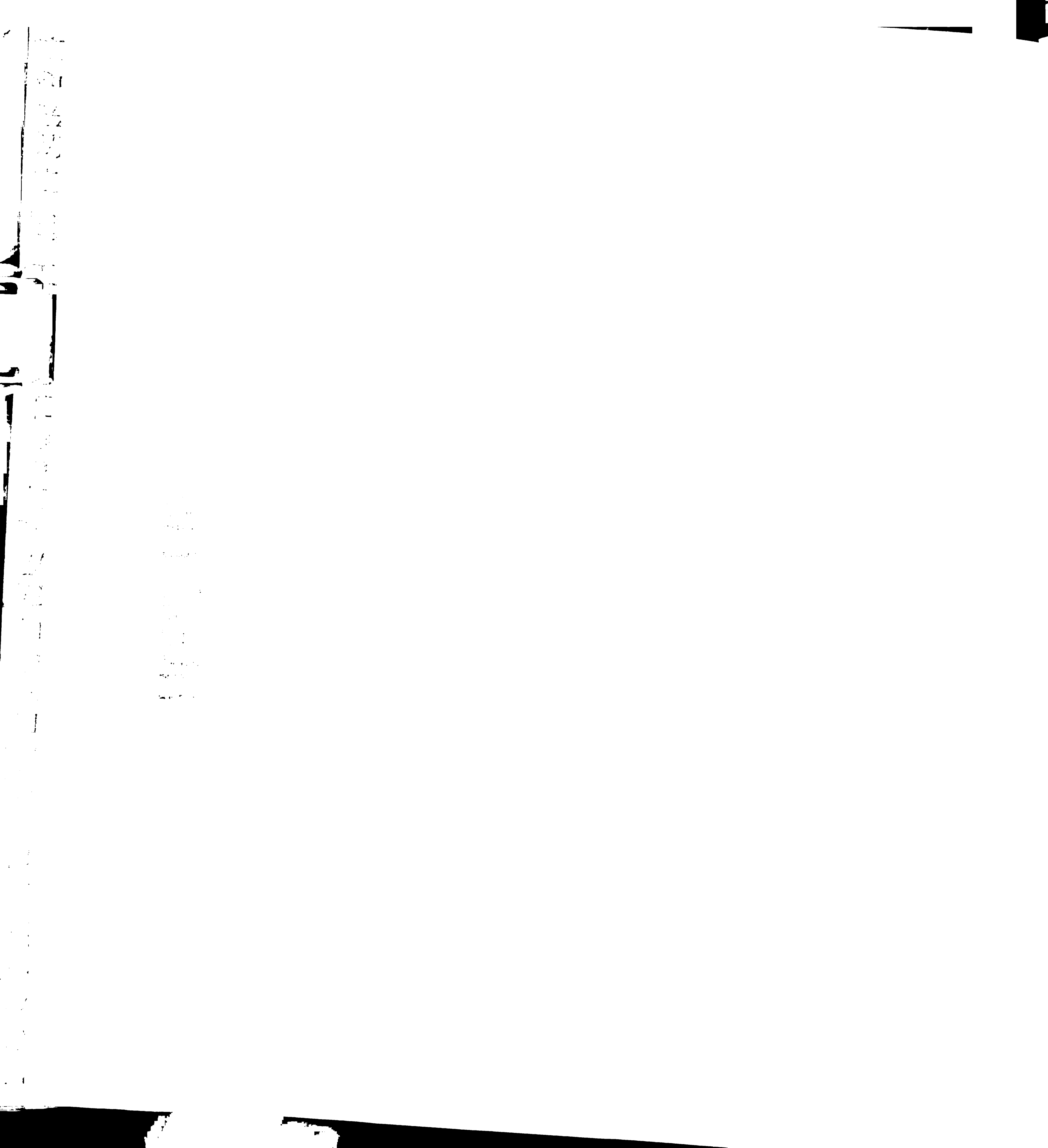
There were five correctional centers, organized hierarchically from minimum to maximum security – *Pudahuel*, *San Joaquin*, *San Miguel*, *Santiago*, and *Tiempo Joven*. *Pudahuel* had the lowest level of security and received boys and girls as young as 8 and through 17 years, 11 months, and 30 days of age. All participants in this study had been held in *Pudahuel* and most had escaped from it numerous times. One 12 year old boy claimed to have escaped 25 times. *COD's San Joaquin*, *San Miguel* and *Santiago* were next on the hierarchy with more security to prevent escapes. *COD's San Joaquin* and *San Miguel* held boys who had committed crimes such as robbery or assault, had a history of having done so or had a history of being on the streets. Prior to being *COD's*, the structure housing *San Joaquin* and *San Miguel* was utilized as a prison and torture center

[82] It must be noted that some children could have claimed to have been handcuffed in an effort to appear tougher and more dangerous when in reality they were not handcuffed at all. But it was not possible to verify this as even if police procedure calls for not handcuffing minors that does not mean procedure was always followed. Or, possibly, if a child living on the street was picked up for being intoxicated on the street and is resisting arrest, that is yet another possibility where policemen might have utilized handcuffs to restrain their prisoner.



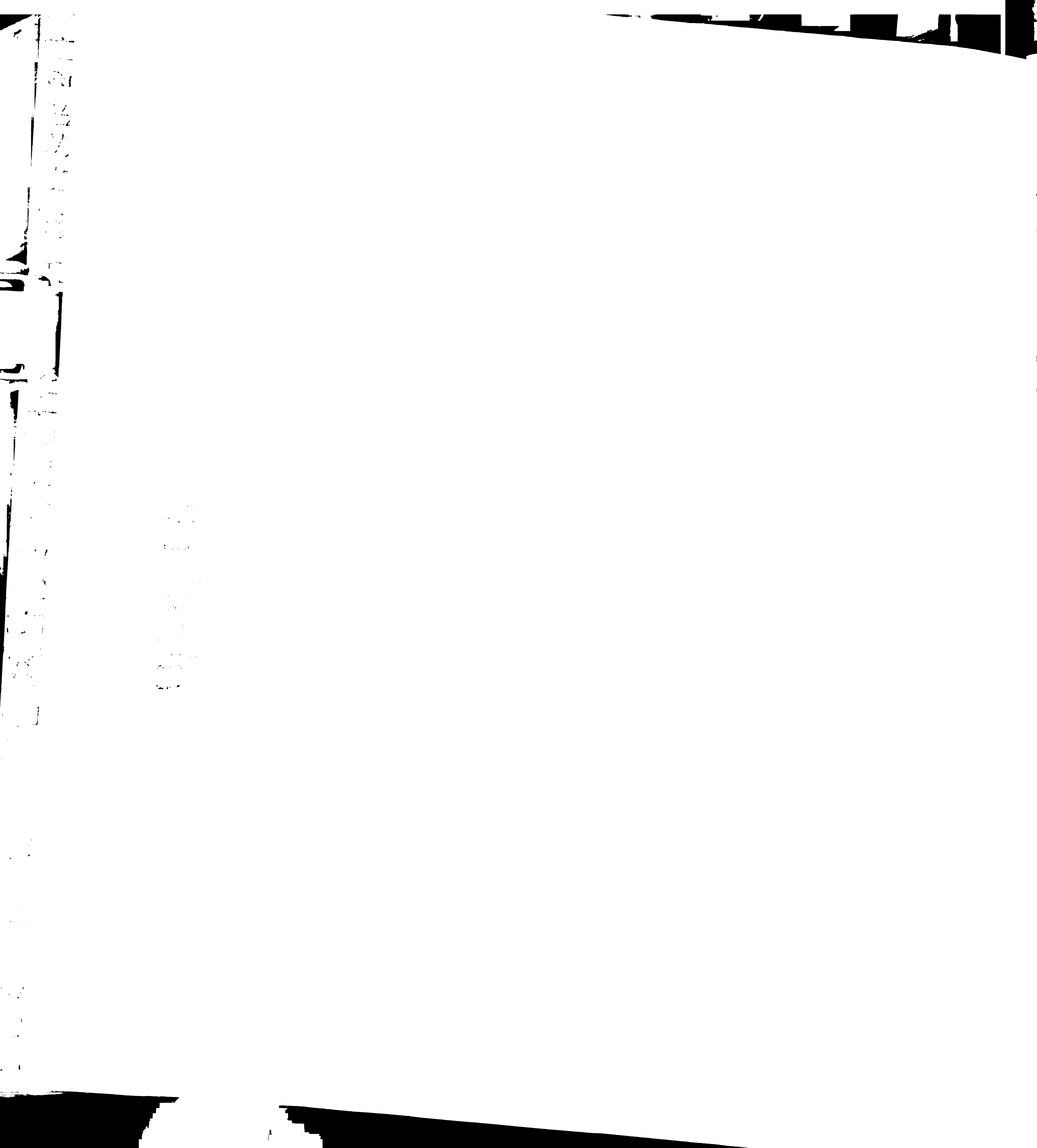
during the Pinochet dictatorship. The children told me they heard *penando*, the wails of restless souls, at night. *COD Santiago* only held girls who had committed crimes. *Tiempo Joven*, was a maximum security center for boys guarded by armed security.

Admittance and legal release from the *COD's* was mediated through the Ministry of Justice who had authority to transfer a child to a rehabilitation center, return him or her to their family, or keep the child in the center until a more appropriate solution was reached. *COD's* were segregated into houses and children were grouped according to type of crime committed, history with *COD's*, time on the street, and age. These correctional centers were designed as transitory sites where children were provided a safe haven while familial problems were resolved but in reality, children were held for months on end – sometimes years. Children referred to these centers as "jail" and the time they spent in them as "doing time." When asked to describe what they learned in *COD's* responses included: "I learned to survive on the streets," "I learned how to be a good thief," and "I learned vices." In essence, *COD's* socialized children into street culture. Institutionalization in *COD's* was an important step in re-defining street children as criminals both for society and the children themselves. Socially, *COD's* were viewed as juvenile detention centers and the children in them as "criminals-in-making," as *menores*. On an individual level, while in *COD's* children experienced privation of liberty, they lived for months in a building where passage between different sectors required unlocking doors and gates, all windows had bars, and all of their activities were constantly under surveillance.



CTD Pudahuel

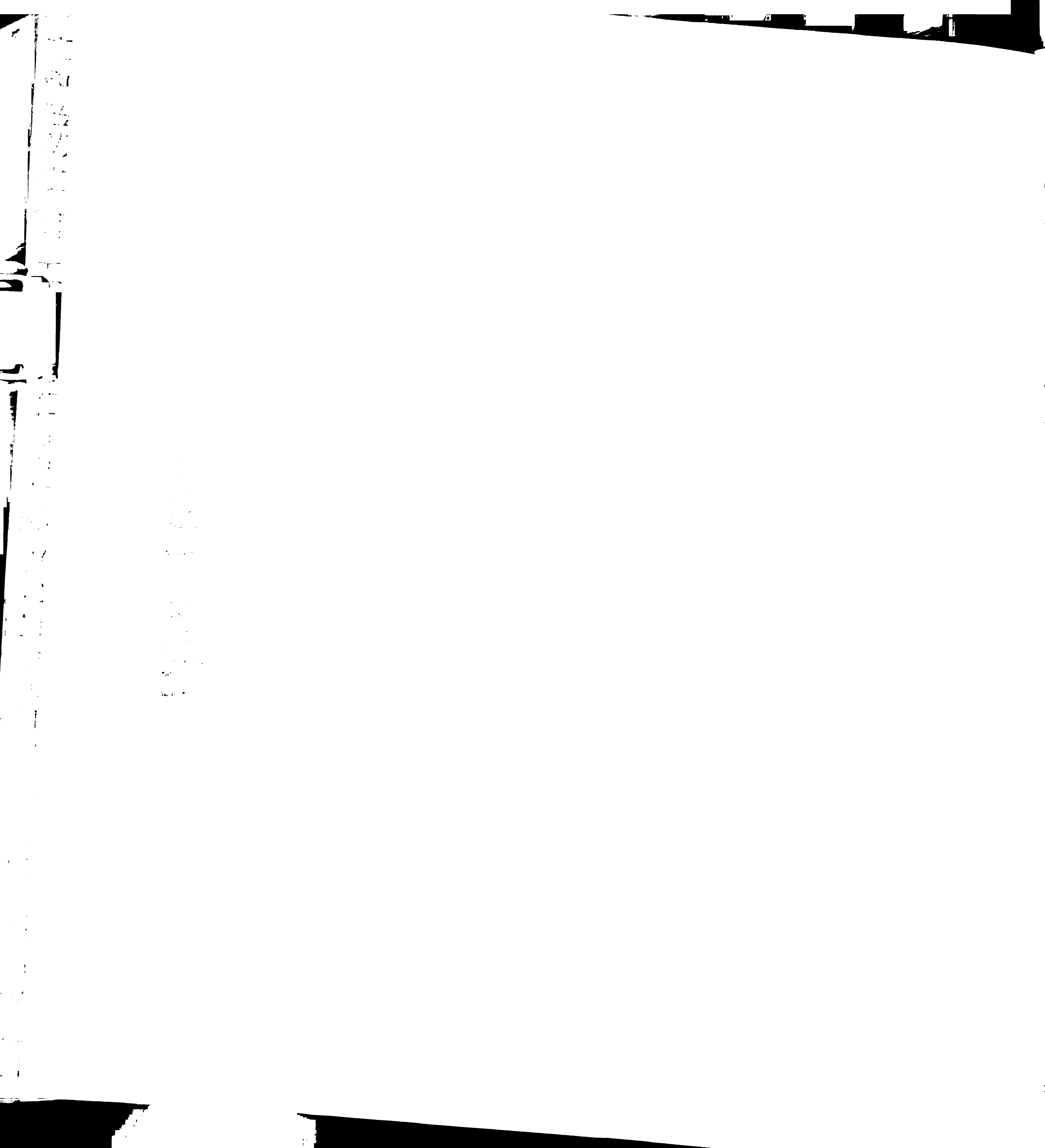
CTD Pudahuel was the first correctional institution with which children living on the streets come into contact. *Pudahuel* was separated from public space by an ~ 8 foot tall, black wrought iron fence. A plain clothes guard stood by the main entrance and allowed or denied access to the premises. A little stand selling miscellaneous items such as beverages, candy, and cigarettes (packs and singles) was located immediately inside the premises. All visitors signed in, stated their business, and awaited permission to enter. Once inside, they were directed to the administrative offices located on one side of the structure. *Pudahuel* itself was divided into two main sections with open courtyards between them; the sections were connected by hallways. The courtyards were not manicured, there is no grass and little vegetation. They were squares of dirt surrounded by concrete halls and buildings. There was one large tree located close to one of the buildings. Children climbed this tree and escaped *Pudahuel* by running on the roof to the



end of the building and jumping outside of the guarded fence to the street. Escape from *Pudahuel* was easy as manifest in the children' comments of being detained there long enough to get a meal before leaving. It was a running joke among the children. Interestingly, in their game of *Pacos,* street children tutored each other how to escape from this particular facility. For instance, the arresting "officer" stated he was taking the prisoner to Pudahuel. When the "officer" left other street children told the prisoner, "Go to the tree. It's easy."

Pudahuel was intended as a temporary solution for children with "family" problems such as young children, victims of abuse, children identified as in need of "protection," and less serious offenders. Less serious offenses essentially meant a weapon was not involved. Robbery without a weapon was robbery but the minute a weapon was utilized the charge was assault. Street children were well versed in different crimes and the type of punishment given for engaging in them. Despite being designed was a temporary solution, some children stayed for prolonged periods, for example the day I interviewed a director there I learned a boy who spend three consecutive years in *Pudahuel*, left that very day at the age 13.

Pudahuel's population was divided into one of five "houses" A, B, C, D, and E. Girls, ages 12 to 17 were assigned to House "A." House "B" was for children, both male and female, between the ages of 8 through 11. Boys and girls were separated but they resided in the same "house." House "C" was for boys between the ages of 12 to 14 who had more exposure to street culture and drug use. House "D" housed boys who were in the *CTD* due to familial problems such as physical and sexual abuse or abandonment. House "E" was for boys between the ages of 15 to 17. Each house had the capacity of



housing between 35 to 50 children – the numbers constantly fluctuated. Each house was divided into two large rooms where multiple metal frame bunk beds were lined up. Each individual was assigned a bed. The windows in the rooms were located toward the top of the wall, not at eye level, and they had iron bars. Each house was assigned 2 *educadores*, educators, to monitor it.

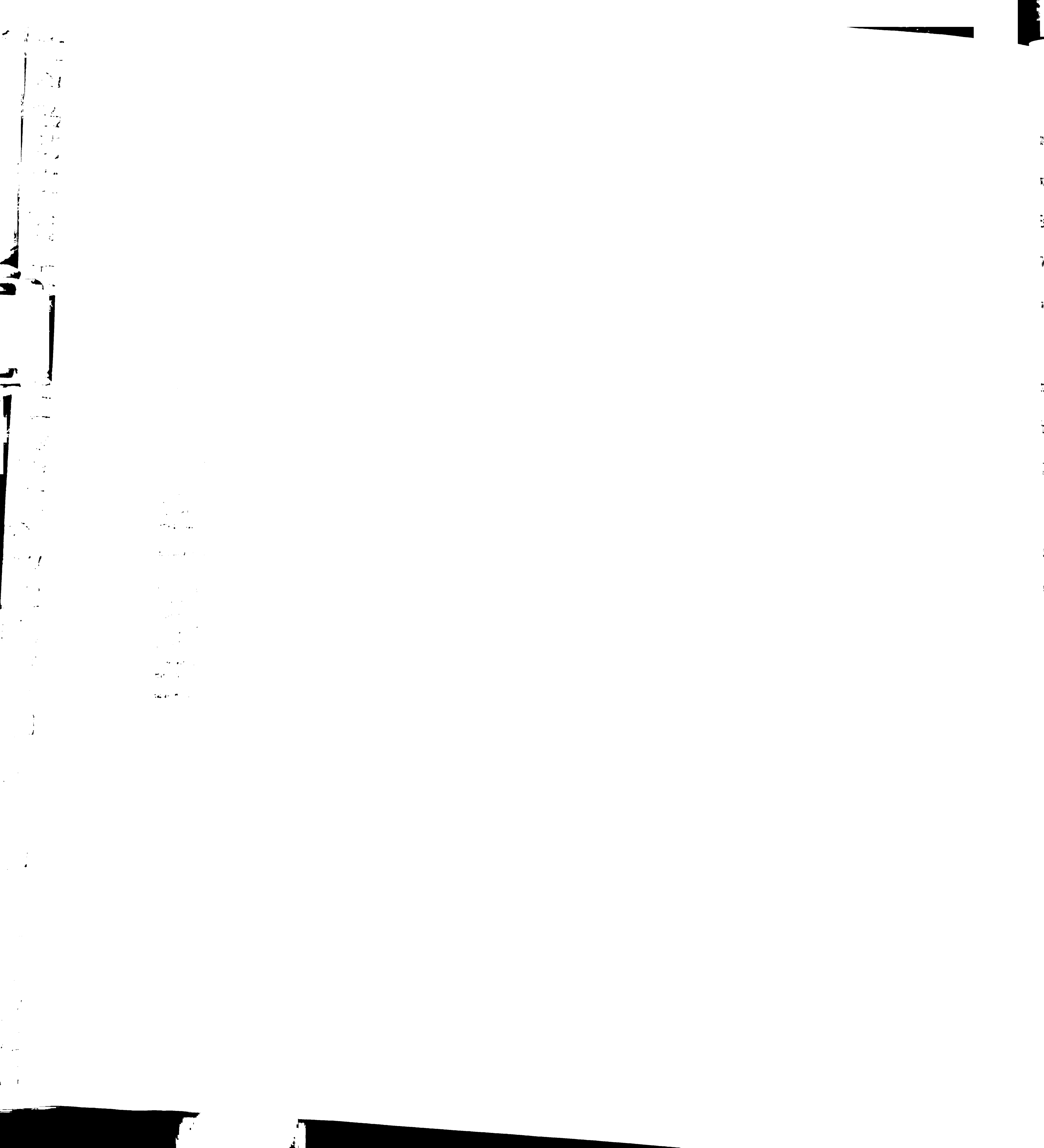
There was a designated area for those children who were ill. Although intended for illness, the space was also used to protect children who were at risk by other children. For instance, a 15 year old boy who was effeminate[83] spent a lot of time in this area. He preferred this space to the regular house as he did not have to deal with constant harassment.

Pudahuel distinguishes itself from *COD's* because *COD's* deprive children of liberty whereas there was a little more freedom in *Pudahuel*. For instance, some children in *Pudahuel* were allowed to attend school. *Pudahuel* was limited on who it could accept, for example, it could only house children under the age of 14 who were in need of protection and with minimal criminal activity.

COD San Miguel and San Joaquin

COD's San Miguel and *San Joaquin* were adjacent to each other; they were centers for boys who committed crimes, had a history of being in the street, or were older than 14 years of age. In order to enter these centers, one had ring the doorbell and speak

[83] From various conversations with him, he seems to be dealing with his sexuality. During a visit to the *CTD*, he joked about the gay children in there and specifically made a point to include himself among them. He retracted his statement when one of the women visiting him (a volunteer from the shelter for children) voiced her dislike of him referring to himself as gay.

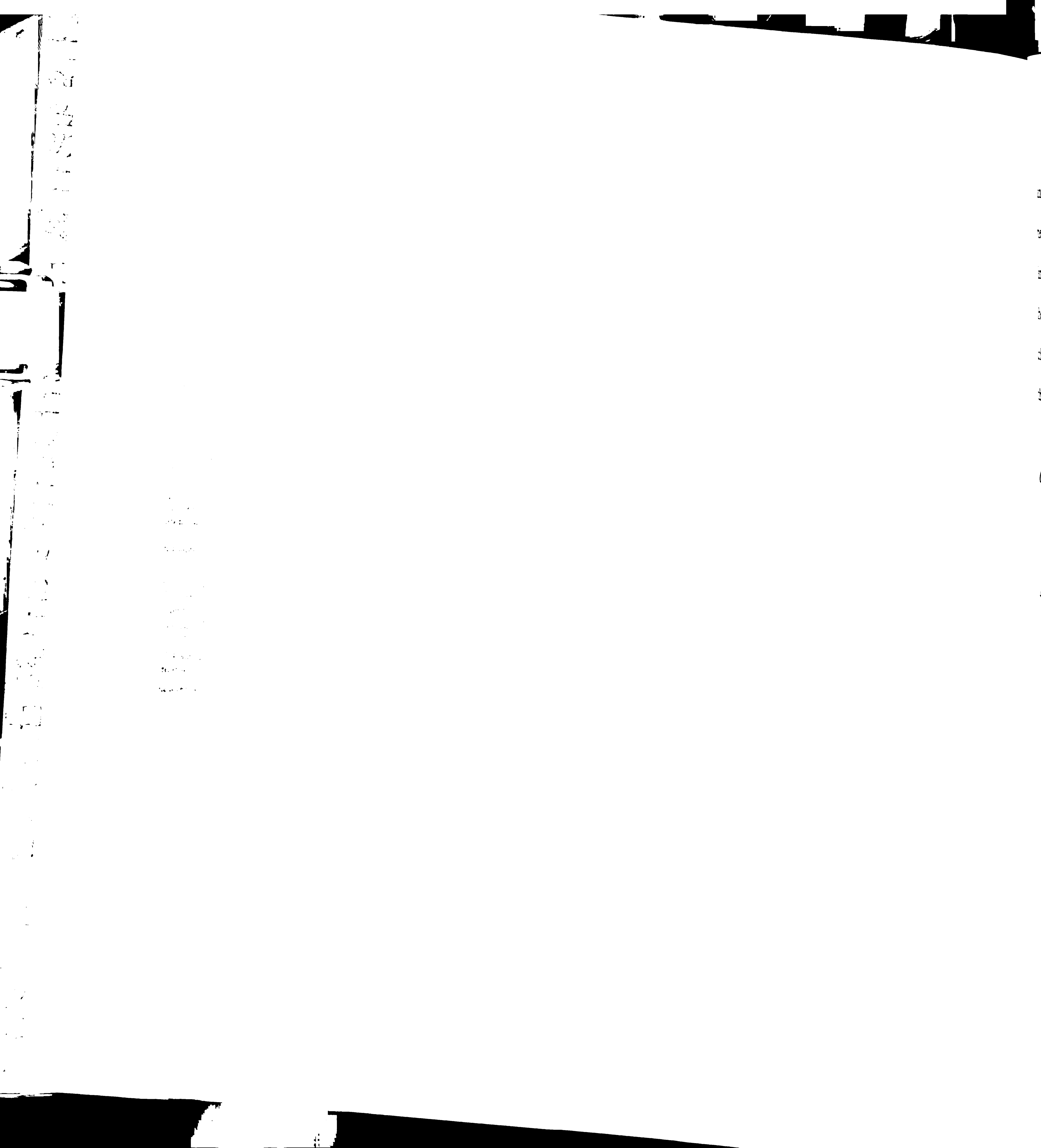


to the guard. The guard unlocked the gate and one entered into space about 6 X 6 feet and waited for the guard to unlock the next door before one could enter into the waiting area. Escape from these centers is more difficult because the building itself is more secured. Whereas *Pudahuel* had a fence with open space above the top of the fence, these centers were completely enclosed.

Like *Pudahuel*, boys were assigned to a house but the houses were smaller roughly 15 to 20 boys per house. There were two educadores per house. All open spaces, including the courtyard had bars and gates sealing them off. The courtyard and hallways looked caged in because of the bars everywhere.

Visiting hours were restricted to specific times and days. Visits could be revoked due to misbehavior. Children were allowed monetary accounts to buy treats or cigarettes. I was told of rooms where children were sent – a sort of solitary confinement – when they misbehaved, i.e. fighting.

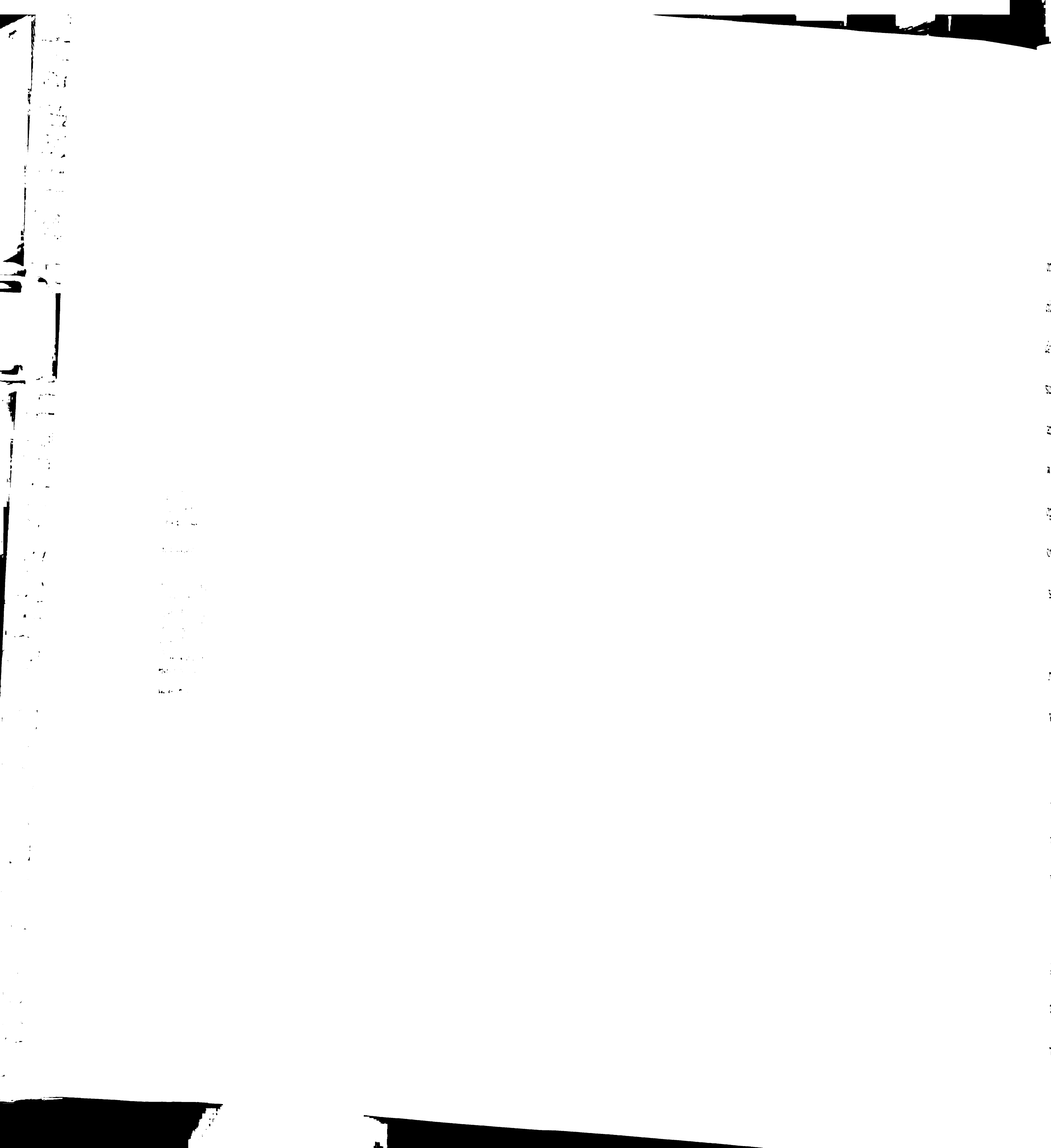
Street children often spoke of boredom and loneliness when describing life in *COD's*. They commented on the monotony of being jailed and monitored every waking and sleeping moment. Ivan absolutely hated being *COD's*, his personality changed dramatically when "doing time" as his case study exemplifies (See Chapter 6: *Case Studies of Ivan and Pamela*). Cigarettes acquired new value as currency and distraction while in *COD's* as smoking was allowed. Cigarettes were the most requested item by the children "doing time." Street children and youth remembered who visited them while they were "in" and if they brought them cigarettes – that kind of loyalty was not forgotten and was repaid on the streets.



A positive result of incarceration in *COD's* was the halting, cold turkey, of inhalants. When visiting Ivan in *COD San Joaquin*, I found Fernando whom I'd last seen negotiating staying in the shelter for children on a cold winter night. Fernando had been in incarcerated since that night (approximately 3 months) and looked healthier than when he'd been on the streets. A social worker there commented the *COD* always had more children during the winter months. Apparently, incarceration was also a survival strategy that allowed street children to survive cold, wet winters.

COD'S: An Assessment

COD's, by their very nature as correctional institutions, redefined street children from children to *menores*, a category perceived as social and political problems. Furthermore, by confining street children in what used to be a torture center linked them to the feared delinquents created during the dictatorship. *COD's* were correctional facilities that stigmatized street children by considering them socially deviant, referring to them as *menores,* and by labeling them "criminals-in-making." The fact that the Ministry of Justice was ultimately responsible for dealing with street children automatically criminalized them and pushed them further along the continuum toward criminality. Life in a *COD* was comparable to life in a prison – there was constant surveillance, privileges were revoked due to misbehavior, and solitary confinement. And, similar to prisoners' curtailed citizenship, street children's proto-citizenship was negatively impacted by their legal status.



Conclusion

Street children were constructed as anomalies to childhood in need of discipline in order to subdue as well as potentially rehabilitate and socialize them into "good citizenship" as is the case with the *Casa de Acogida*. As this chapter illustrates, the *Casa de Acogida* attempted ease wayward street children back into family settings. They superimposed an idealized family structure onto children whose experience with family and home had for the most part been dysfunctional. Furthermore, street children's link with family and home was often frail and damaged. Not surprisingly, some children opted to forgo the rules and regulations imposed by the *Casa the Acogida* and survived on the streets on their own. In these cases, the *Casa de Acogida* failed the child and society.

COD's intervened to manage street children when the *Casa de Acogida* failed to reign them in. Relying on punitive measures, *COD's* reinforced both in the general public and in the children themselves that they were social outcasts. *COD's* created environments where incarcerated children contended with, engaged in and eventually subscribed to prison and street culture in order to survive. The institutional violence to which street children were subjected was literally inscribed on their bodies as their skin became a living canvas conveying their pain, fear, anger, frustration, and impotence.

This chapter illuminated how street children suffered socially, legally, and politically due to the rigidity inherent to the institutions attempting to work in what they consider the best interest of the child. Not only did children living on the street contend with imperceptible and seemingly insurmountable institutional violence but they did so

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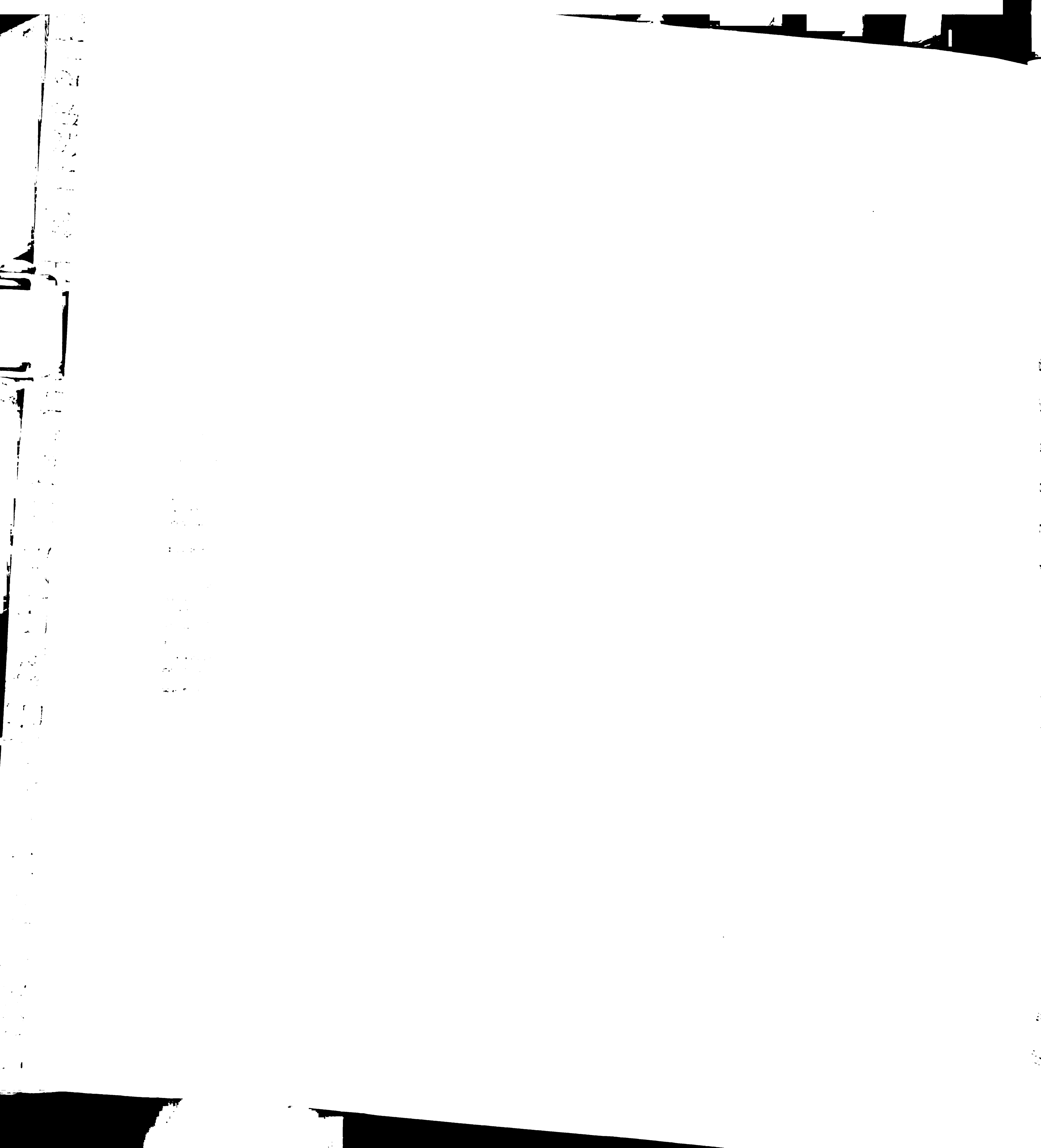
from a particularly vulnerable position as disenfranchised, second class, liminal, undesirable, and ignored citizens. They had assert themselves as dignified citizens with rights in a society where they deviate from societal conceptualizations and expectations of them.



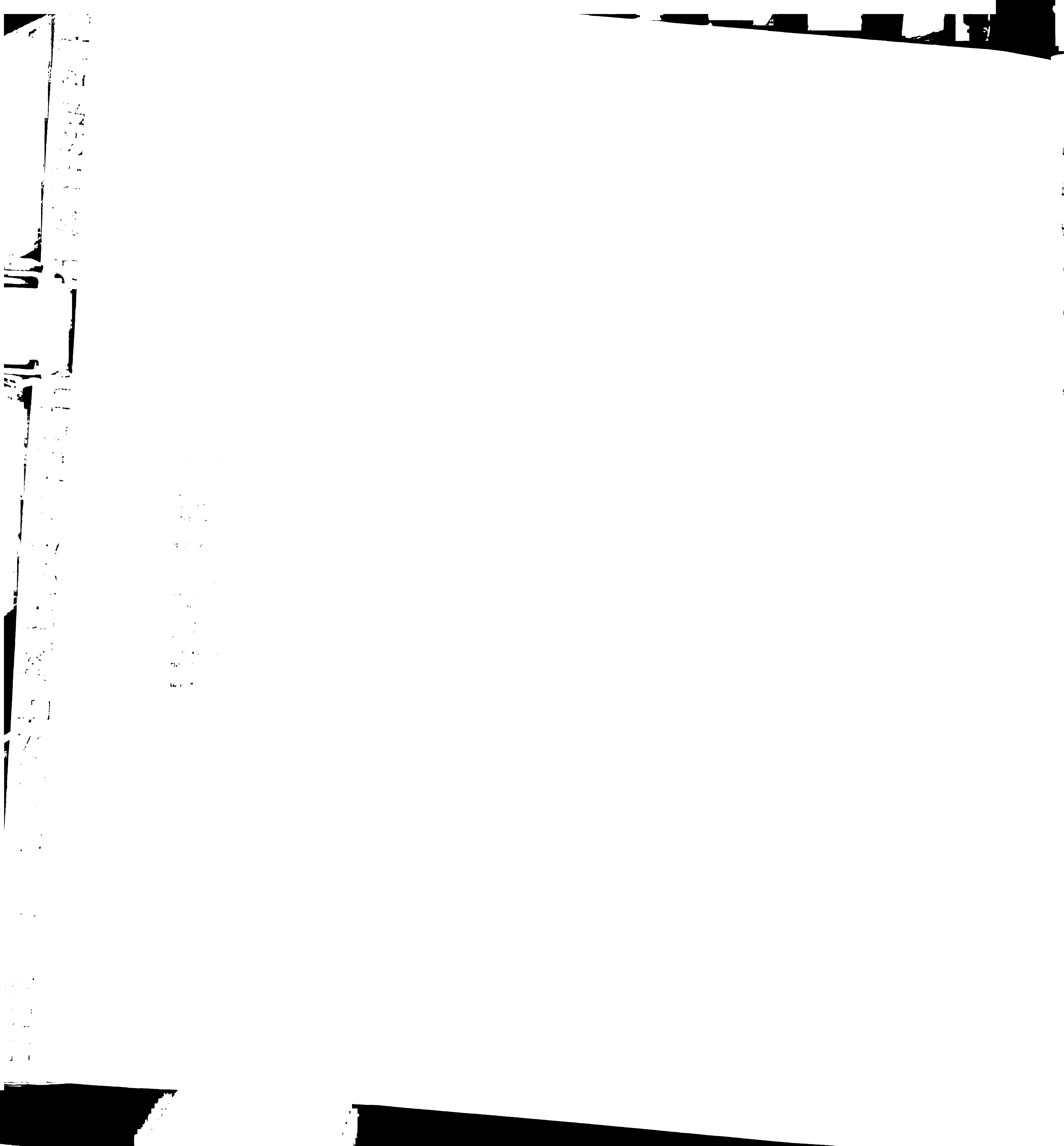
6

Case Studies of Ivan and Pamela

These case studies were emotionally difficult to assemble as they required sifting through formal and informal interviews, fieldnotes and photographs specific to the individuals in focus. They also proved to be intellectually difficult because of the fondness I felt and continue feeling for them. While I am grateful to have been allowed the opportunity to establish close relationships with these informants, those very relationships and assorted memories associated with them have at times affected my perspective. I hope this section does them justice and conveys the complex child-adults they have been for a while.

Writing Ivan's story was a very personal endeavor. Ivan was the street youth I grew to know best. Through knowing him, I became acquainted with different institutions that played enormous roles in creating the lived experience of street children as well as establishing the trajectories their lives would in all likelihood follow. Ivan represents the quiet economic (structural) violence faced by the poor in Chile, the "jaguar" of Latin America. His life experience reflects the rigidity and power of the Catholic Church. His case study traces his trajectory toward criminality. Leaving Ivan to the uncertain future, or perhaps all too certain future, ahead of him was neither easy nor pleasant.

Pamela's story was difficult to write because she lived acute moments of self-awareness that punctuated our relationship. Those painful moments intensified my affect for her because she trusted me enough to allow herself to be vulnerable in front of me or



did she allow me to see her vulnerability? Pamela represents the lived contradictions inherent in street children. She was caught between being a child and an adult not able to be either fully. As a street child, she dealt with social conceptualizations of her identity, external factors. As a female street child, she dealt with group dynamics that frequently exploited females, internal factors.

As an anthropologist working with a highly vulnerable population, I was especially concerned with issues of informed consent, ethics, and doing no harm. Because taped interviews are not flat,[84] they captured my concern, discomfort, as well as eagerness to know. Comments such as: "Are you okay?", "Do you want to stop?", "You don't have to continue if you don't want to," and "Let's take a break" peppered Pamela's (and other participants) interviews. Taped interviews readily convey my discomfort with difficult moments and I am glad for it. I should be uncomfortable for I was allowed a voyeuristic glimpse into personal and traumatic events she normally kept to herself.

I am left feeling unsure about how to deal with my own emotions. I found writing about Ivan and Pamela difficult but that may simply be a result of good fieldwork that illuminates the intensity of life as a child living on the streets. Using Ivan and Pamela's stories for grounding, this chapter addresses similarities and differences in the lived experiences of male and female street children. It concentrates on gendered differences and their consequences on the citizenship of street children.

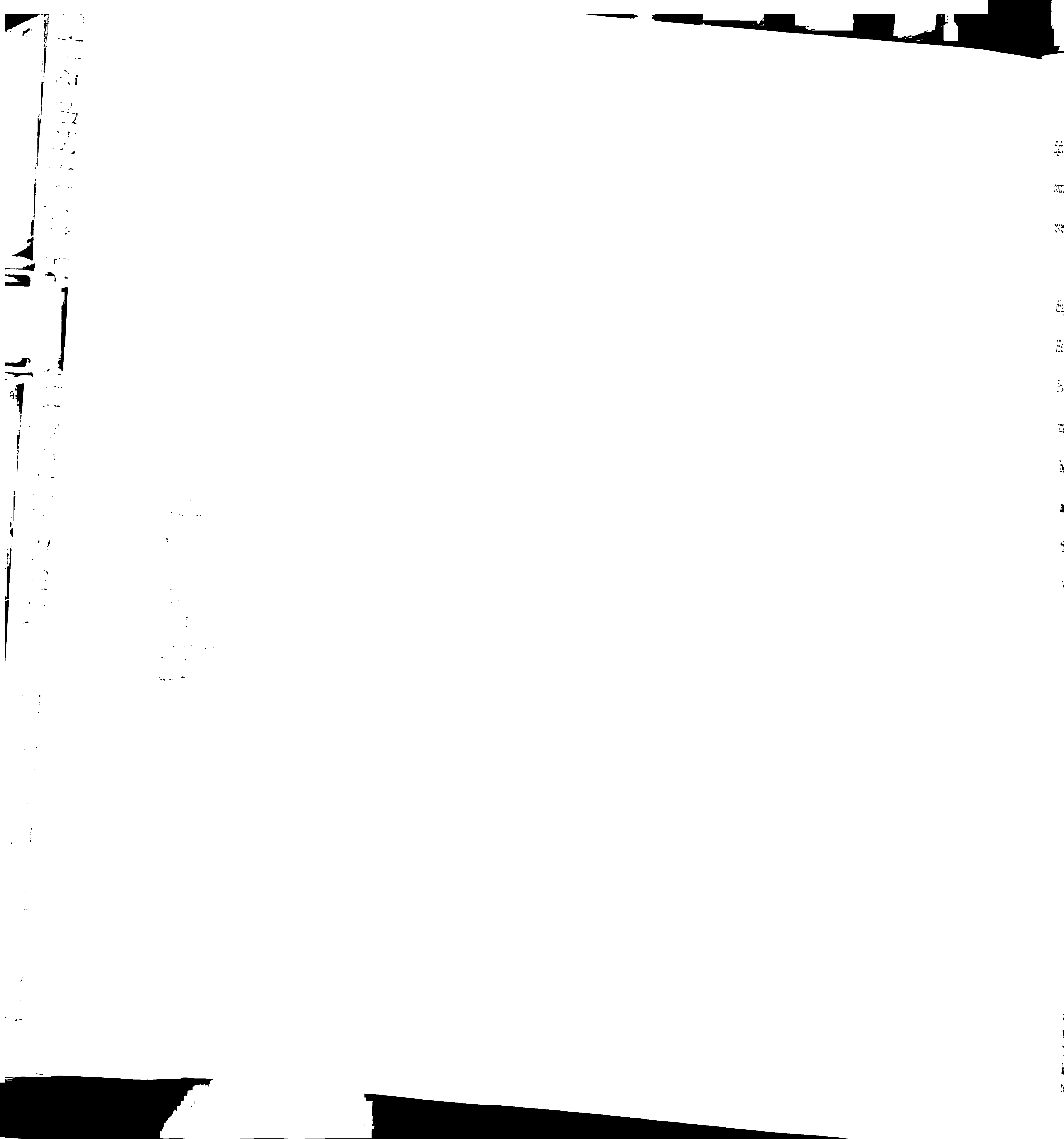
[84] I refer to taped interviews as not being "flat" because it is possible to hear emotion, awkward silences, and attempts to comfort. Whereas, in reading fieldnotes however descriptive they might be, they may not be as lively as the taped interview.

Ivan's Story

> I…I am the same as other people only I have problems with my family. And that is why this has happened. And that is why I have been in the streets. That is why I have been in prison because I have problems with my family. I don't like how my family is. I don't like how my family thinks. I don't like being with them. The only thing I want is to be with my brother, that's it. *Interview with Ivan.*

Ivan's reputation preceded him. Before ever meeting Ivan in person, I knew of his street reputation. Street children who knew him thought him tough, a good fighter, and dependable – someone who "had your back" in a fight. I first distinguished Ivan from the anonymity of other children living on the streets because Camilo, a 10 year old boy whom I had gotten to know at the shelter for children, spoke highly of him. Not only did Camilo admire Ivan, he considered him a true and trusted friend, someone he could rely on for help. This caught my attention given I was constantly told by street children and adults who worked with them that "you can trust no one when you're on the street." This motto or truism was reinforced by actions as frequently street children were hurt by those they considered "friends." While friendships and membership in the street child community was essential for protection and survival, ultimately, it appeared a child living on the street had to prioritize him or herself above friendships and pacts of loyalty for these were far too frequently highly fluid and easily broken. Yet, it appeared Camilo looked up to Ivan and saw him as a role model.

Ivan was not among those who stayed in the shelter at the time I was in the field. Although he had utilized the shelter in the past, he was barred from access to the resources the shelter for children provided because of disciplinary problems such as



fighting with others and striking volunteers. His reputation among the volunteer community was generally good - some remembered him fondly as being a good boy overall but acknowledged he could be quite a handful when he was misbehaving.

Ivan had been "doing time"[85] in *COD San Joaquin* , a center for orientation and diagnostic with mid-level security[86], for four months when we met in early April of 2001. He was imprisoned for stealing with use of a weapon in a public *Plaza*. I traveled to *San Joaquin* with Rosaura, a student of social work at a local university who was doing an internship with a new and innovative service provider named *Senamobil.*[87] Ivan was being considered for a transfer from *COD San Joaquin* to a state run rehabilitation center and Rosaura was assigned to document his transition for *Senamobil.* Rosaura contacted the social worker and psychologist working with Ivan in *COD San Joaquin*, established herself as a member of *Senamobil* and made arrangements for us to see Ivan during visiting hours. I introduced myself as an anthropology graduate student researching the

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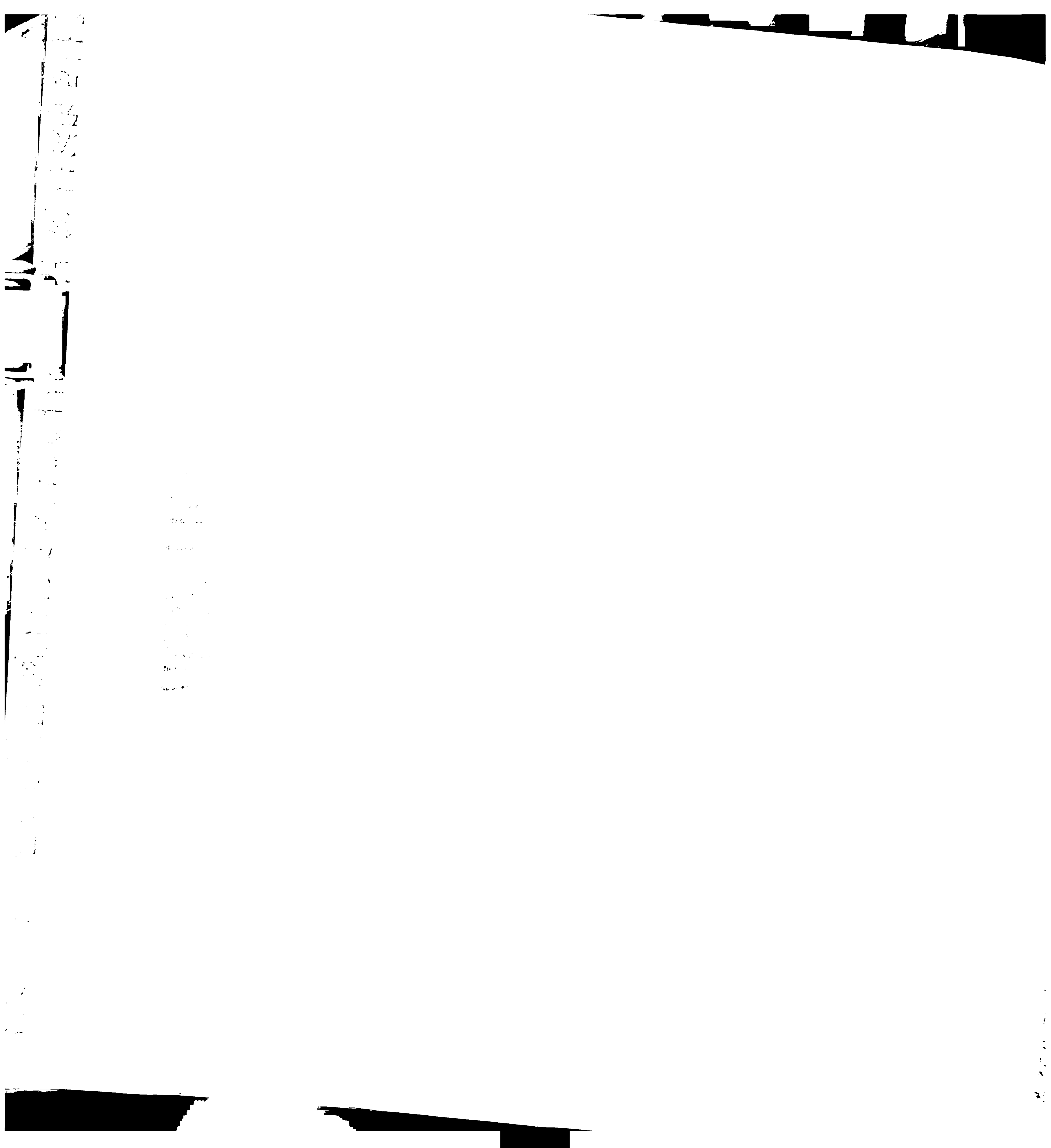
[85] All the children living on the street to whom I spoke referred to being in *CTD Pudahuel*, *COD San Joaquin*, *COD San Miguel*, *COD Santiago*, and *Tiempo Joven* in terms of "doing time" in a jail setting. A visit to these centers quickly verified that indeed they were in essence prisons. Inmates (for lack of a better word) were deprived of liberty, doors were locked and or gated, windows had bars on them, the children were constantly under surveillance in terms of what activities they engaged in, the areas where they could be, etc… Street children were treated like criminals, thus it is logical that they were immersed in prison culture.

[86] *COD San Joaquin* and COD *San Miguel* were located adjacent to each other and were what I call mid-level security meaning escape from them was much more difficult than from *CTD Pudahuel* but they have less security than *Tiempo Joven*. Whereas a successful escape from *CTD Pudahuel* could be planned and relied upon, escaping from *San Joaquin* and *San Miguel* seemed to require more circumstantial luck than planning.

[87] *Senamovil* was a service provider that met with an untimely end. *Senamovil* was progressive in its approach to helping street children. Instead of asking street children to leave their environment and attend their program, they took their services to the streets via the use of an old refurbished school bus. Unfortunately, politics and corruption affected the services they offered street children and eventually killed the program as it was initially envisioned. Under political pressure, *SENAME* later attempted to resuscitate the program but in doing so altered and removed its innovative qualities.



lived experience among street children in Santiago for my doctoral thesis but my presence was not questioned as I was accompanying Rosaura.[88]

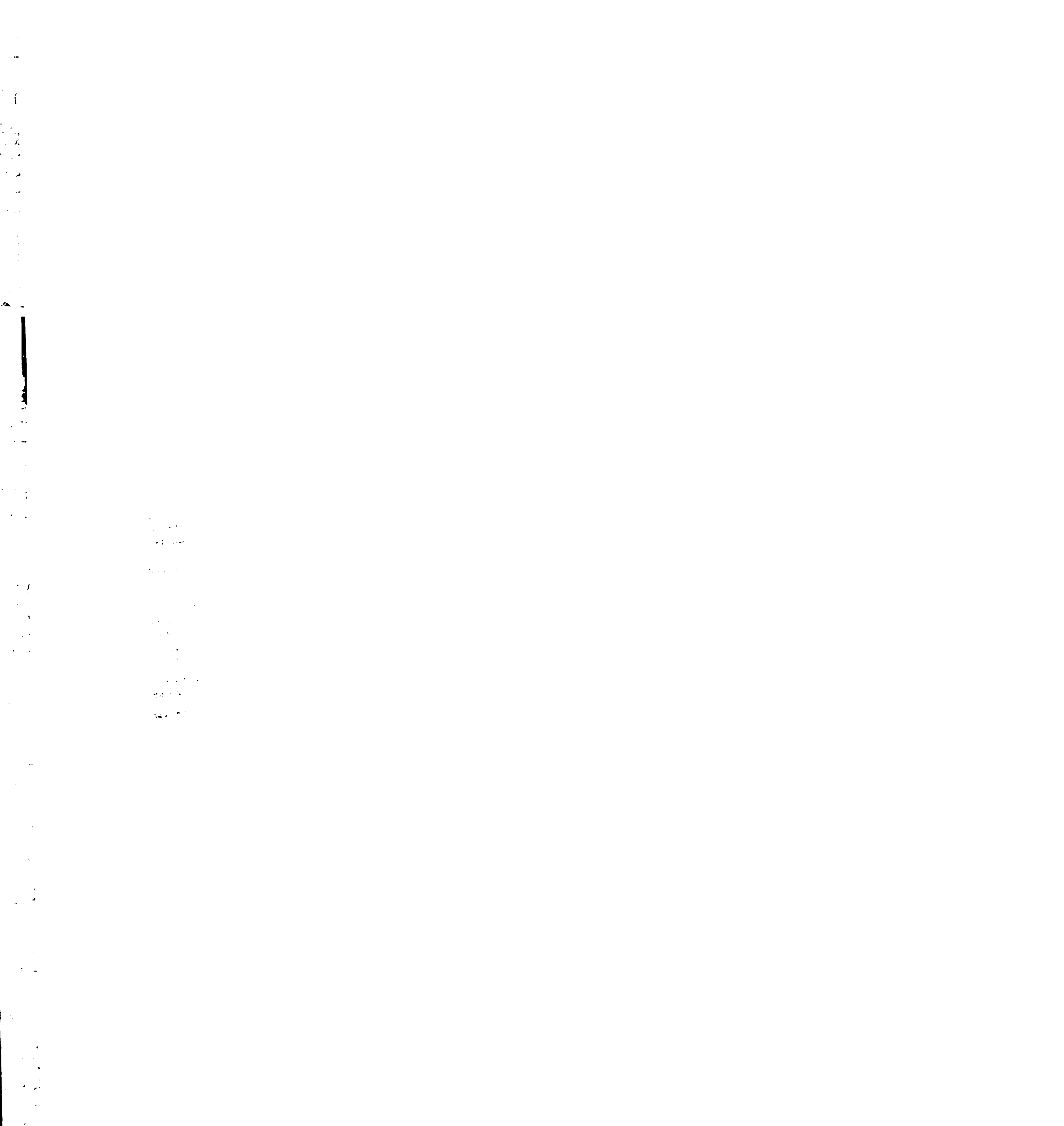
COD San Joaquin was located in a quiet residential neighborhood composed of stand alone houses many of which had wrought iron gates separating the street from private space. Although there was a bit of vehicular traffic around the area, not many people were out and about on the street. *COD San Joaquin* was located immediately adjacent to *COD San Miguel*, they were contiguous. Both *COD's* were shrouded in notoriety due to their history of having been detention and torture centers during the Pinochet dictatorship.[89] The old, concrete, two story high buildings were the muted color of grayish cement and had no windows. Barbed wire ran along the perimeter of the roof. Both *COD's San Joaquin* and *San Miguel* housed boys aged 17 years, 11 months, and 30 days old and younger. These *COD's* were mid-level security and held boys who were engaging in either more aggressive criminal behavior or were frequent offenders.

Admittance as a visitor to *COD San Joaquin* happened in several stages. Upon ringing a bell, we waited to be allowed inside the locked gates. Parked roughly 10 feet from the formal gate into *COD San Joaquin* was a street vendor selling candy, various soda beverages, ice cream, cookies, crackers, and cigarettes. A plain clothes security guard[90] wrote our names in a notebook as well as whom we were visiting and verified we had permission to enter the premises. With our clearance established, we were allowed inside the first gate. The guard opened the door for us and locked it behind us before

[88] An advantage this initial meeting of social workers, educators, and psychologists through an established program was that it established my legitimacy and credibility and thus facilitated my accessing these same individuals and centers later on my own.

[89] Several street boys who had been in *COD San Joaquin* told me of hearing noises at night, *penando*, that they attributed to restless souls of prisoners tortured and murdered there. They did not like being there not just because it was a jail but because of the *penando*.

[90] *Tiempo Joven* is the only disciplinary center with uniformed security guards but it is also the only center with true policemen guarding it.



opening the second locked door and escorting us to a small area (approximately 5 X 5 feet) where we waited while personnel in an adjacent room took and inspected our *carnets* (official government issued identification cards). Once satisfied with our identities, they informed the educators supervising Ivan's assigned house that he had visitors. We waited in the mostly barren and gated waiting area; the waiting room had four chairs and a few forgotten carnets posted on the window.[91] After roughly ten minutes, we were directed toward the cafeteria where boys' received their visits.

The cafeteria doubled as the visiting area. It was painted a neutral beige color and was sparsely furnished; the sole furniture in the room was tables and chairs where boys and their visitors sat and talked. From the interactions observed and bits of conversations overheard, the visitors seemed to be mostly familial, i.e. parents and siblings. Barred windows along one wall allowed some bright sunlight inside otherwise the place was stark and depressing. Ivan, the tough street boy I had heard so much about, was sitting quietly at a table in the corner of the cafeteria looking down. He seemed meek as he sat alone at the table not daring or wanting to look around him. Ivan was of a medium build, roughly 5'4" tall and slim but very strong. Ivan's chiseled features, dark brown eyes, and thick, straight, jet black hair, which at the time was long enough it covered his eyes, suggested there at least some *Mapuche*[92] in his ethnic background. His body and overall appearance conveyed youth after all he was 14 years old and had yet to reach his developmental potential. But his most prominent feature was his smile which was contagious when he ventured one.

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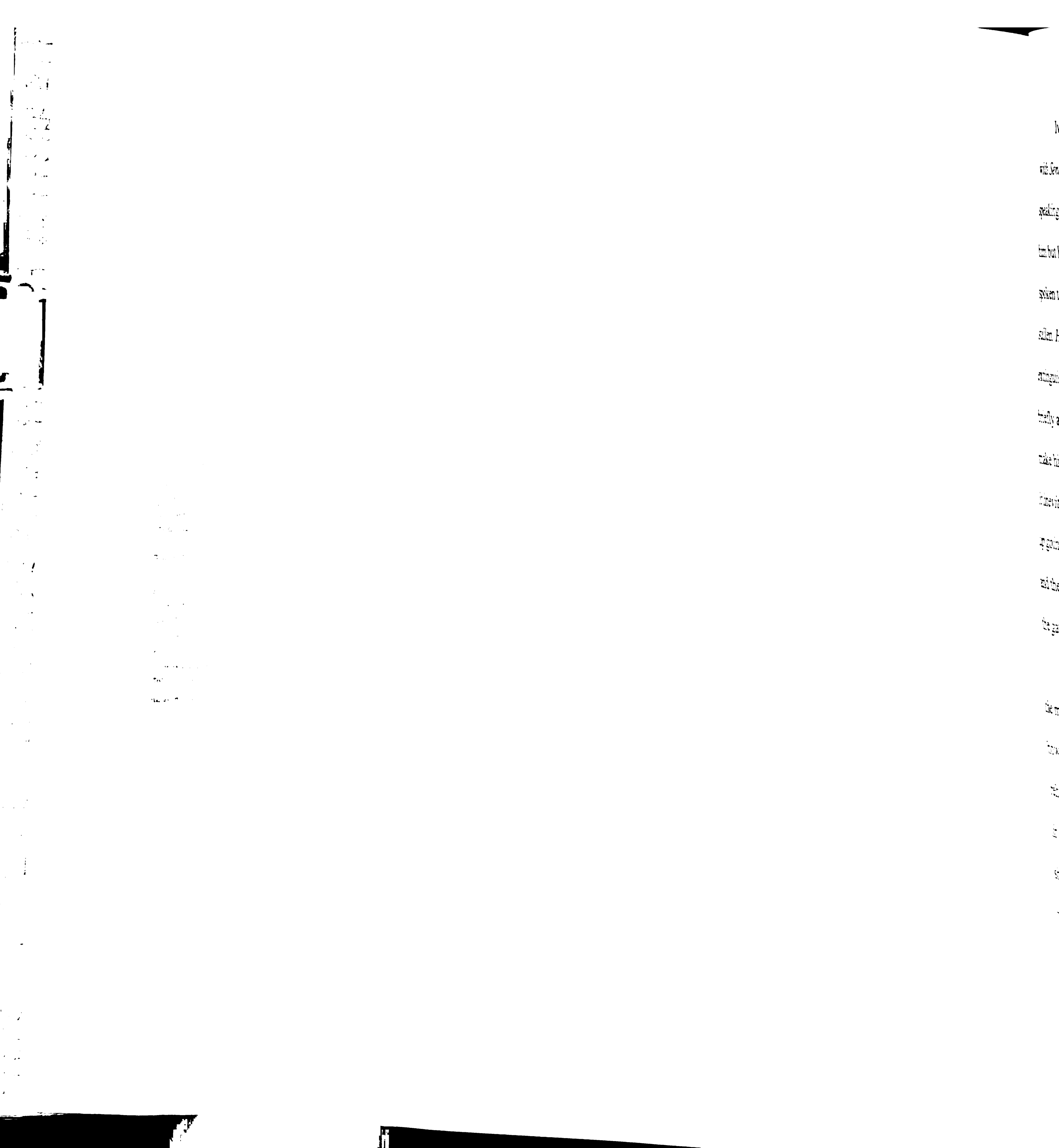
[91] I never really understood how folks could forget their *carnet* being that all adults were legally required to have one and carry it on their person at all times.

[92] The *Mapuche* are an indigenous population in Chile. Most Chileans are a mix of *Mapuche* and some sort of foreign settler population such as Germans in the South.



Ivan greeted us when we approached him. He recognized Rosaura from seeing her with *Senamobil.* When I introduced myself to him I learned he knew who I was from speaking with other children on the street. Ivan looked familiar to me, I knew I had seen him but had not met him. Ivan was reticent; he answered questions and he spoke when spoken to but he seemed to do so out of respect more so than interest. His demeanor was sullen. His personality seemed dull and lifeless as if life inside the *COD* was extinguishing his joy for life. During our entire interaction, Ivan would hold eye contact briefly and quickly return to looking at the floor. I had the impression he was trying to make himself as small as possible. Around us boys sat with family members and I found it inevitable to hear bits of conversation from the surrounding tables: there was catching up going on, scoldings administered and promises made. Open wrappers on the tables and the floor suggested visitors had availed themselves of the vendor's offerings outside the gate.

Ivan seemed grateful for the visit even if from two strangers. I gathered this from the momentary sparks of energy he displayed. He clearly and unambiguously expressed how much he wanted to leave *COD San Joaquin* and his willingness to go to the rehabilitation center. I was confounded by the incongruous images of Ivan. The boy I met in *COD San Joaquin* could not be the energetic hellion described by volunteers from the shelter. He was not the aggressive and tireless street tough I had heard boys praise. Ivan was a depressed adolescent, deprived of his freedom, and wanting nothing other than to escape his present situation.

Ivan was being considered for transfer to a state run Center for Rehabilitation and Correction, *CERECO Santa Inez,*[93] for rehabilitation in his case specifically inhalant abuse (*tolueno*). Ivan has inhaled, or huffed, *tolueno* to get high since the age of 8 years after he ran away from a state run orphanage and started living on the streets. Social workers and psychologists at *COD San Joaquin* were working jointly with the *Senamovil* program as well as *CERECO Santa Inez* to create as positive and supportive a situation as possible for Ivan as his ties to his biological family were virtually non-existent and this posed a problem for the service agencies, the state, and Ivan himself. Who was to take responsibility for Ivan? He was a minor and, as such, in a position where he legally required an adult to supervise and guide him but in his situation there was no adult willing to take responsibility for him. The *Senamovil* team was concerned with not being perceived as a surrogate for Ivan's absent parents by either *COD San Joaquin* or *CERECO Santa Inez*. The *Senamovil* team was explicit with Rosaura about the nature of her role as a representative of *Senamovil*. They were very clear about wanting neither the state institutions nor Ivan to rely on them as parental figures. It was not a precedent they wanted established.

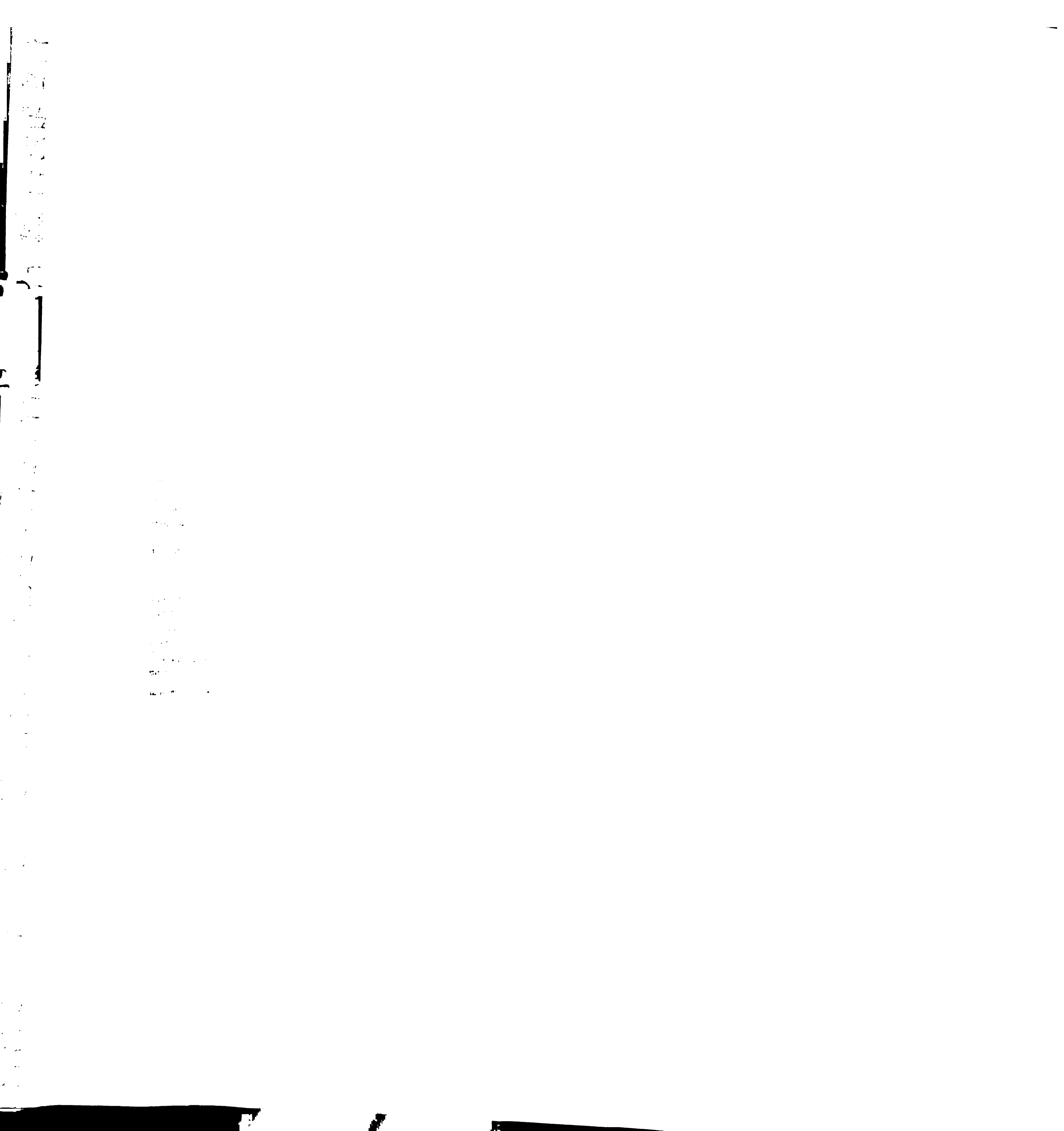
Ivan had no recollection of his biological father and claimed not to know his name. According to him, his father abandoned his mother and him when he was two years old; Ivan has not heard from his father or his father's relatives since then. Because his parents were not married and hence he was not a "legitimate" child before the eyes of the church and the state, Ivan's father was able to walk away without any legal

[93] *CERECO Santa Inez* was an "open" rehabilitation center meaning those who participated in the program were free to leave its premises since there were not locked doors or gates impeding them from physically leaving. But if they left the premises without permission the *CERECO* reported them to Carabineros who then arrested them when they saw them.

repercussions for abandonment of his child.[94] Being a strict Catholic country, Chile did not permit divorce[95] although annulments could be attained.[96] It was commonplace for couples to have children out of wedlock in an effort to avoid the "trap" of a confining and inescapable marriage contract. Or if couples chose to marry, there were well known ways to circumvent marriage laws. For instance, couples getting married often reported an incorrect address and if a separation was desired they could request a marriage annulment based on the incorrect information on the marriage certificate.

Ivan's mother lived in one of the poorer *comunas* surrounding Santiago. She struggled to make ends meet as a single parent after Ivan's father left them and eventually met a man with whom she fell in love. Trying to piece together his unknown past, *Senamobil* members located and interviewed Ivan's mother and stepfather. Another reason for the interview was to determine the feasibility of Ivan eventually returning to his biological family. The mother claimed she and Ivan's stepfather placed him in *Niño y Patria*, a state institution run by *Carabineros* for orphaned or unwanted children, when he was five years old claiming they were unable to provide for him economically at the time and said it was to be temporary. Her reasoning did not explain why they did not return for Ivan once her financial situation bettered. While Ivan sat depressed and abandoned in *COD San Joaquin*, his mother and stepfather lived a reasonably comfortable life; they owned a home, an automobile, were financially stable. They had two children together, an 8 year old daughter and a 4 year old son, whom they pampered

[94] Children born out of wedlock, or illegitimate children, were granted the same protection and rights afforded to children born into officially recognized matrimonies in 1999 by the New Filiation Law (Milanich 2002). Newborn birth certificates are no longer stamped "legitimate" or "illegitimate," these categories, as Milanich notes, have shaped the experience of Latin America children for centuries.
[95] Divorce was illegal the entire time I was in the field but that has since changed. In May 2004, Chile declared divorce as legal.
[96] Many opted to marry in a civil ceremony and forewent the religious ceremony as there were loopholes in civil marriage which allowed for annulment.



both with love and material goods. Yet, despite their apparent economic stability they chose to not have Ivan with them, essentially they opted to discard Ivan. As a matter of fact, in some of the interviews with Ivan's mother she expressly commented that she wanted nothing to do with him. It seemed she wanted to forget he existed. It appeared she was in a stable relationship with two children and Ivan represented a past she would rather forget.

Stung by his mother's rejection, Ivan expressed simply wanting to be acknowledged by his mother and siblings. He claimed not to care for his stepfather but wanted to build a relationship with his siblings, especially his brother. He wanted to belong to his family. He commented he could not understand how his mother could give him up yet she was able to keep her other children.

I began visiting Ivan at *CERECO Santa Inez* once a week for approximately 3 hour stretches. We usually had lunch with his housemates and the "house" counselor. We often walked around the *CERECO* which was located on several acres of land. We sometimes walked to the barn area where the animals were kept, or to the baobab tree (a real baobab tree!) where the boys had made a makeshift swing and took turns swinging on it, at times we just sat and talked in the living room area. Ivan showed me all the different workshops in which he participated, such as metalworking, woodworking, and making leather goods. Ivan would often have a little present he had made for me in one of those workshops.[97] In addition to showing me his life in *CERECO Santa Inez*, Ivan also showed me off to the other boys when I was there, after all I was the *Gringita* who faithfully visited every week. Ivan taught me many things, big and small, about the lived

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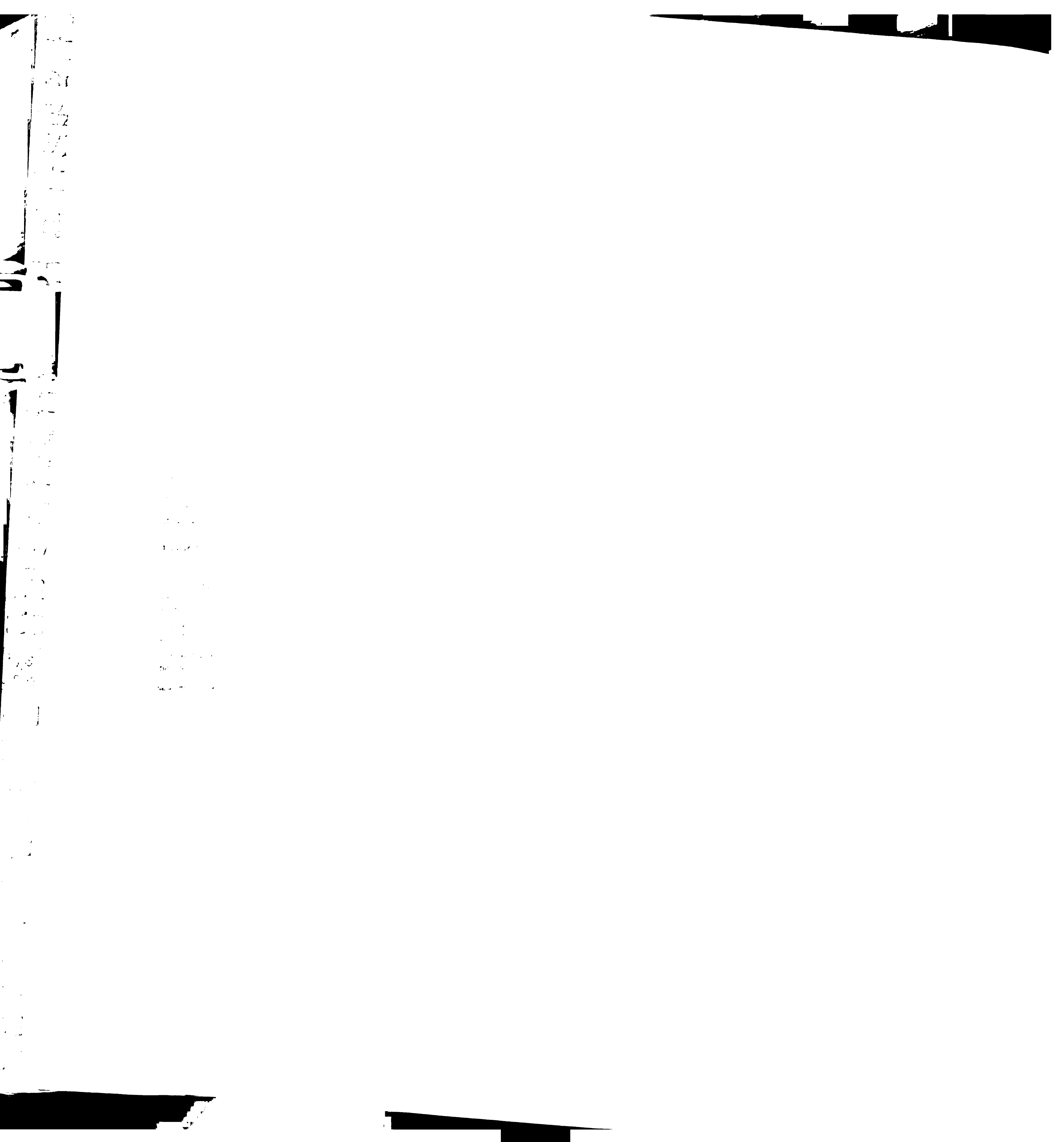
[97] I, too, gave him presents. For instance, when I noticed he did not have a jacket and the weather was getting colder and wetter, I bought him one.

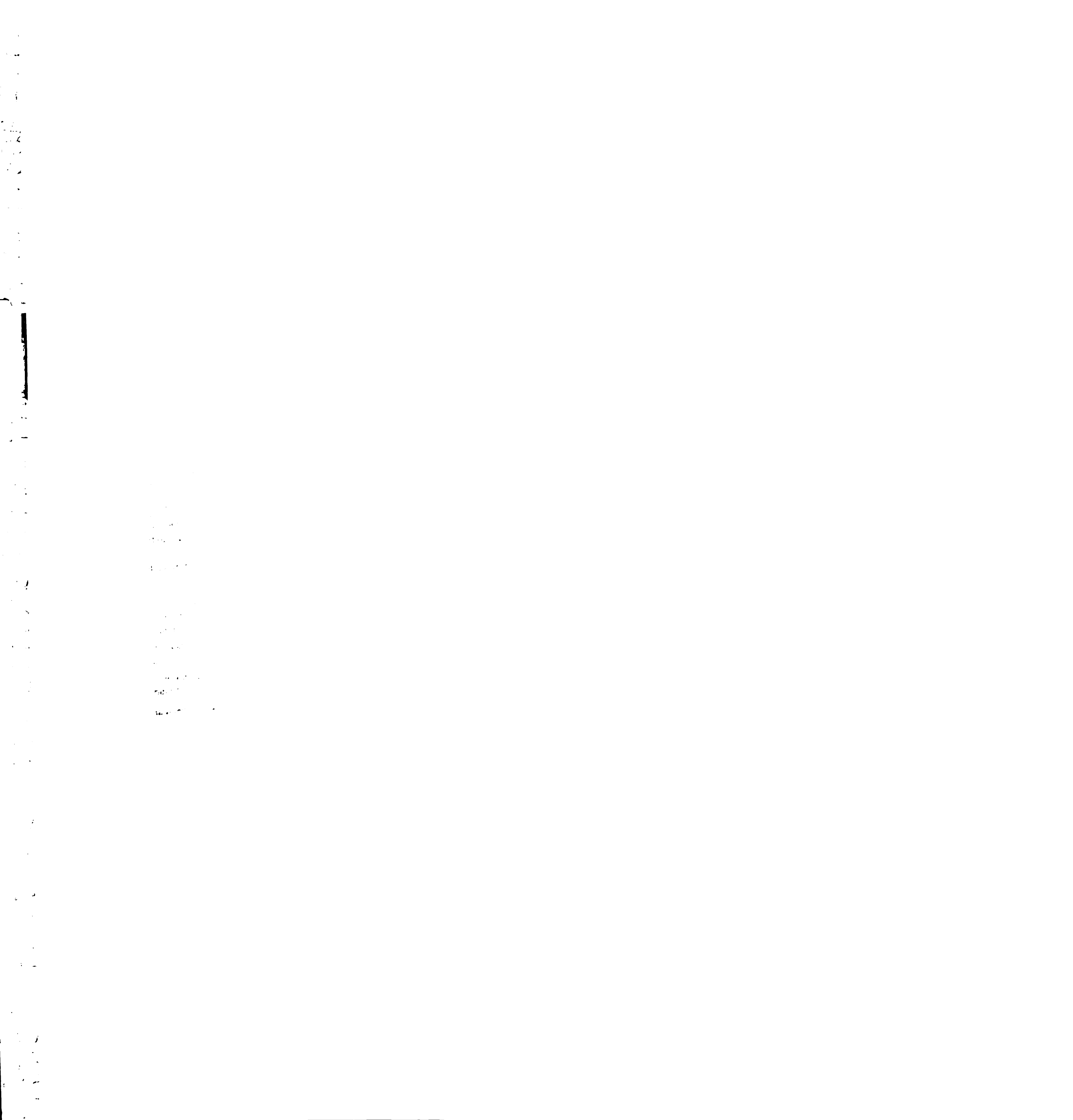


experience of a street child. He played his favorite music for me, a Spanish band whose lead singer spent time incarcerated and sang about "doing time."[98] He loved orange flavored soda and *chilenitos*.[99] Ivan smiled his beautiful smile more frequently once he was outside the confining walls of *COD San Joaquin*.

During the time Ivan was in *CERECO Santa Inez*, he actively participated in the workshops they offered. He integrated himself with the other boys in his assigned "house." While the educators, psychologists, and counselors in the center struggled to figure out what to do with a 14 year old minor whose family openly rejected him but who really did not belong in a rehabilitation center for youth who were heavily addicted to drugs or who had committed serious crimes,[100] Ivan enrolled in school and proceeded to do exceedingly well in his classes. One potential solution to the question of what to do with Ivan was allowing him to stay in the *CERECO* until he was 18 years of age, the age of majority at which point he no longer legally required adult supervision and guidance. In the meantime, Ivan would continue going to school and get training in a trade that would enable him to provide for himself in the formal economy. This solution was viewed as a way of making the best of less than ideal circumstances.

During one our visits, I noticed Ivan had three little round scars on his right hand and when I asked him about them he replied a *Carabinero* had burned him while he was interned in *Niño y Patria*. He claimed *Carabinero*s would punish the children harshly, often punishing all for the mischief of one. He told me of negative experiences with some *Carabinero*s employed in *Niño y Patria* but he also told me about the kindness of most *Carabinero*s. He escaped from *Niño y Patria* after he rebelled and hit a *Carabinera* who

[98] This musical group was a favorite among street children.
[99] A popular sandwich type cookie in Chile.
[100] For instance, some of the boys in Ivan's house were in the center for having committed murder and rape.



had struck him. He was 8 years old and went to downtown Santiago where he was promptly arrested by *Carabinero*s. Ivan recalled this event as "the first time I was arrested. The first time they took me to the 34th." As with all cases involving street children, his case was sent to the Ministry of Justice where a judge ruled that he be transferred to a different state run institution, *Hogar de Carabineros*. According to Ivan, the *Carabinero* admitting him there threatened him by saying "I know you hit my colleague. You're in for difficult times." According to Ivan, he took advantage of the first opportunity that arose and escaped *Hogar de Carabineros* that same evening. Ivan then returned to downtown Santiago and found the *Plaza*. Ivan spent the next two years living, playing, and working in and around the *Plaza*.

The *Plaza* had a transient feel to it as it led to all areas of the city but was not necessarily a destination or a place to stay for a prolonged period of time; it was a place one traveled through on the way elsewhere. It was a juncture connecting neighboring and vastly different social and economic spheres. The *Plaza* consisted of a large roundabout that routed traffic through downtown Santiago surrounded by many multi-story buildings including the most modern building in Chile, a permanent lighted XEROX sign that was a longstanding landmark, restaurants, and manicured city parks. A key location in *Plaza* for children living on the streets was a video arcade[101] they frequented during all hours of business.

Although Ivan spent the majority of the day in the *Plaza* and its immediate environs, he seldom slept there. Instead, each night he traveled to a different *caleta*, San Borja, which was located in the neighboring *comuna* of Estacíon Central,[102] a tough and

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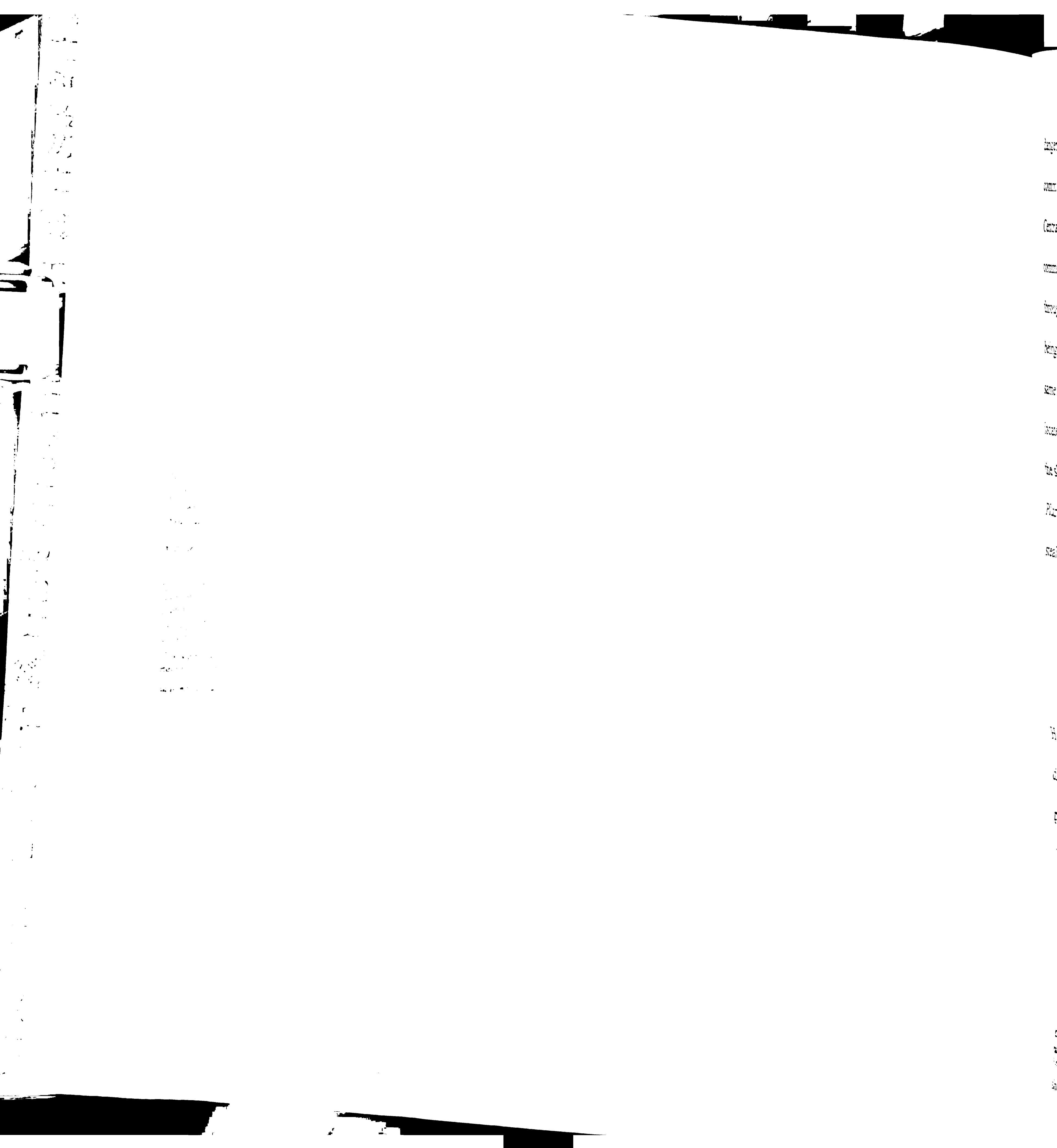
[101] The video arcade was closed down in December of 2001.

[102] Estacíon Central is located roughly a 30 to 40 minute walk from downtown Santiago.



dangerous[103] neighborhood that housed the major bus terminals for the city. The commercial buses that traveled to the North and South of Chile arrived at Estacíon Central, understandably the area was characterized by great mobility as well as constant commotion. There was an incessant movement of assorted vehicles, people and goods through the area. Estacíon Central was a poor, working class neighborhood known for being "rough" with drug use, drug deals, and drug dealers in abundant supply.[104] This same neighborhood was where the *Hogar de Cristo's* original shelter for children was located as well as their main offices. *Caleta* San Borja was located a mere 5 blocks from the shelter for children.[105] Ivan spent the next two years of his life, ages 8 to 10, in the *Plaza* learning survive as a child alone on the streets. Survival for Ivan meant learning to steal and to negotiate the multiple dangers that arise when on the streets:

> Ivan: To eat, I had to steal. To get high, I had to steal.
> Me: How did you learn these things?
> Ivan: You learn by yourself. In the street, you have to learn everything by yourself. If you don't learn things then you can't survive because there are a lot of rules on the streets. Some days you can be in a lot of danger and the others are tranquil.

He found asking for money from passers-by, *macheteando*, demeaning. In particular, he disliked the way he was made to feel by those who ignored him or insulted him. He preferred to steal and simply take what he was looking for instead of relying on society's benevolence and pity. Simultaneous with learning the ropes of the informal and illicit economy, Ivan discovered *tolueno*, a liquid substance commonly utilized by children

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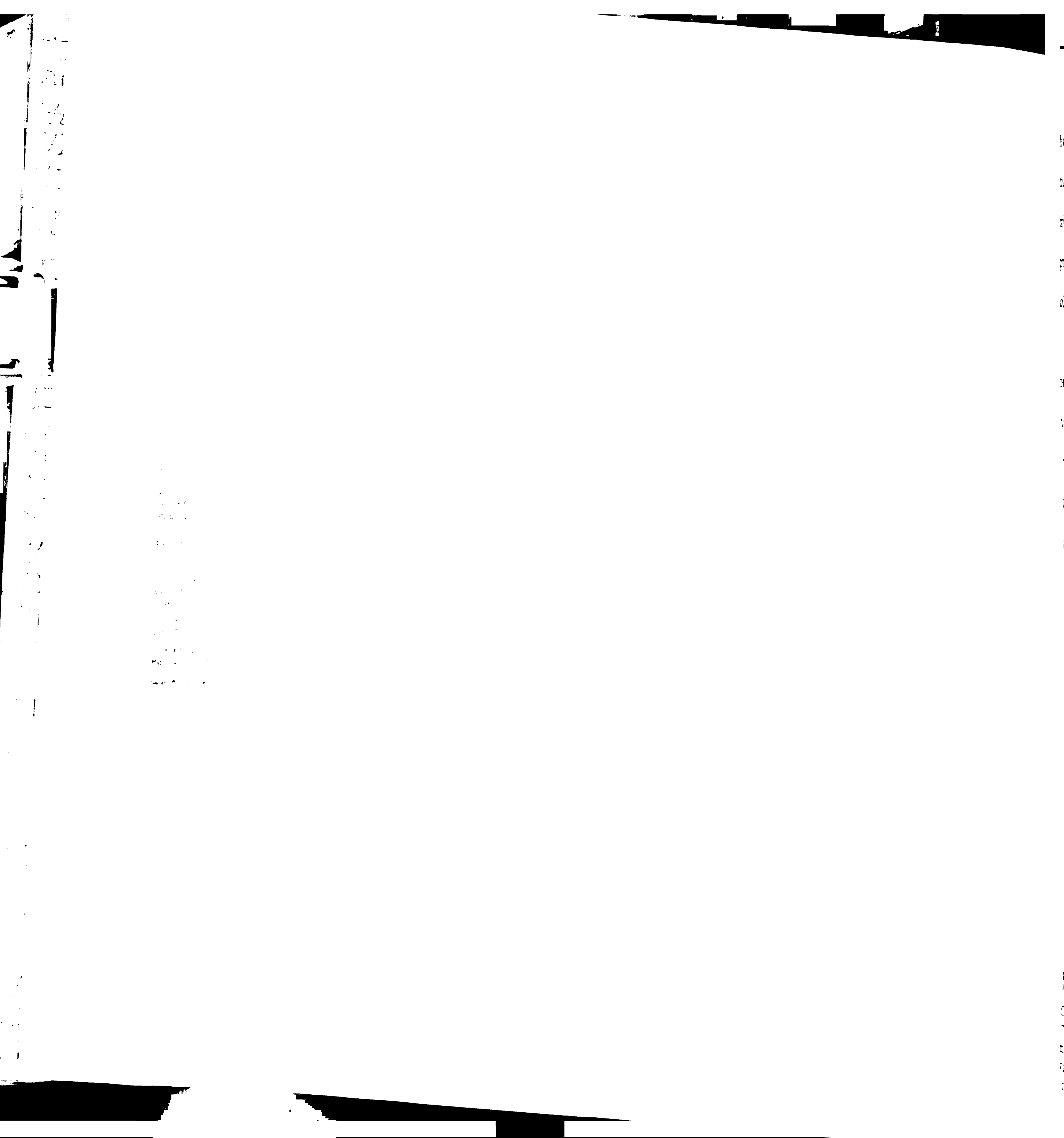
[103] I refer to comuna Estacíon Central as a dangerous location because it had a high crime rate and was known as being a central for illegal drug activity.
[104] I never felt comfortable or safe walking alone to and from the bus terminal, where the metro dropped me off, to the shelter for children once it was dark. Volunteers were warned to arrive at the shelter before it was dark out or if they had to walk at night tried not to do so alone.
[105] I met Camilo, the boy who spoke so highly of Ivan at the beginning of the chapter, in this homeless shelter.



living on the streets[106] to get high. *Tolueno* was readily available and inexpensive as was marijuana. According to Ivan, he became addicted to *tolueno*. Increasingly committing crimes to satisfy his need, he was arrested and incarcerated in a *COD*. The judge who presided over his hearing ordered him into a drug rehabilitation center; he was 10 years old.

Ivan participated in the rehabilitation program at *San Francisco de Assisi*[107] for one year and 8 months. Ivan thrived while in *San Francisco de Assisi*, he stopped using *tolueno* and other drugs and grew healthier. But a major obstacle faced by Ivan's case workers there was the center's emphasis of working with the client's family in an effort to facilitate the reintegration and reinsertion of the boy in his original family setting. As a reward for good behavior, boys in the program were allowed to visit their home on weekends. After the visits, counselors would talk to the parents and the boy to evaluate the quality of their interactions and in what activities the boy engaged. According to the center's records, Ivan's family, specifically his mother, wanted nothing to do him, literally telling them to "forget I am his mother." When describing the time he spent in the rehabilitation center to me, Ivan mentioned his family never went to *San Francisco de Assisi* to pay him a visit. Without familial support, Ivan formed strong bonds with boys who were in the center with him and visited their families with them[108] on weekends. While he enjoyed visiting his friend's family's, he was not able establish that type bond or relationship with his own family. Ivan stated he left *San Francisco de Assisi* after 20

[106] But using *tolueno* to get high is not a "street child phenomena." Normative children and adolescents in the United States engage in this activity, called huffing.

[107] San Francisco de Assisi was a rehabilitation center run by the Catholic Church, specifically *Hogar de Cristo*.

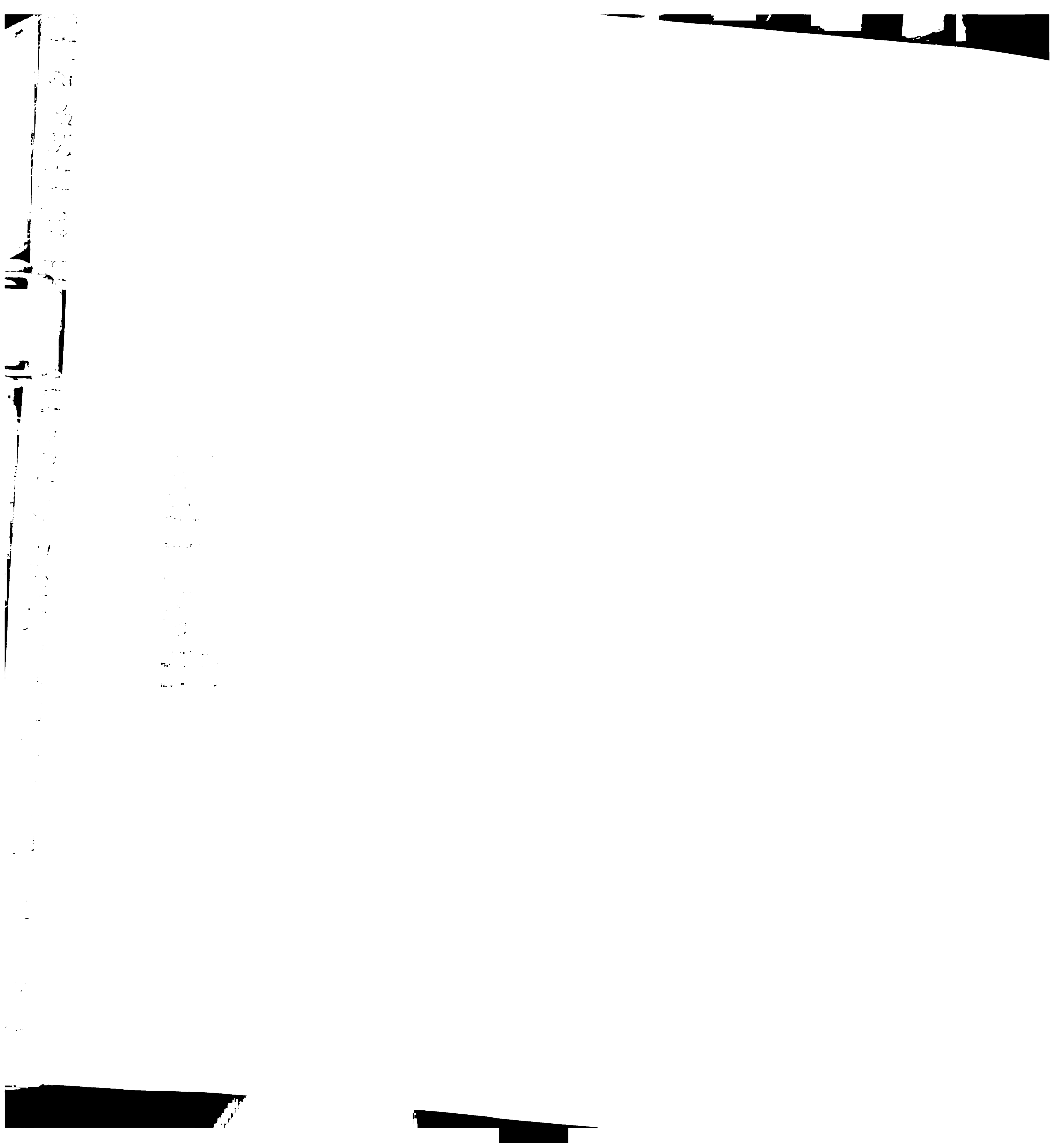
[108] Some of these friendships remain. During the time I knew Ivan, he started visiting a boy who had been in San Francisco de Assisi with him. The mother commented to me that she felt badly for Ivan because he was a good boy. I also got the impression having him visit was difficult for her as she was having trouble with her own son and unprepared to take on another boy and his problems.

successful months of rehabilitation because friends from the *Plaza* came looking for him, so he left. The social workers and psychologists who were familiar with him and his case history believed he was so disillusioned with his mother's rejection that he chose to return to the streets. Staying in the *San Francisco de Assissi* forced him to constantly face his mother's rejection as expressed in her absence from his life and her refusal to allow him entrée into her current family's life.

Ivan returned to the video arcade in the *Plaza*, to sporadic use of the shelter for children, and to stealing as a survival mechanism. Periodically, he was arrested for stealing and sent to *CTD Pudahuel* from where he escaped and returned to the streets. Eventually, he was barred from accessing to the shelter due to his behavior. I found references to his "behavioral problems" noteworthy as I was not given examples of him being more aggressive than what I witnessed with other children at the shelter. While in the shelter, I witnessed many forms of aggressive behavior, from fighting to verbal cruelty, yet these street children were allowed to stay.

Self-mutilation scars set Ivan apart from most street children, especially tough male adolescents with a long history of incarceration. He did not have self-inflicted scars on his forearms or any of his limbs. Ivan did not self-mutilate because he considered the practice stupid. He was aware that if and when *Carabinero*'s saw self-mutilation scars on the arms of street children they treated them badly. Recall, Ivan spent three years in a *Carabinero* run orphanage, he had ample opportunity to witness and learn first hand *Carabinero* attitudes and behaviors regarding this particular practice.

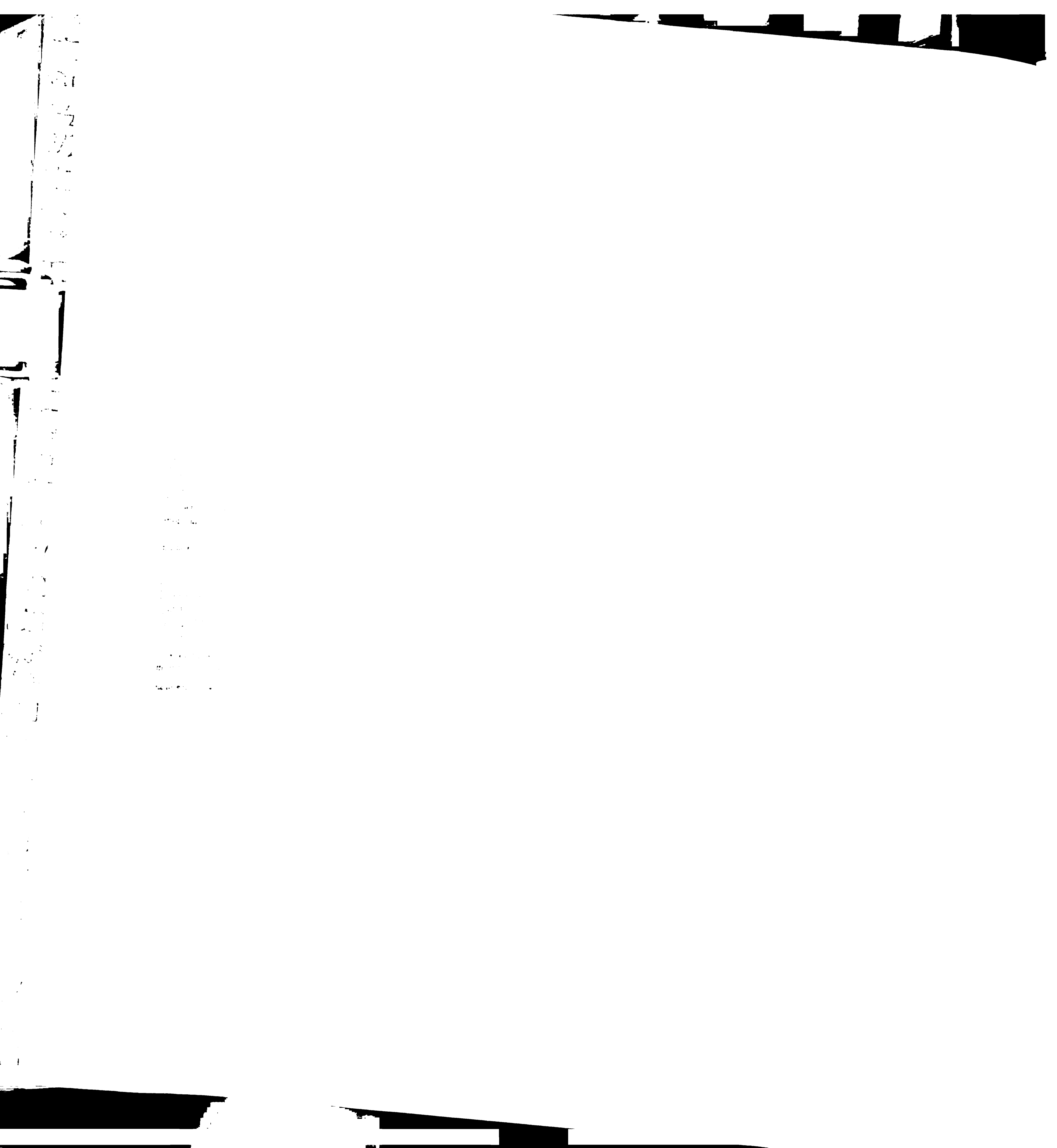
Ivan had many incentives to steal. He found begging humiliating and ruled it out as strategy to earn money. He found stealing more appealing and furthermore he was a



good thief. Stealing was a lucrative activity for him and provided him with a reliable means for supplying his daily survival needs. He acquired the reputation of being a good thief among street children which was respected. Furthermore, according to Ivan the managers of the video arcade located in the *Plaza* that street children frequented would compensate him with video tokens for valuable goods he brought them, such as cellular phones. Ivan lived his life as a street child, a life he described as entailing sleeping in *caleta*s, engaging in illicit work to access money, and inhaling *tolueno* to get high until he was arrested in December 2000 for assault with a weapon and incarcerated in *COD San Joaquin* instead of *CTD Pudahuel*. After four long months of "doing time" he was transferred to *CERECO Santa Inez*.

Ivan stayed in *CERECO Santa Inez* until October of 2001 when he left the center without management's authorization and was reported to *Carabinero*s. This forced Ivan to be especially cautious on the streets as he did not want to be incarcerated in *San Joaquin* again. According to Ivan, he left because he had broken a center rule, he had bought glue for the boys in his house to get high, and he feared being sent to *COD San Joaquin*. He preferred the risks associated with being on the street than the certainty of being incarcerated. Ivan intentionally avoided the *Plaza* because he did not want to get into old habits. Within days of leaving *Santa Inez*, Ivan joined a different group of youth in another *Plaza* who were being educated in thievery by a professional thief who coincidentally had a house where all the youth he was training stayed. Ivan contacted me and informed where he was staying and working.

I searched for Ivan in the new *Plaza* and found him there among roughly 15 youth hanging around, some circling on bicycles. We sat on a bench where he reprimanded me

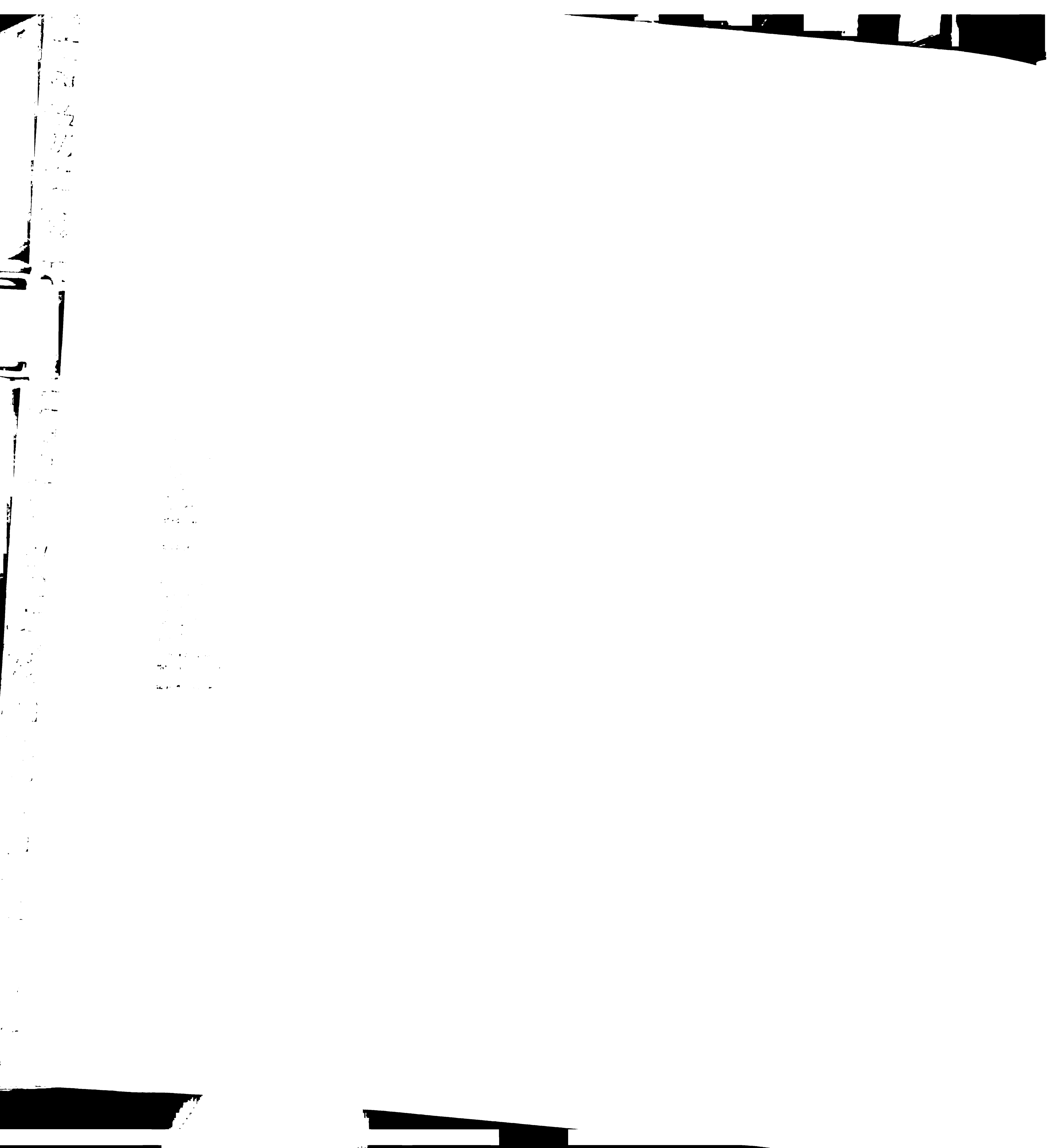


for taking my camera out of the backpack I was carrying as now those around us knew I was carrying valuables. He instructed me how to carry my backpack to avoid having it snatched from me. During this visit, Ivan expressed regret about having left *CERECO Santa Inez* and wondered whether they would take him back. He told me he had traveled to see his teacher in the school he had been attending to know whether he could take an exam he needed to take and pass in order to advance in grade.[109]

Ivan was on the streets for a little over month before he was arrested and incarcerated in *COD San Joaquin*. He claimed he was arrested because a pedophile he beat up for hitting on a friend of his informed *Carabinero*s that he was sleeping on a bench in a public *Plaza* although according to the police they claimed he was stealing. Back in *COD San Joaquin*, Ivan's smile faded some. But at the same time he seemed to like being around some of the educators, counselors, and psychologists he had befriended during his last stay. When I left the field, *CERECO Santa Inez* was negotiating with *COD San Joaquin* and with Ivan to transfer him to their center again. They expected to have him back in *Santa Inez* within a month's time.

Ivan's experiences as a child living on the streets were common ones and in many ways he was an average street child. But his experiences were also contingent upon his individual circumstances and choices and therefore not subject to generalizations.

[109] The teacher told him she would allow him to take the exam as he had been an excellent student and she thought he would pass without a problem.

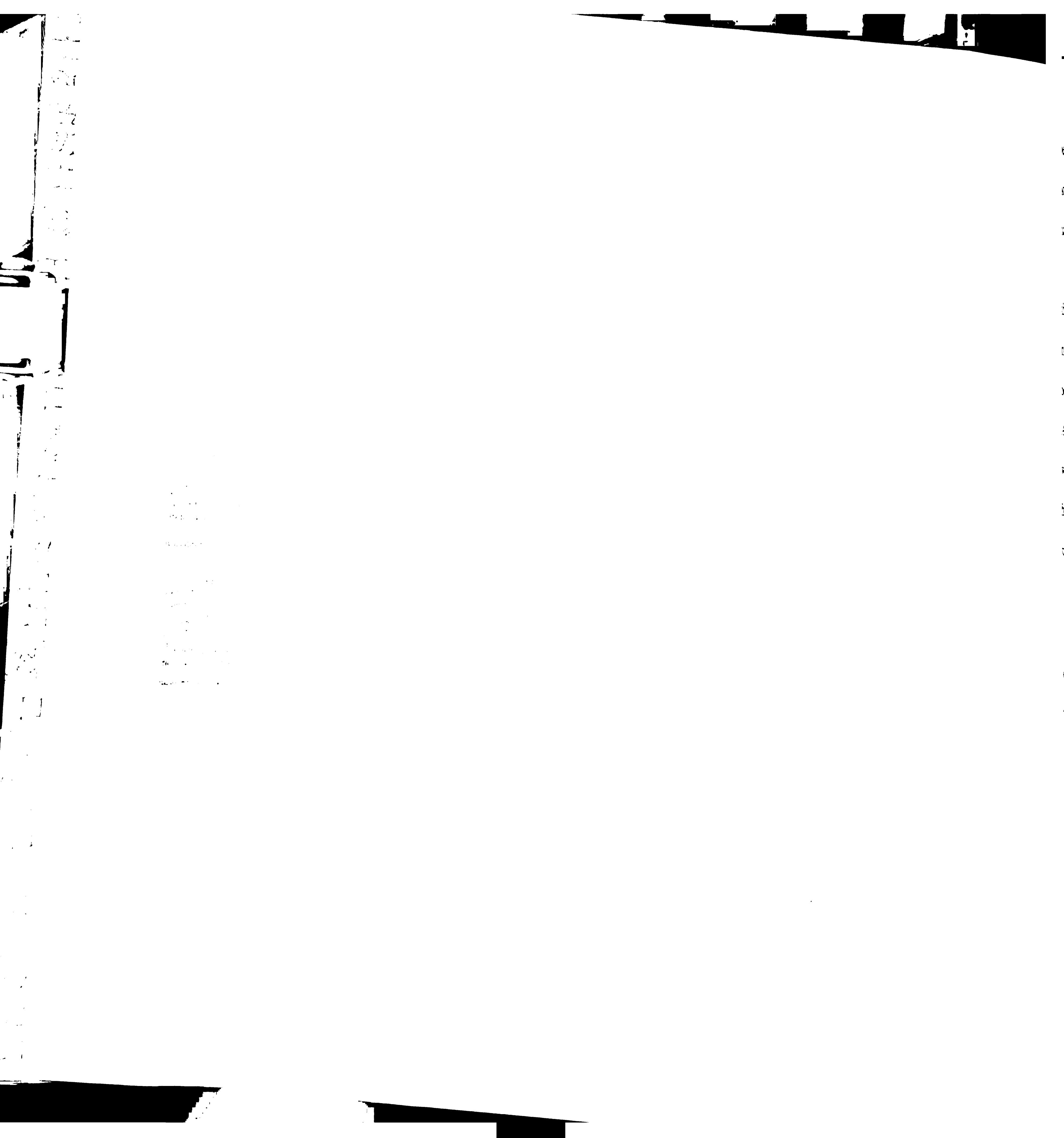


Pamela's Story

Pamela and I first met during the *Grupo de Apoyo,*[110] a pilot program designed for children living on the streets who were unable to comply with the rules of the day program at the *Casa de Acogida*. The program operated for two hours during the evening, intending to reach street children not allowed entrance into the *Casa de Acogida* or access to its services. Some of the reasons why access to the day program was revoked included: violent behavior such as physically fighting with other children, staff or volunteers, drug use within the boundaries of the *Casa de Acogida*, and reaching 18 years of age. This noncompliance rendered them unable to access its resources. Pamela appeared one day accompanying the "regulars" and became a regular herself. She was 16 years old and approximately 5 months pregnant when she began attending the evening program. She had spent a total of 4 years living the life of a street child. Her thin arms had numerous scars of various lengths and depths that revealed her engagement in self-mutilating activities.

Pamela was of small stature approximately 5'1" and of a slight build with her belly just beginning to swell. Her skin coloring was a medium *café con leche* color; she had dark brown, straight, shoulder length hair. She was a pretty girl with delicate features and clear eyes who seldom wore make-up. Her preference was for baggy, sporty, athletic clothing and sneakers. Like most of the group, she liked wearing name brands such as Nike ® and Adidas ®. She noticed I wore Adidas ® sneakers, sized up my shoe, and promptly gave up. I must admit, I was relieved to wear 9.5 shoes as my shoes tended to

[110] Grupo de Apoyo translates into "Support Group." The "Support Group" was a pilot program inaugurated in September 2001.



be far too large for the girls. When boys tried to measure their feet against mine I would nonchalantly mention my sneakers were "girl" shoes and that usually deterred them from harassing me about wanting my shoes.[111]

Pamela, like most who utilized the evening program, would upon arrival take a shower, wash her clothes, speak with an educator or the psychologist or simply hang out in the courtyard with the others until a snack consisting of bread with butter and / or bologna and a drink was served. She seemed withdrawn from the adults in the *Casa de Acogida*; although she was polite to them, she kept her distance. On the other hand, she was playful and boisterous with the group. She easily asserted herself among them and her self-confidence was apparent. The group treated her well and tended to have special consideration of her due to her pregnancy. Miguel, who at 16 years of age was one of the older boys attending the program, was in love with Pamela. He pined for her because his was an unrequited love. Pamela was in love with the father of her unborn child, Antonio, despite the fact that he did not seem to care much about her or the child.[112] Antonio's indifference and rejection was painful to Pamela, a fact not lost on Miguel who was especially kind to her and ensured the others were respectful of her as well.[113] Miguel did

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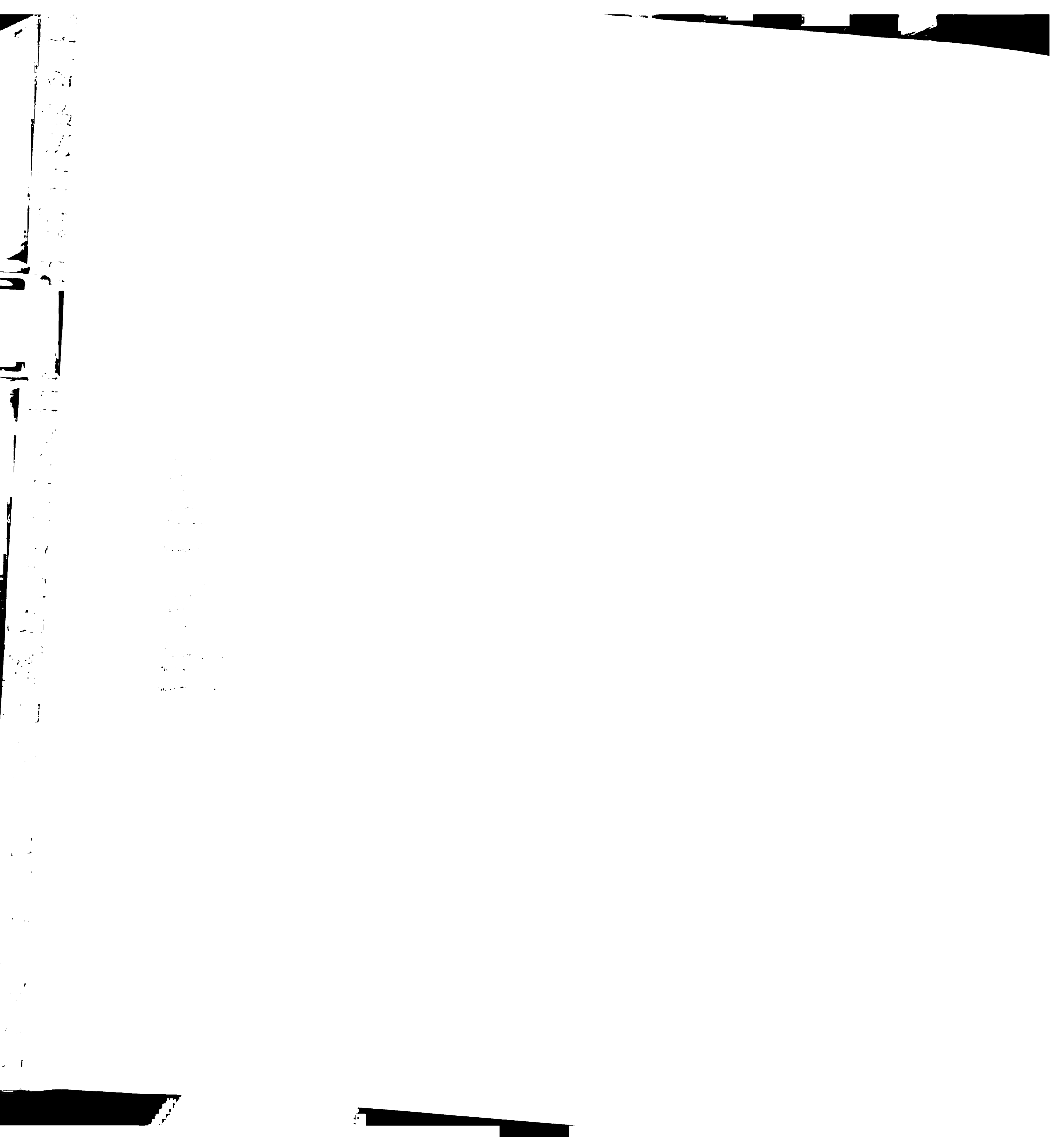
[111] This did not work all the time. One boy, of whom I was very fond, noticed I had two pairs of Adidas. He asked whether I would give him a pair. Initially, I tried to avoid giving him the shoes out of fear of setting a precedent with the other street children but ultimately my fondness for him, my appreciation for his kindness toward me – he protected me many times and the fact that he really needed shoes swayed me to give him the shoes. He wore them a few days but then I noticed he was not wearing them instead another boy (bigger and a little older) was wearing them.

[112] Antonio, the 16 year old father of Pamela's child, was known for being "tough" on the streets. He was no longer allowed to access the resources available through the Casa de Acogida due to behavioral issues. Antonio had a reputation among service providers and street children as being very aggressive and violent. One service provider told me of investing himself into trying to help Antonio only to have him go back to the drug use and street life. The service provider was not willing to invest so much of himself in Antonio again.

[113] Miguel had a lot respect among the group for not only was he tough, he was an excellent thief. He always had a switchblade on him and he had no qualms with pulling it out to threaten or intimidate others. Miguel would often use his switchblade to try to intimidate me especially when we were first getting to know each other. Initially, I would try to hide my discomfort with a blade being held against my neck. I



not hide his animosity toward Antonio. Pamela was aware of Miguel's affection for her, she genuinely cared for him and valued him as a friend but she was not in love with him. Pamela publicly displayed affection for Miguel by hugging him or placing her head on his shoulder. Theirs was a complicated relationship that included platonic and sexual elements of attraction, courting, and friendship.

One evening, a staff member of the *Grupo de Apoyo* asked whether I could accompany Pamela for a medical check-up the following day as no one from the *Casa de Acogida* was available to go with her. The following day Pamela and I met at the *Casa de Acogida* and traveled via *micros* to our destination. We conversed along the way getting know each other a little better. We were together at lunchtime so I offered to buy her a meal. She chose a nearby McDonald's for lunch.[114] As we sat eating hamburgers and fries she told me about herself and her family. Although this first outing was coincidental, it was the beginning of the deepening of our relationship. Subsequently, she asked me herself to accompany her on other outings such as going to get her *carnet* (Chilean identification card) and to get a prenatal screening.

Pamela's parents were not legally married; they got together and lived as a couple for a while. Theirs was a blended family[115] consisting of two parents and five daughters. Only one of Pamela's sisters had the same biological mother and father as she did. Pamela had a good relationship with one of her sisters; she did not get along well with the

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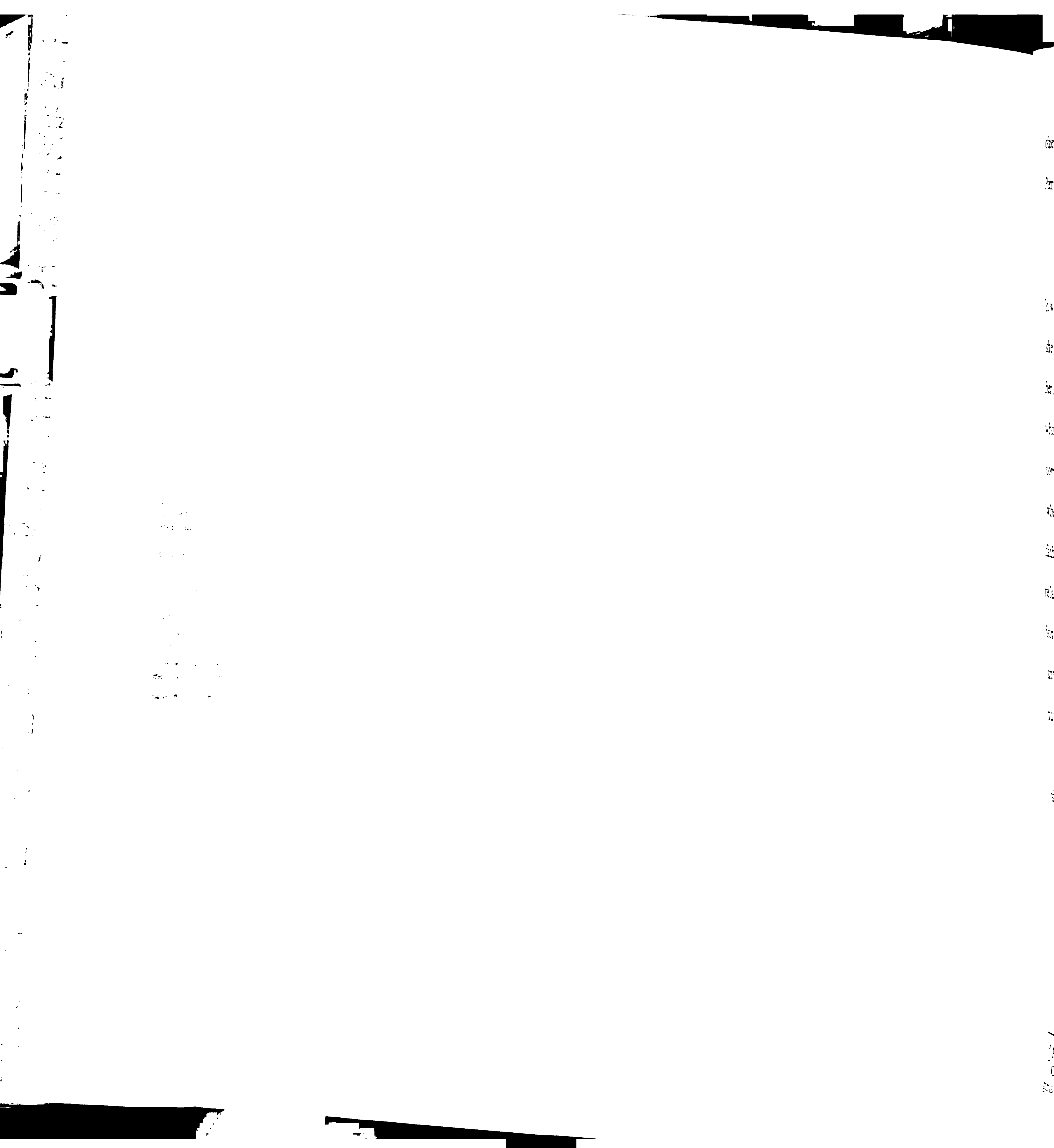
think he knew it made me uncomfortable but respected that I would not flinch from him. I think I was most bothered when I grew accustomed to the switchblade and would simply push it away from myself telling him we both knew he was not going to use it.

[114] When offered a choice among possible restaurants, the majority of street children in this study opted for a meal at McDonald's.

[115] By "blended family" I mean both Pamela's mother and father brought children from previous partnerships into their partnership and formed one family with the children they had together.



others. She told me her mother was addicted to crack and lived in a *caleta* in Santiago. Pamela cast herself in a responsible parental role with her mother:

> I always go look for her. I take her clothing, money to eat. But I can't give her more. Because she has vices,[116] I can't give her more...she spends money on vices.

It was Pamela who sought out and visited her mother providing her with food or items she needed. Pamela met her responsibility as provider by stealing. She did not mention her mother being proactive in looking for her. Pamela described her father as an alcoholic who had been "recuperated" for the past 5 months. He lived in a house in a neighboring *comuna*. Pamela's considered she had a good relationship with him and visited him whenever possible. Similar to her relationship with her mother, Pamela's role with her father was that of provider, when she visited they ate out or shopped. She had a good relationship with her younger sister, who at the time was imprisoned in *COD Santiago*[117] for stealing. Pamela expressed disappointment in her sister for "misbehaving." This was interesting given Pamela herself stole and was a good thief to meet her material, nutritional, and drug needs.

One of the moments when Pamela was overwhelmed by the reality of her situation happened when we were talking about the concept of home, or *hogar*. When I first inquired about her conceptualization of home, she spoke about state institutions, describing them as places inhabited by

> ...street children. Children who live on the streets. Children who need homes.

[116] Pamela was referring to her mother's crack addiction.
[117] COD Santiago is the *Centro de Orientacion y Diagnostico* (center for orientation and diagnosis) for girls.

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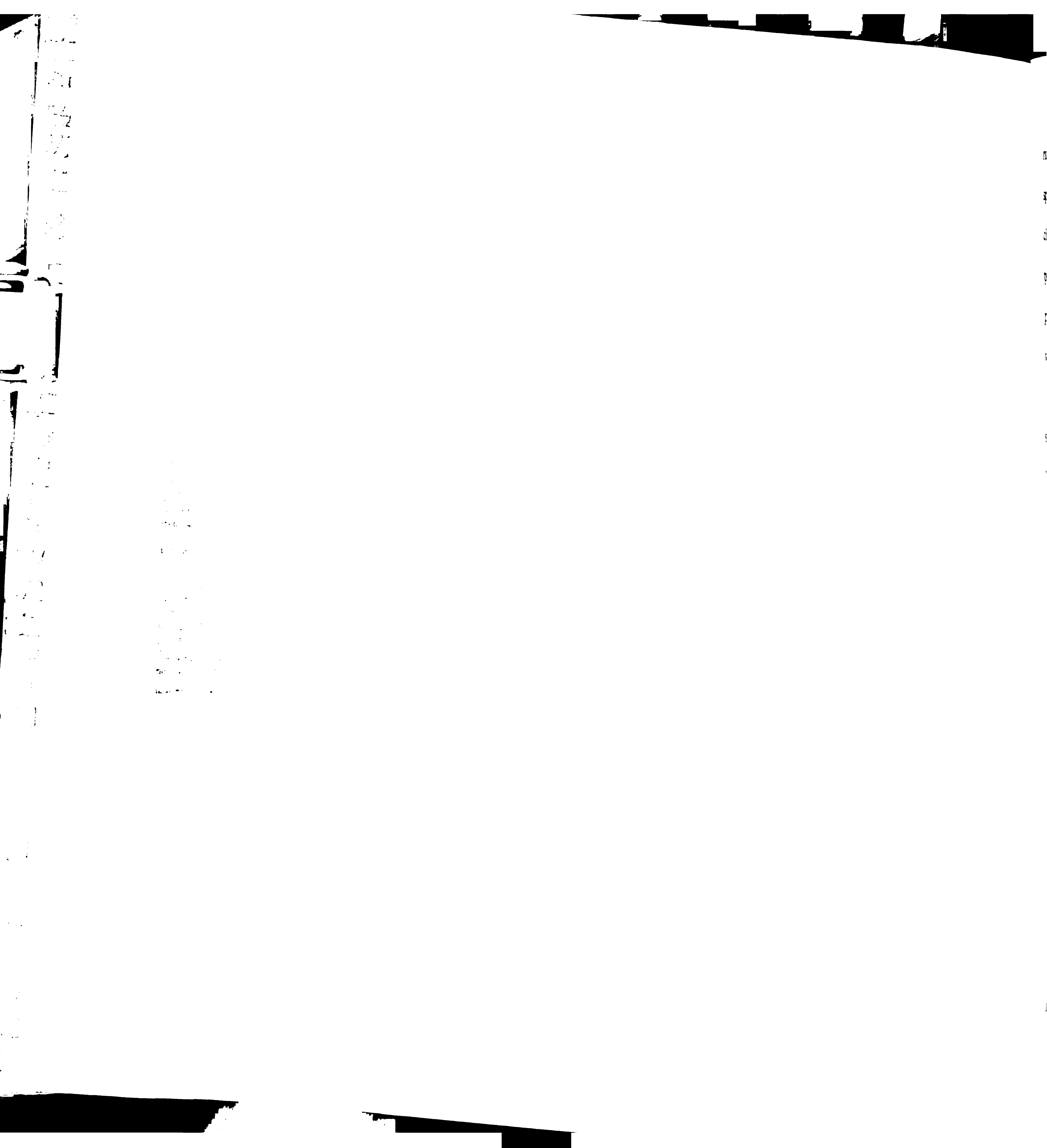
In contrast, she used the word *casa*, house, to distinguish the place where parents live with their children from state run homes. When asked to describe a "house" she initially stammered, unable to answer my question. A sad expression appeared on her face and she told me "I would not know how to explain one to you...I've never been able to live in one." She looked away as tears welled in her eyes and she unsuccessfully tried to contain them. Noticing her tears, I asked whether she was okay. She replied an unconvincing, "yes" and broke into sobs.

Pamela claims to have spent two years in *COD's*. She has been twice to *COD Pudahuel* "for protection" and escaped both times and in *COD Santiago* nine times "just for stealing." The most time she had ever spent in a *COD* at one stretch was seven months but the combination of all of her incarcerations totaled a little over 24 months. She credited her time in the *COD's* with teaching her how to take care of herself when in the streets, how to steal and do it well, and lastly simple survival skills. "I learned how to survive with other people and by myself." Integral to survival "with others and by myself" was learning to be guarded and suspicious so as to not be taken advantage of economically or sexually, or *pasados a llevar,* by other street children and questionable adults.

Survival on the streets of Santiago for Pamela meant stealing as a means of earning money. She preferred to steal using a weapon, usually a knife or switchblade, to intimidate victims. There was another type of stealing frequently used by some street children and youth, known as *lanza*, in this type of stealing the thief yanked the desired valuable especially jewelry, cellular phones, or purses from the victims and runs. Pamela did not participate in this type of stealing because as she explained, "I'm not good at



running." In order to be a successful *lanza*, the thief needed to have quick reflexes and speed. Pamela assessed herself as below par in this area and decided to maximize her chances of being a successful thief by using weapons to steal. As her pregnancy progressed she found it increasingly difficult to steal although I learned of her participation in thefts and in one instance having to run at full speed to evade capture while 6 months pregnant.

Pamela's work experience consisted of a brief stint bagging groceries in a supermarket, and stealing. She did not like begging for money, known as *macheteando*, because she found it too demeaning dealing with people's pity, humiliating looks, and nasty comments. She admitted to using sex to earn money once and claimed it had not been a premeditated strategy. She was fourteen years old at the time and was selling pirated movies she had stolen. She was smoking a joint of marijuana when she approached a taxi driver to offer him the movies. One thing led to another and according to Pamela, they had sex in the car. The taxi driver paid her $5,000 pesos (~ $ 9) and bought a movie for $ 5,000 pesos. She claimed not to have repeated the experience because she "found no rhyme or reason to what I did." She was familiar with girls who engaged in selling sex as a survival strategy. Contrary to most street children she did not judge them for doing so; she simply identified the survival strategy as not being to her liking.

Pamela believed girls who live on the streets faced different risks than did boys. Rape was a crime committed against both boys and girls but boys were at greater risk for rape when they were younger and smaller. Their risk of being raped minimizes as they

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physically develop, whereas girls are at risk for rape the entire time they are on the streets.

Another moment of letting her guard down happened when Pamela was talking about risks faced by street children. Pamela did not consider herself at risk for much while pregnant except possibly being imprisoned for stealing.[118] But she did point out that before she becoming pregnant she had to be constantly on guard "just in case they…it's just that suddenly you don't know who you're getting high with, who you're stealing with, you don't know their thoughts." I pursued this avenue as I had heard about rapes in the *caletas* by street children. I asked if she knew of girls who had been raped or almost raped. She quietly said "yes." I asked if this had happened to her. She quietly said "yes." I was surprised by her answer and was unsure whether or not to probe further.[119] I gently asked her another question and she replied factually, mechanically. I asked her whether my questions had bothered her. Again, a mechanical "no." I asked whether she had spoken about this with the psychologist at the *Casa de Acogida* whom she liked so much. She said, "No. I've never spoken of it with anyone." I reassured her no one would listen to the tape and decided to move on. I asked her how she dealt with the risks of being on the streets. Her voice cracked and she started to cry softly as she replied, "I don't know. I think I'm somewhat strong. I've become accustomed to the people." She did not want to stop the interview at that time, she was able to compose herself[120] and we

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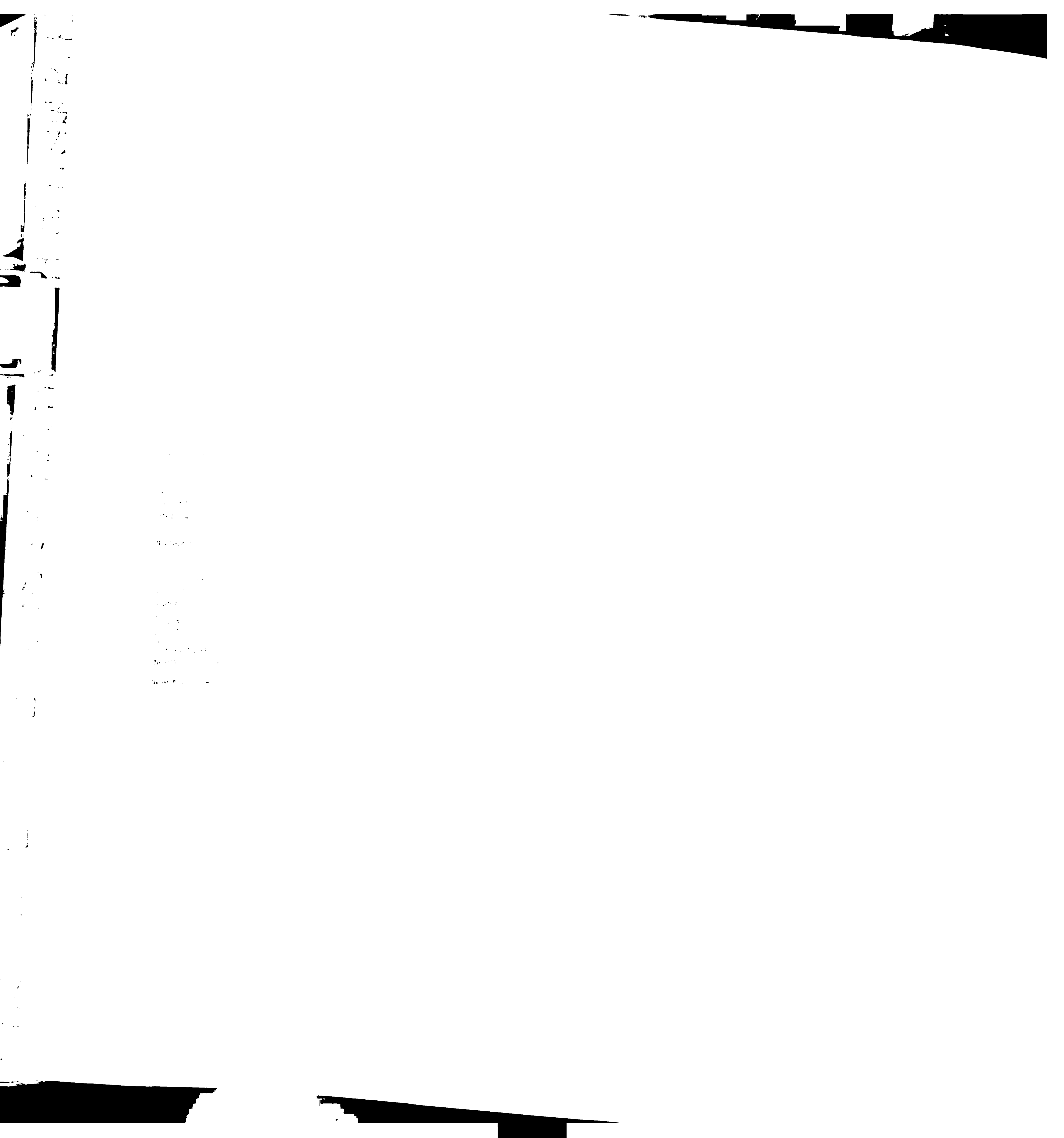
[118] Her increased risk was the result of not being able to move as quickly as before as well as she could be identified more easily.

[119] I was not surprised by the fact that she had been raped. I was surprised she was admitting it. I believe rape cases are far underestimated among children (both boys and girls) living on the streets. Among the reasons for non-reporting is that they do not have legal recourse or they may feel pressure from within their "group" to keep quiet.

[120] I feel great ambivalence here. I'm not sure whether she composed herself or was simply suppressing her emotions or if there is really a difference. I know wearing your heart on your sleeve while living on the



continued. Pamela was raped in *caleta* "Chuck Norris" the previous year by one adolescent who was high at the time. She claimed not to know who he was although he had entrée to the *caleta*. She insisted no one else knew about what had happened to her.

Girls were vulnerable within groups of street children as Pamela's comment and experience above indicate. Some girls found protection by becoming the "wife" of a boy or adolescent who had respect on the streets. If the boy or adolescent was respected among the group that respect was automatically extended to his girlfriend as a sign of respect for him and his "wife" was not taken advantage of, *pasada a llevar*. As "wife," the girl was expected to perform traditional and submissive "housewife" duties. For instance, she was responsible for hand washing their clothing, having sex with him, and obeying him. The boy's duties toward his "wife" were to provide for her through his stealing exploits. Physical violence, a form of domestic violence, was common between couples as a boy tended to view it as his right to beat his "wife" if he was unhappy with her. As soon as the boy broke up with his "wife," the group of street children or youth withdrew the respect automatically given to the girl and she was treated poorly and chastised for having been dumped but also belittled as a person for only being able to get respect through someone else. Pamela recognized this was a common strategy but claimed,

> that has not happened to me because I have always known my own self-worth. It's never happened to me that I have to be with someone tougher, *mas choro*, to not be taken advantage of.

I never saw Pamela together with Antonio so I cannot comment upon the respect given to her by street children because of her coupling with him. Especially, since she was not his

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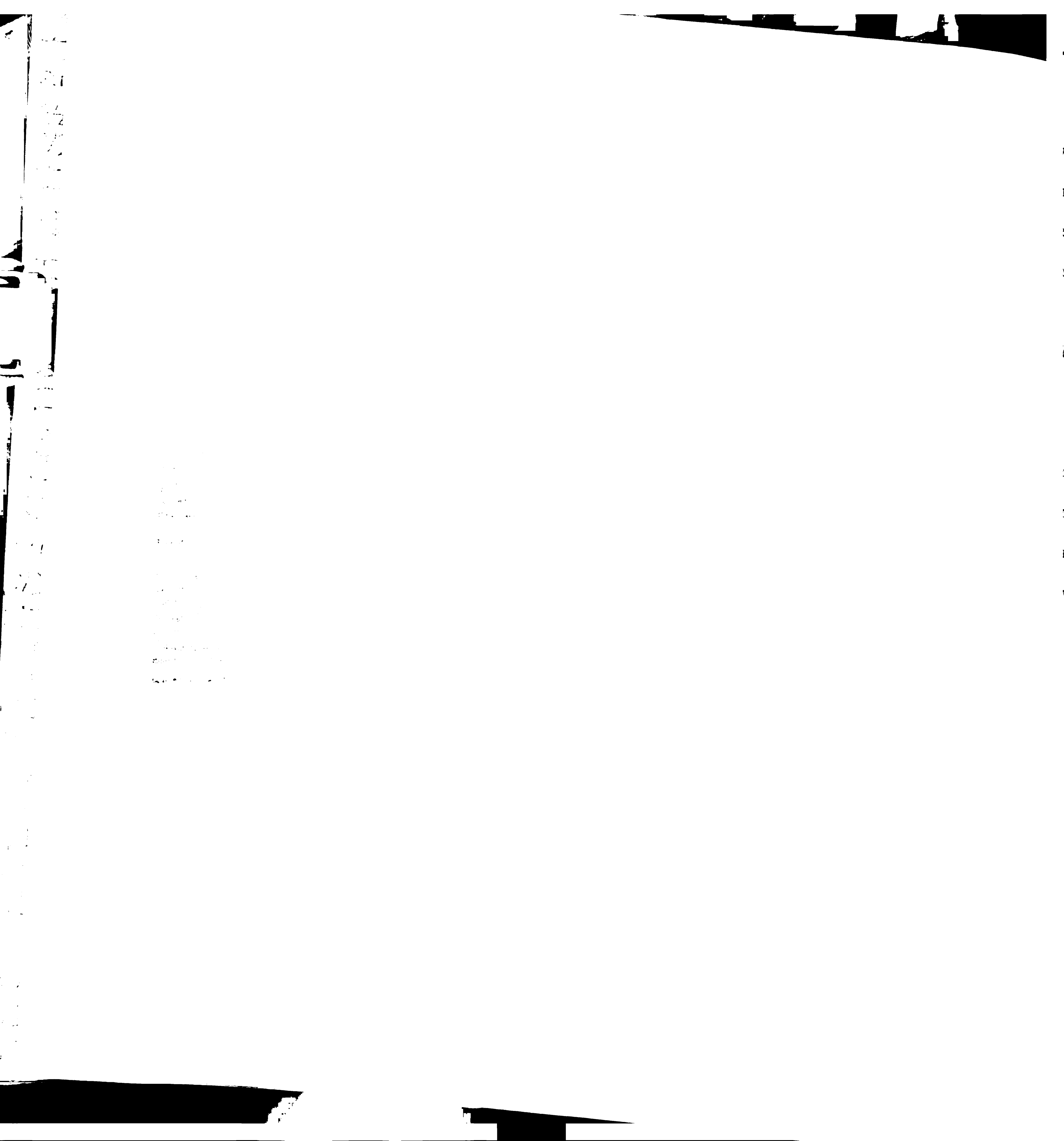
streets is not beneficial to survival. It would reflect weakness which translates to being prey for others, street children or adults alike.

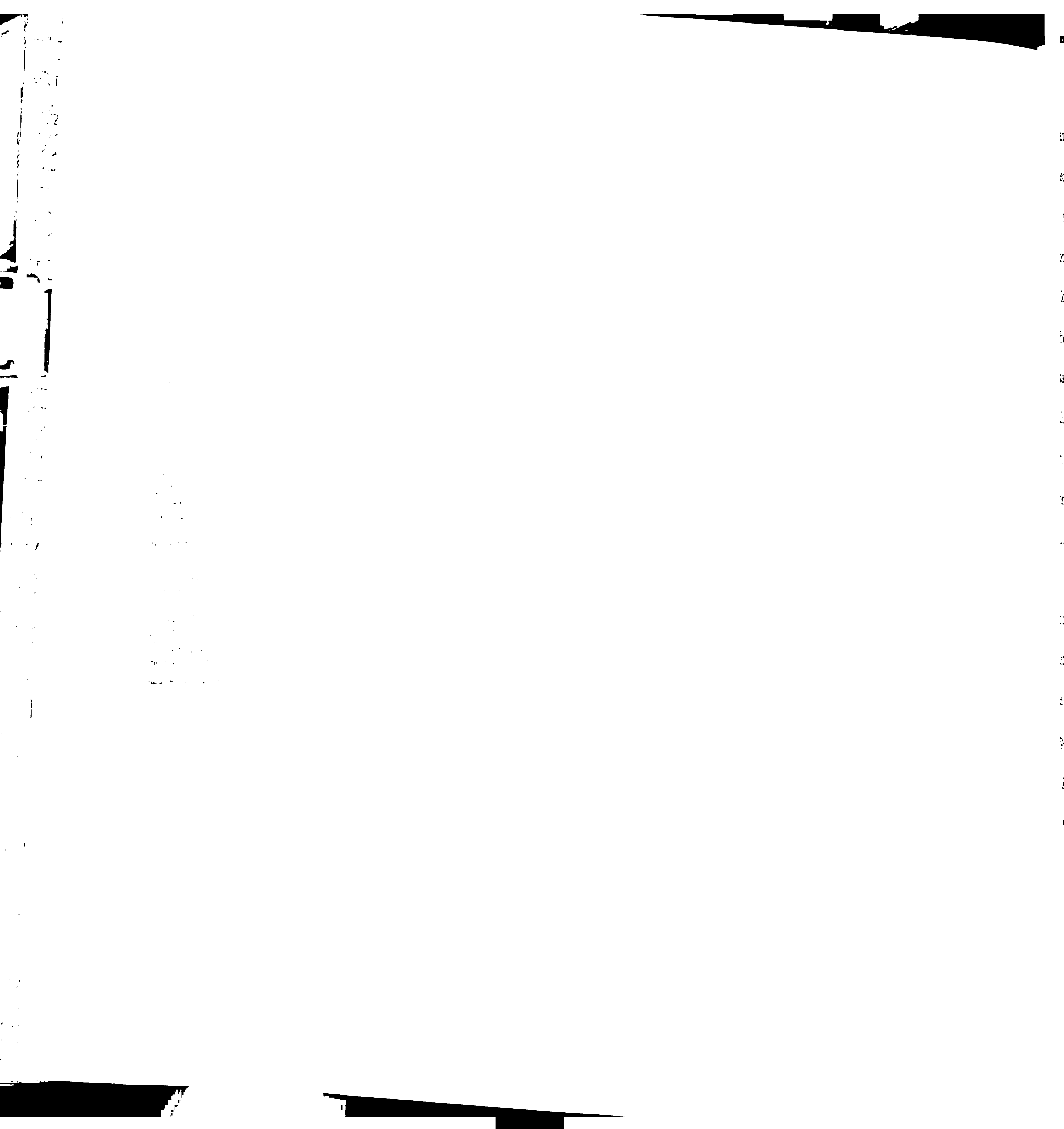


"wife," she did not perform "wifely" duties for him. While I do know Antonio was tough and had much respect on the streets, Pamela seemed to hold her own on the streets. But her situation was complicated by of her ambiguous relationship with Miguel who actively looked after her and ensured she was treated with respect by the group.

Identification Card

I realized Pamela trusted me when she asked me to accompany her to get her *carnet* (Chilean identification card). At 16 years of age, she was a legal minor and was not allowed by the state to perform this transaction on her own. Somehow, the fact that I, an adult although not remotely related to her and despite my status as a foreigner, was present gave her the legitimacy and right to wait in lines and submit forms for the processing of her identification card. Pamela needed the identification card for she was approximately 7 months pregnant and had yet to receive any prenatal care. The hospital required she present her identification card to have an ultrasound. She required passport size pictures for the identification card so we went into one of the many little stores offering "the best deal" on these pictures to obtain them. I waited in the reception area as Pamela had her picture taken. Shortly, she joined me in the reception area to wait for the pictures to be developed. We sat side by side in this room decorated with different types of photographs taken there: identification pictures, passport pictures, family pictures.

Pamela seemed to be in a quiet, introspective mood and mentioned needing to have an ultrasound done. I noticed Pamela's eyes were moist and I asked if she was *alright*. Her response was to suddenly burst into tears. All I could think to do was to hold

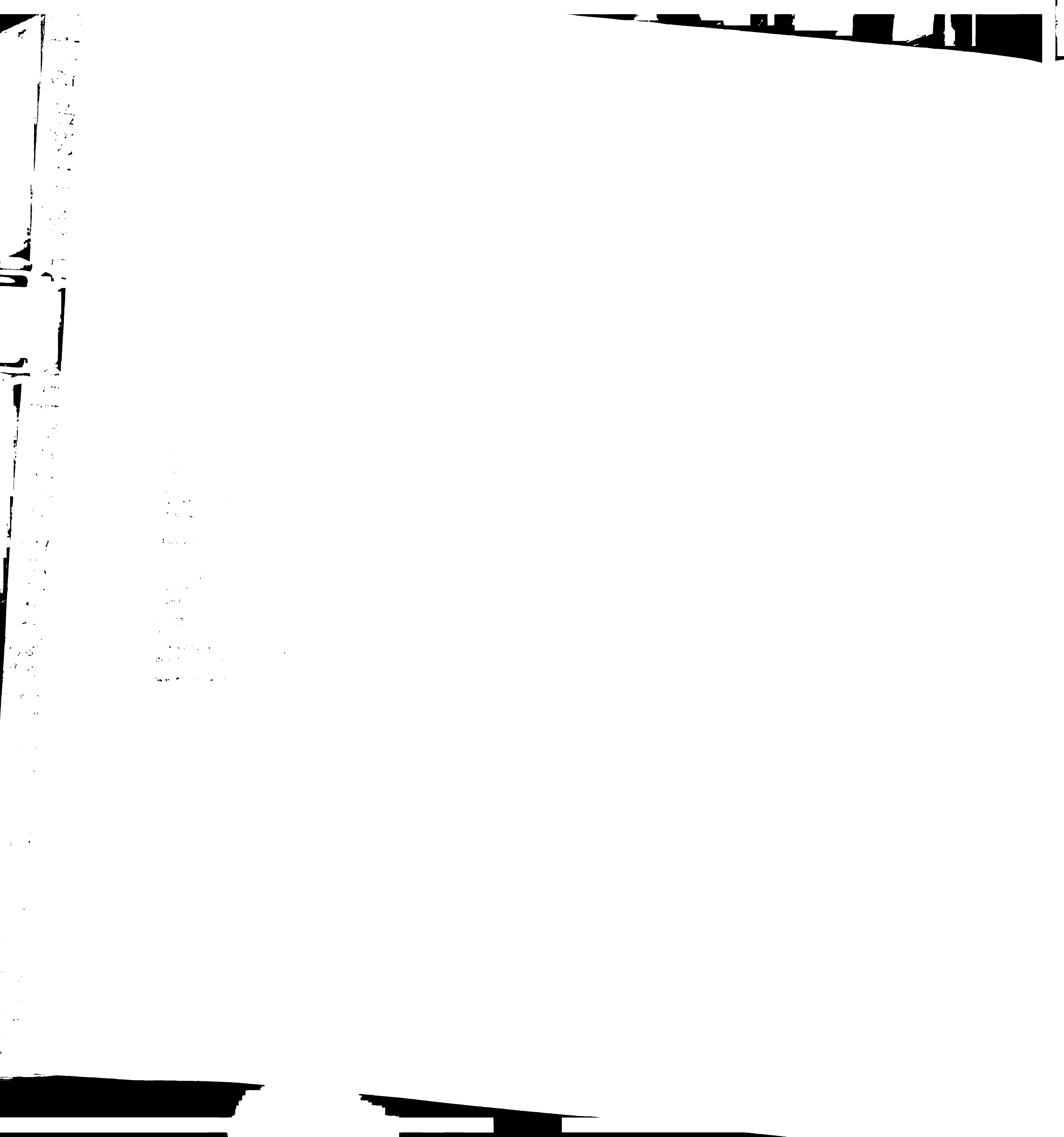


her and try to comfort her. In between violent sobs, she admitted to being afraid. She voiced the many fears that gripped her: she was afraid her daily glue sniffing had hurt her baby for she had not felt it move in a while; she was scared about the prospect of becoming a mother; she did not know where she would stay once the baby was born but she knew she could not bring a baby to the streets; and Antonio was not interested in her or the baby. I held her while she sobbed and trembled. I could not offer her comfort her by saying "It's going to be okay" for I did not know whether all would be fine. All I could do was hope that at least this emotional breakdown was a cathartic experience for her. In a moment, the independent, adult-like Pamela I had known for the past few months was transformed into a vulnerable child. She reached out to me to hold her which I did until she was ready to let go.

We then headed to the *Registro Civil*, City Hall, to submit the paperwork and pictures needed to process her identification card. This was the same building where citizens registered their newborn children, got marriage licenses, basically performed legal transactions about which the state wanted to be informed. First, we stood in line to pay the required fees at the cashier's desk. Pamela was carrying the cash she needed, given to her by the *Casa de Acogida*, and paid for the *carnet* herself. We were then directed to stand in center line which was the longest. We waited along with a variety of other people. When we reached a window, the teller took Pamela's paperwork and the proof of payment she was given at the cashier's desk. The teller, a male roughly in his 30's, asked me if the *carnet* was for Pamela and both Pamela and I responded to his question. The teller was more interested in the fact that I spoke Spanish as well as I did than in why Pamela did not have her identification card although he did ask her a couple

of questions about how it came to be that she did not have one. The remainder of the interaction revolved around him asking me questions about myself while he completed Pamela's paperwork. When he was finished with her paperwork he gave us a date when we could return for the identification card.

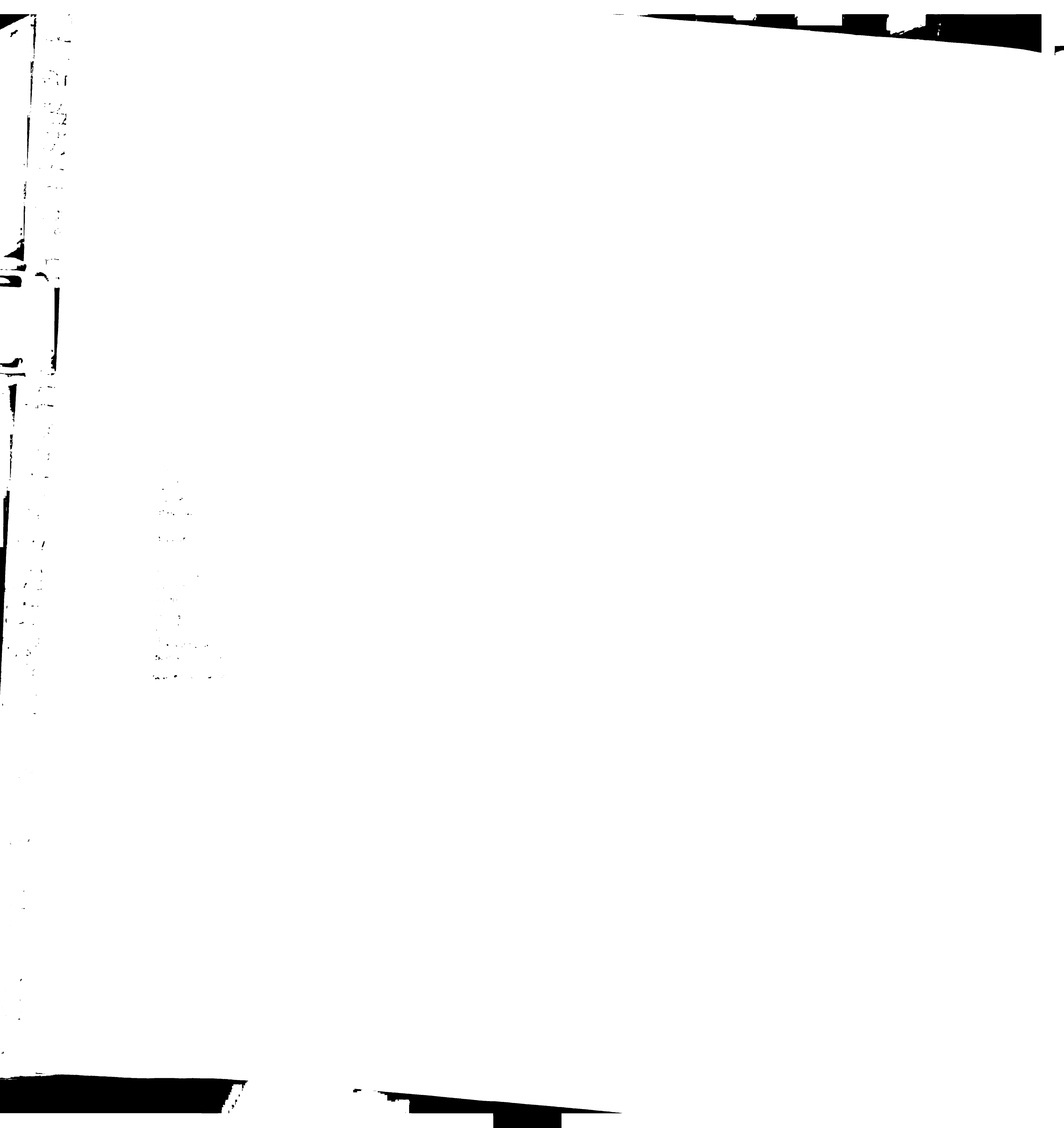
A few weeks later, when we retrieved her *carnet* from the *Registro Civil*, Pamela asked me to accompany her to the hospital to get an ultrasound. She was concerned about the exam because she feared learning her child had been physically damaged by her drug use. Drug abuse was not the only factor posing a potential complication to Pamela's giving birth to a healthy child. She had experienced a series of complications throughout her pregnancy, such as vomiting blood and premature contractions, for which she had not received any kind of medical attention. We entered the hospital emergency room where she presented her *carnet* and were triaged into a separate waiting section of the emergency room designated for pregnant women. The waiting room was small with six rows of plastic chairs with seven seats per row were mostly taken by patients and their companions. There were chairs lining three of the four walls. The fourth wall led to double doors that separated the waiting area from the rooms where patients were being attended. We found two seats and waited, Pamela fidgeted nervously the entire time. An ambulance pulled up with its siren blaring and light flashing. A woman, apparently in active labor and in much pain, was wheeled on a gurney past the waiting area through the double doors. Pamela silently watched the woman go by, as did everyone else in the waiting room in the area. A couple of minutes later a frazzled man followed the laboring woman through the double doors. Pamela asked me to accompany her when she was called but I was not allowed to enter with her. Apparently, the fact that she was seven



months pregnant rendered her an adult and adults do not need supervision to go to a medical appointment.[121] I waited roughly an hour before Pamela exited the double doors her face beaming and tears streaking down her cheeks. She spoke so excitedly that I could not understand what she was saying. I joined her outside where she told me she had seen the baby during the ultrasound, it was a boy and she had seen him move. She was elated as she told me about the ultrasound while chain smoking cigarettes to calm down. She told me the name she had picked out for her son. She commented, more for her benefit than mine it seemed, that she needed to not huff so much glue. The ultrasound had alleviated her fears of having a stillborn or physically deformed child and she expressed a deep relief.[122] She seemed not to know, understand or consider the possibility that her son could still be born with congenital or developmental problems.

Following the ultrasound, Pamela tried to cut down on her drug consumption. She tried not to huff glue every day and eventually cut back to just once day. This effort to clean up for the baby was a tremendous feat as huffing was incorporated into her daily routine. She described quitting her huffing habit as incredibly difficult as she claimed "her body asked her for it" and she was suffering from withdrawal symptoms. Additionally, while she succeeded in reducing the amount of huffing she did, she increased her consumption of cigarettes to help her control her cravings and lessen her withdrawal. Smoking cigarettes was not contemplated as a health risk not just by street children but by Chileans in general.

[121] So, hospitals consider minors who are pregnant to be "emancipated minors" and treat them as adults. Whereas, the *registro civil* (where she got the identification card) considers her a minor due to her age and required she be accompanied by an adult.
[122] I do not think ultrasounds "show" mental handicaps or delays caused by drug use. I know of children born to girls who were heavily huffing glue that had severe developmental problems.

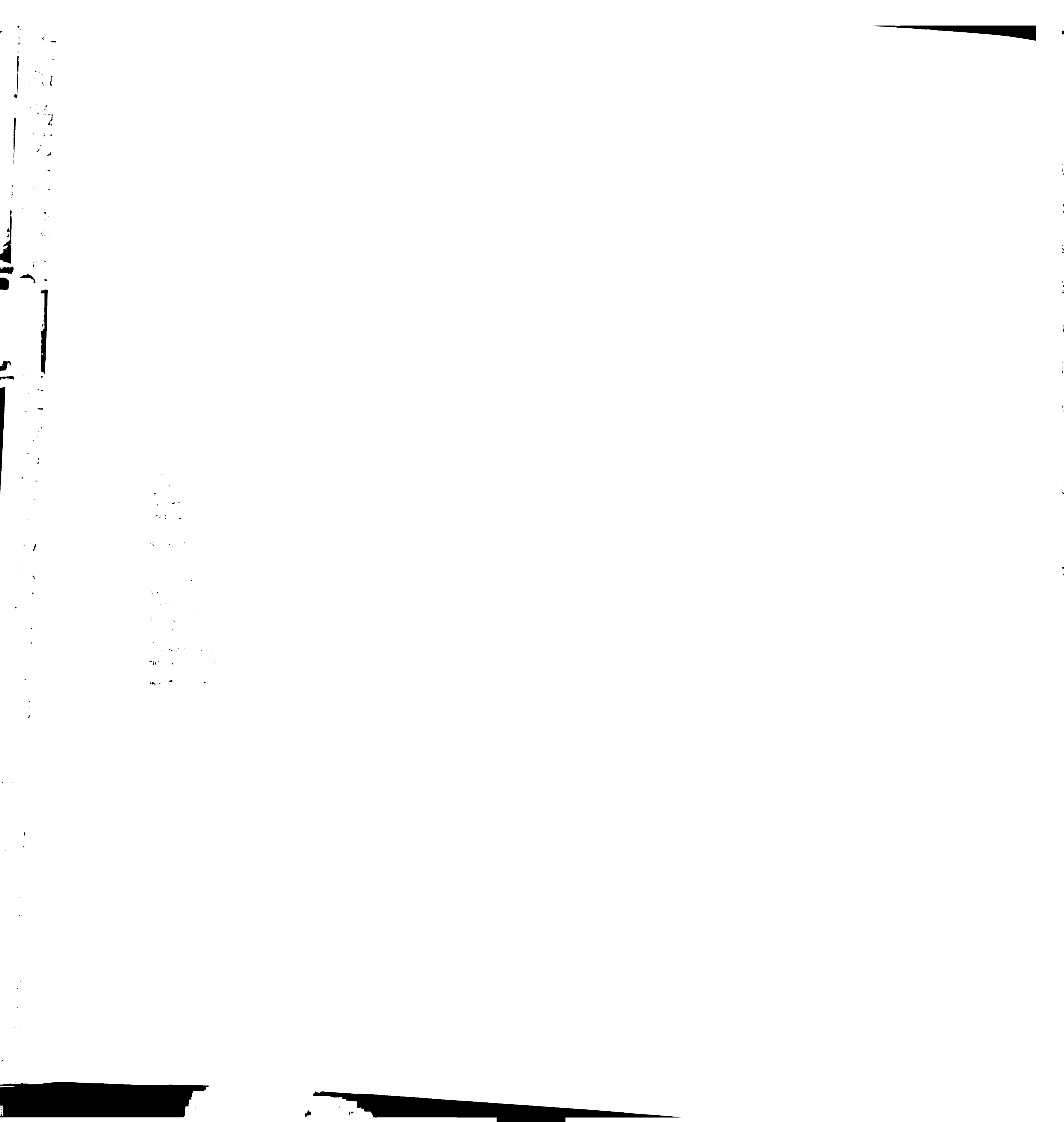


Pamela was in "Chuck Norris" the night the *caleta* was raided by police who were searching for three runaways from Chillán.[123] Her belongings were confiscated and or destroyed by *Carabineros*, including the disposable camera I gave to her to document her life on the streets.[124] Several of the street children present during the raid on "Chuck Norris" described *Carabineros* physically striking Pamela despite seeing she was obviously pregnant. Pamela was not able to run fast enough to evade police capture and was arrested.

Pamela expressed an ambivalence regarding her own status as child or adult. When asked point blank whether she considered herself to be a child or an adult she immediately responded she was an adult. Pamela offered the following reasons to support her answer: "A child does not steal, does not have a baby, and does not have sexual intercourse." Her statement suggests she considered childhood linked with innocence and adulthood with a loss of that innocence. This belief was consistent with society's conceptualizations of children and childhood as temporary phases characterized by innocence and the need for protection. Children living on the streets were denied the status of "children" because of the adultified lifestyle they led. Yet, although Pamela considered herself an adult, she contradicted her own self-description when she proclaimed she "needs to be more responsible." This statement alludes to her trying to be a responsible adult but not quite there yet. As Valentine (2004) points out the progression between childhood and adulthood was not linear and Pamela exemplified the fluctuations characteristic of this progression.

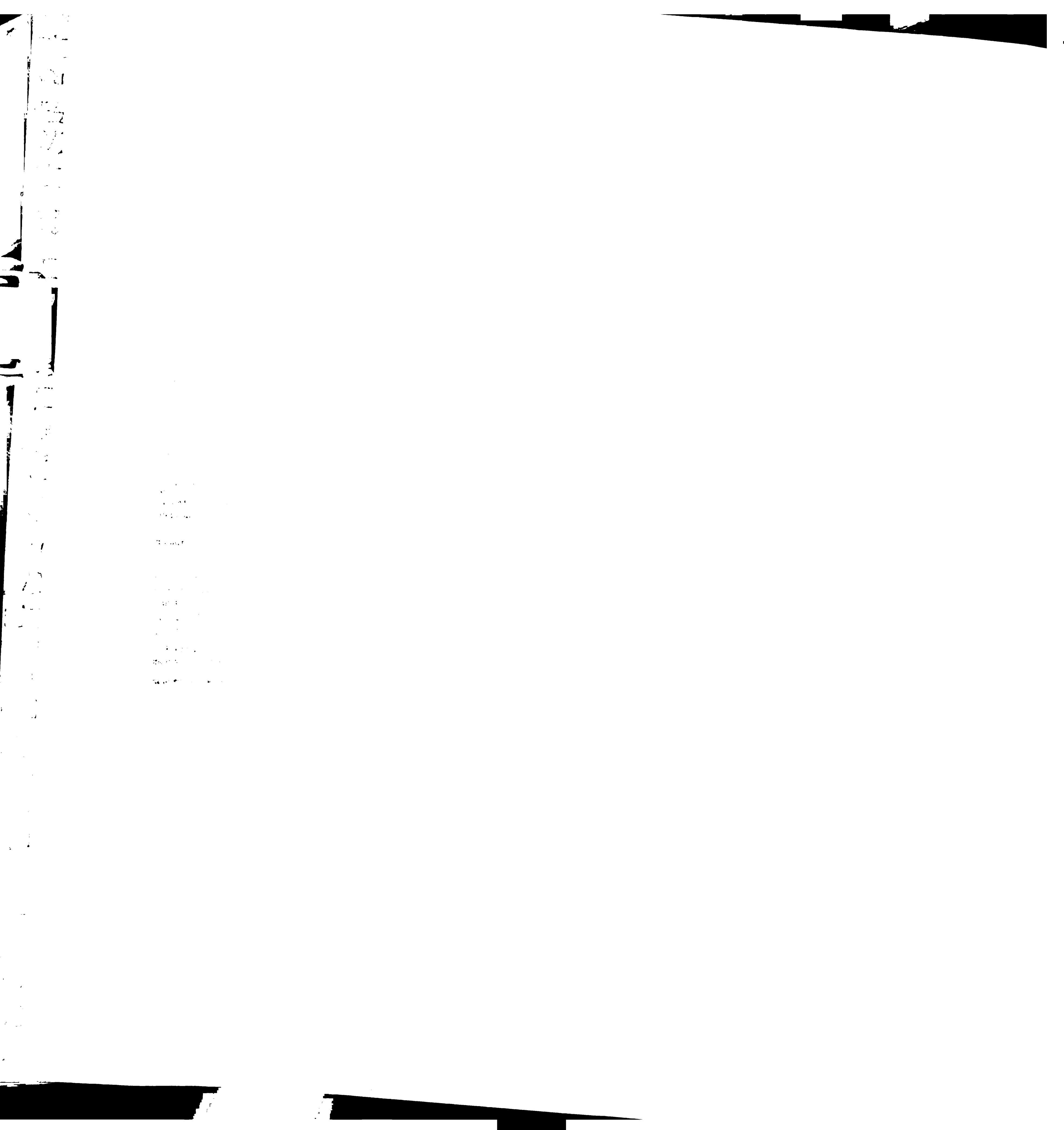
[123] A description of the raid is in the Street Children and Citizenship chapter referenced as the "Raid on Chuck Norris."

[124] She was very upset that the camera was destroyed because she had thought about her assignment and put much effort into truly capturing her experience on film.



Pamela's emotional breakdowns can be interpreted as a momentary return and refuge in her childhood during times when she was overwhelmed with the harshness of her reality and sought comfort in simply being held and allowing herself to cry. Perhaps, these moments represented instances when Pamela the child was having difficulty coping with the circumstances surrounding Pamela the adult. Yet, Pamela, like all street children, by virtue of being a street child occupied a liminal position, a status somewhere between childhood and adulthood. Pamela, like all street children, was obligated to fluctuate between these two statuses never fully immersing herself into one or the other.

When asked to imagine a desired future, Pamela projected herself into a traditional and normative future where she lived in a house or an apartment accompanied by the father of her son and their son. In her projected future she was happy. Her non-normative present disappeared or did not matter. She desired a normative life.



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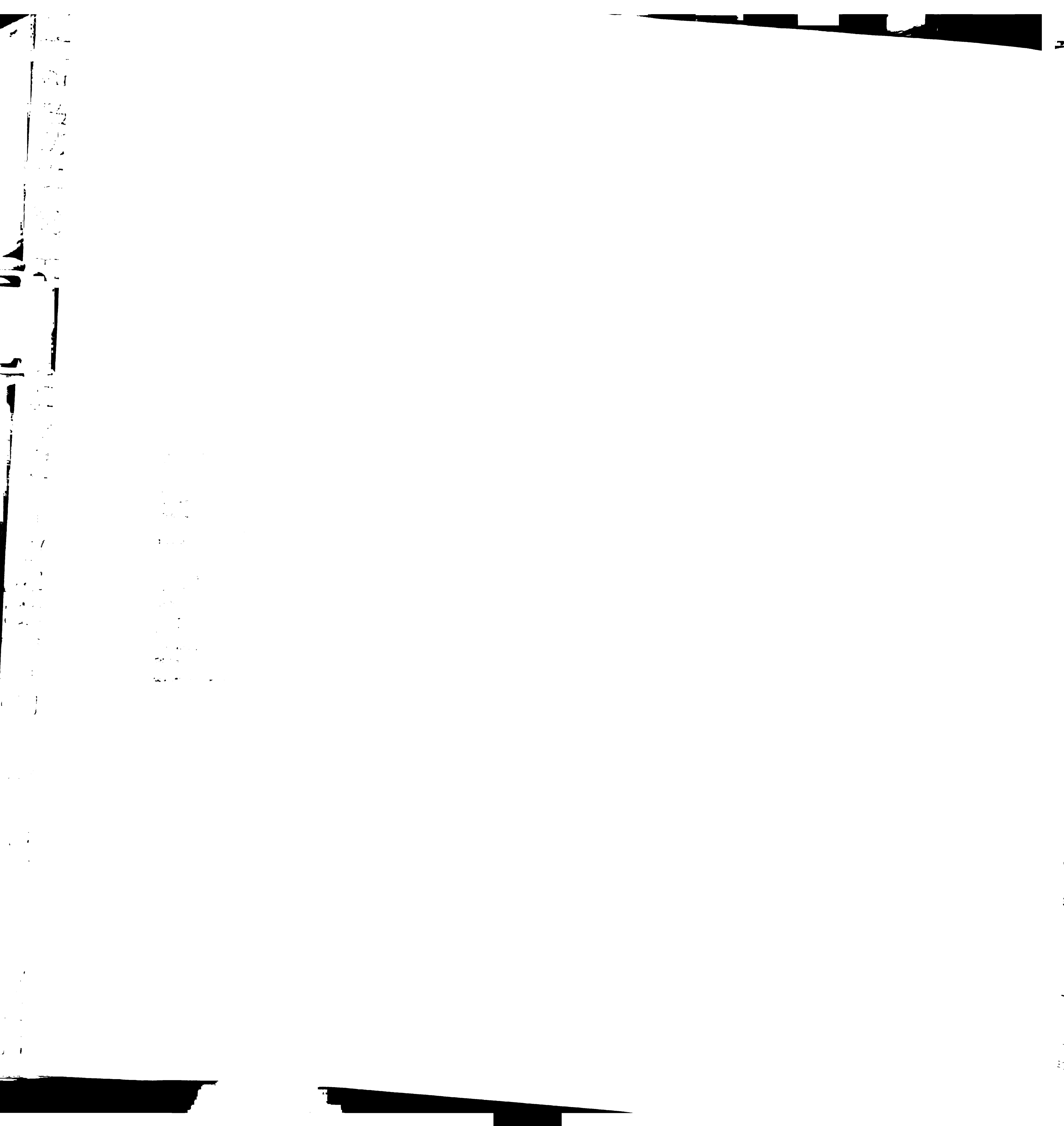
Second Class Citizens in Making

In 1990, Chile witnessed official closure to Pinochet's military regime and a freely elected President in the *Moneda*. Since then Chile has been a country in transition to democracy dealing with the aftermath of a repressive and violent dictatorship and its associated human rights abuses. Discussions of citizenship in post-Pinochet Chile, as well as in other post-authoritarian regime Latin American countries, have been framed in human rights discourses, such as the "right to have rights" (Dagnino 2003:5) as well as struggles of social movements or "citizenship-from-below" (Paley, 2001; Richards, 2003:42). Preoccupied with reparations for human rights abuses and prioritizing the safeguarding of human rights for all, Chile ratified the United Nation's Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990 which theoretically provides protection for children aged up to 17 years, 11 months and 30 days old.

Still, not all groups of children in Chile are recognized as disenfranchised or as having the right to have rights despite measures established to protect them. Street children in Santiago de Chile, occupy a liminal position in society. They stand precariously poised between childhood and adulthood, victim and victimizer as well as redeemable and disposable as they attempt to negotiate social, political and cultural boundaries. Street children in Santiago exist in a society whose transition to democracy is embedded in the renegotiation of "the terms of citizenship and the meanings of civil, political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights" (Alvarez, Escobar, and Dagnino *in* Richards



2003:43). They are a disenfranchised group whose legal status as *menores*[125] proscribed their proto-citizenship. Furthermore, their criminalized status plus their social and economic circumstances render them vulnerable to state and societal abuse and jeopardizes their future citizenship.

This chapter explores the proscribed proto-citizenship of street children in Santiago de Chile, as well as, the reasons for and consequences of their political and social marginalization. The first section reviews citizenship in general, conceptualizations of childhood and how these ideas have influenced social constructions of children, followed by a review children's relationship to citizenship and the processes by which children are transformed into desirable citizens. The second section compares two incidents of police violence, in one case against "normative"[126] students and the other against "criminalized" street children as an analytical tool to examine childhood and citizenship in Chile. The first incident involved students protesting an unwarranted charge for their student identification cards, known as a "Scholastic Pass." The second incident involved a group of highly marginalized and criminalized street children accused of kidnapping three runaways. The violent events, media attention, societal reactions and advocacy in response to these incidents are indicative of the different legal, political and social positions these children and youth occupy in Chilean society. They also highlight an uneven enactment of citizenship (Holston and Caldeira 1998) experienced by street children and youth. Like adults, children and youth are subject to distinctions in citizenship and its inherent rights due to their perceived value to society.

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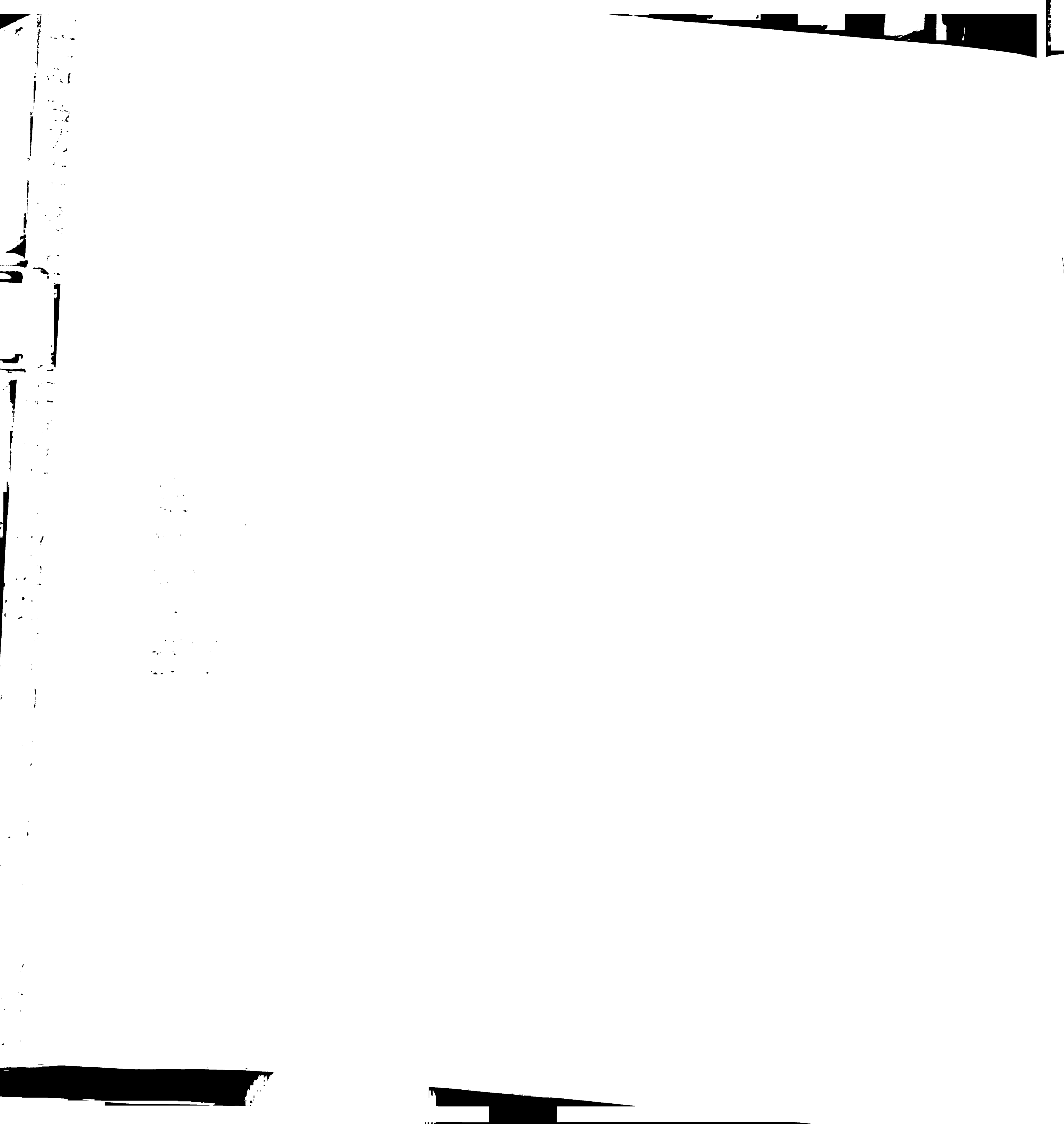
[125] The category *menores* was created to enable the judicial system deal with them via penal institutions (See Chapter Two: Chile and Citizenship).

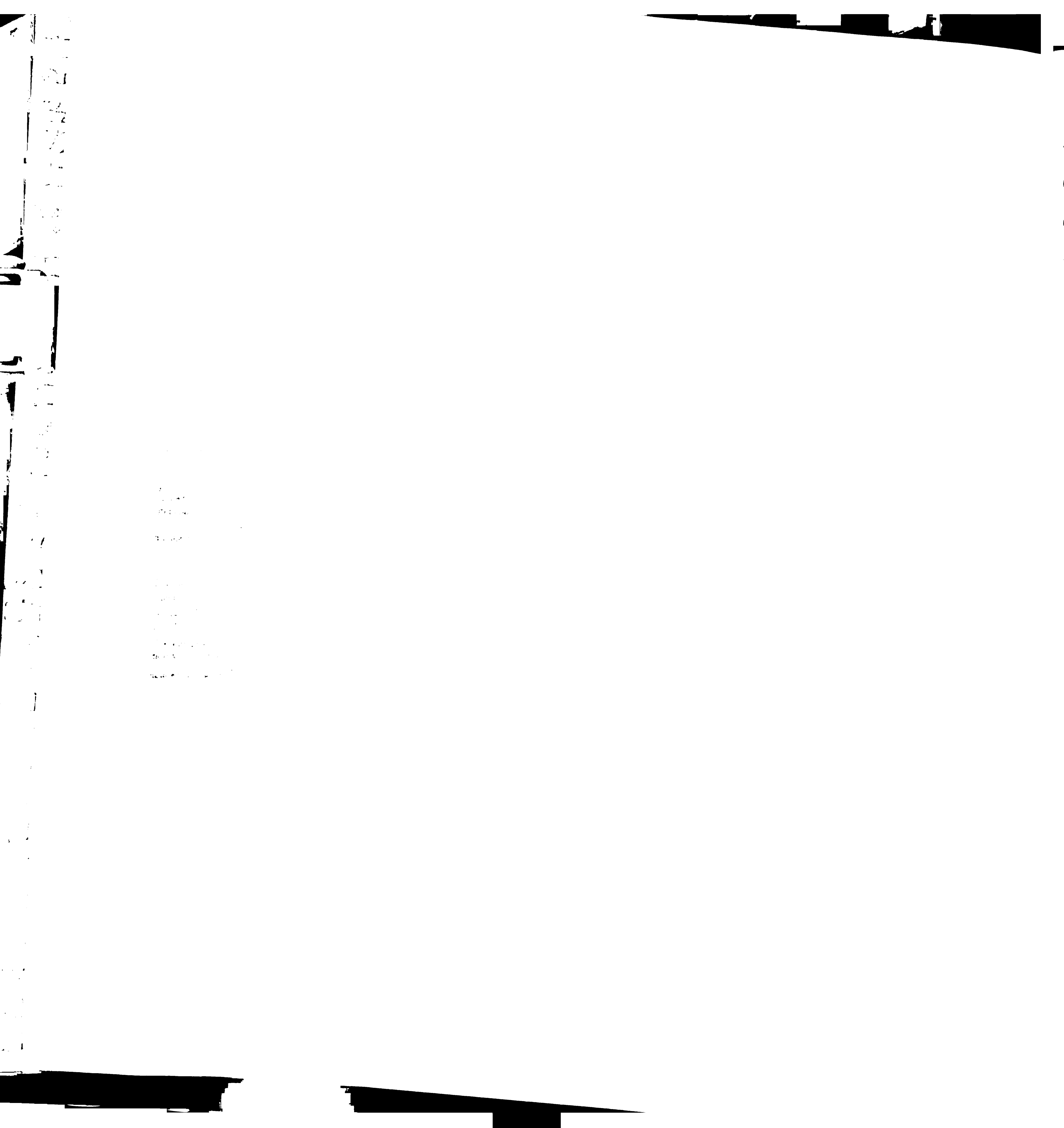
[126] I use the term "normative" for lack of a better word. It refers to children and youth who are following socially acceptable socialization paths to becoming desirable adults.



Citizenship

In his seminal piece *Citizenship and Social Class*, Thomas Marshall (1998 [1964]) proposed that the notion of citizenship represented an individual's entitlement to civil, political, and social rights. An abundant literature on the topic of citizenship reveals it to be a massive and multifaceted concept whose recent re-formulations have broadened the scope of its discourse and emphasized previously invisible characteristics. For instance citizenship, once viewed as essentially a static status, is now perceived as "flexible," "cultural," "identity-based," "exercised or practiced." Current debates about citizenship no longer restrict the concept to the relationships between an individual and the state but also see citizenship as regulating social relations at all levels of society (Dagnino 2003: 6). Citizenship is embedded in ideas of democracy, human rights, national and transnational identity, and globalization.

Latin America witnessed transitions to democracy in countries with authoritarian regimes throughout the 1980s. The notion of citizenship emerged prominently during these transitions as individuals negotiated their relationship to the state as citizens of the nation (Taylor and Wilson 2004). The notion of citizenship has become a political strategy for disenfranchised groups seeking to lay claim on and exercise their rights (Dagnino 2003). Still, as Wallerstein (2003) points out, the idea of citizenship while intended to be inclusive revolves around notions of inclusion and exclusion. Historically, entire groups have consistently been excluded from citizenship and its inherent rights due to categorizations based on class, gender, and/or race/ethnicity; for instance, the poor (or males without property), women, and slaves. Interestingly, even disenfranchised groups



struggling to be included fought only for themselves as they, too, sought to exclude others. While the disenfranchised groups, women, the poor, and slaves, struggled effectively for recognition of their right to have rights, others, such as prisoners, remain marginalized from full citizenship.

Children, a category delineated by each society according to its own definition of age and societal agenda, have consistently been excluded from full citizenship in society. From the inception of the concept of "citizenship," children were categorized among those considered lesser and thus as unequal as those excluded by class, race, and gender. Yet, unlike other disenfranchised groups who effectively struggled for recognition of their difference and equality of rights and thus gained access to full citizenship, children as a category remain excluded from citizenship and unequal in the eyes of the law and society although individually all children mature into or achieve the minimal age for adulthood and citizenship. Their exclusion is a temporary one so long as they proceed through the socialization society requires to transform them into "desirable citizens."

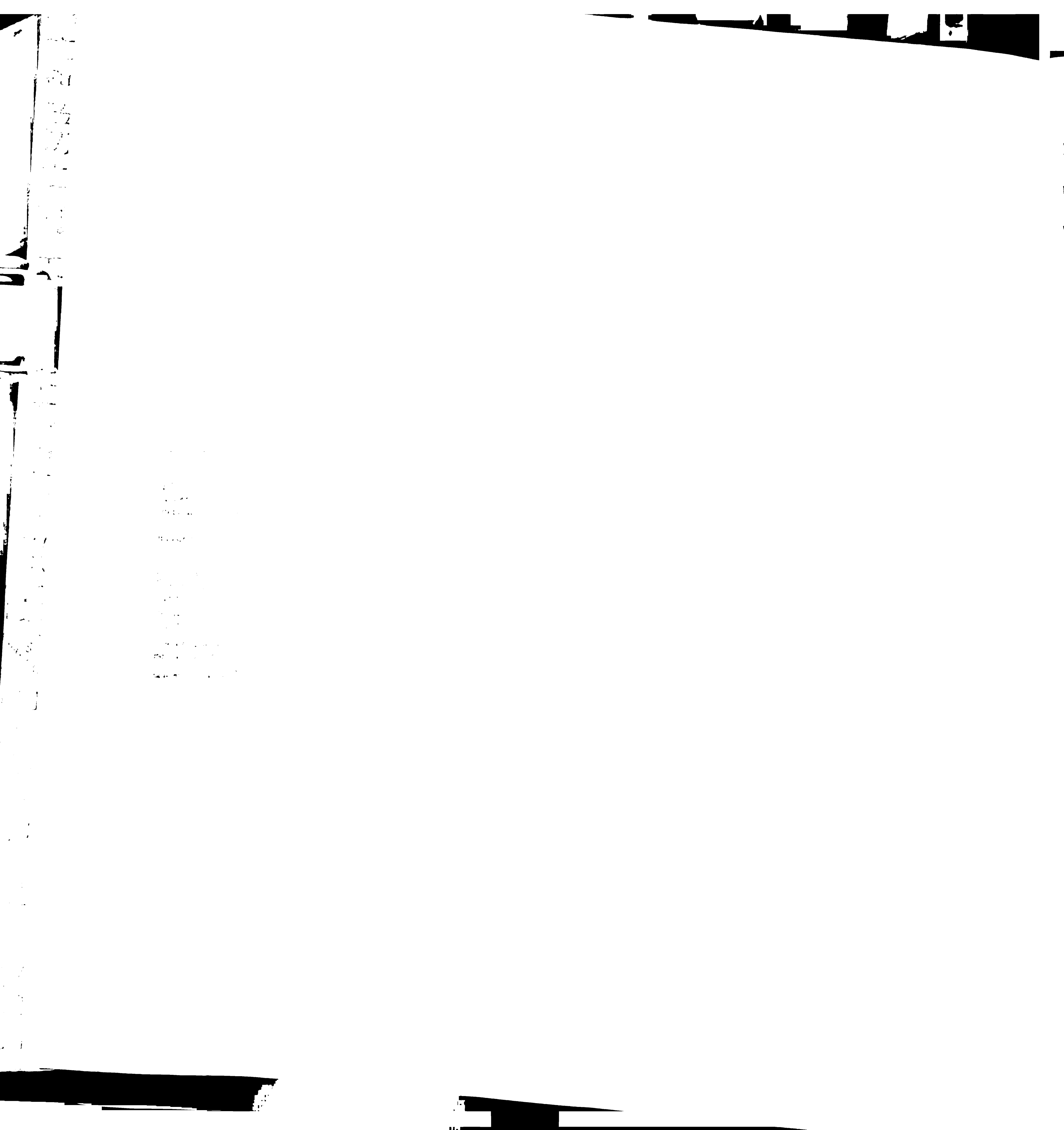
Children as Citizens

The marginalization of children from exercising full citizenship is rooted in ideologies of childhood, abstract conceptualizations regarding the nature of childhood, grounded in philosophical traditions regarding reason and morals. Childhood as a cultural construction gained academic attention with Philippe Aríes' (1962) seminal work, *Centuries of Childhood*. Aríes documented the emergence of the distinctiveness of childhood as reflected through art beginning in the 17th century. Tracing the social history

of family life through the treatment of children, he claimed childhood to be a modern cultural invention. Aríes' notion of childhood as a social construction instigated academic and popular investigations into themes concerning children including the history of childhood (DeMause 1973/1974), the trajectory of ideologies of childhood (Borstelmann 1983), and comparisons between past and present childhoods (Kincheloe 1998). Shifting conceptualizations of childhood throughout history have dramatically transformed the status of children as well as adult attitudes and behavior toward them (Borstelmann 1983). These ideologies informed social constructions about children's ability to be responsible citizens and participants in civil society leading to limitations on their ability to exercise their citizenship. These ideologies of childhood were primarily concerned with children's moral, philosophical, or psychological status and the socialization processes necessary to ensure they became desirable citizens (Cockburn 1999).

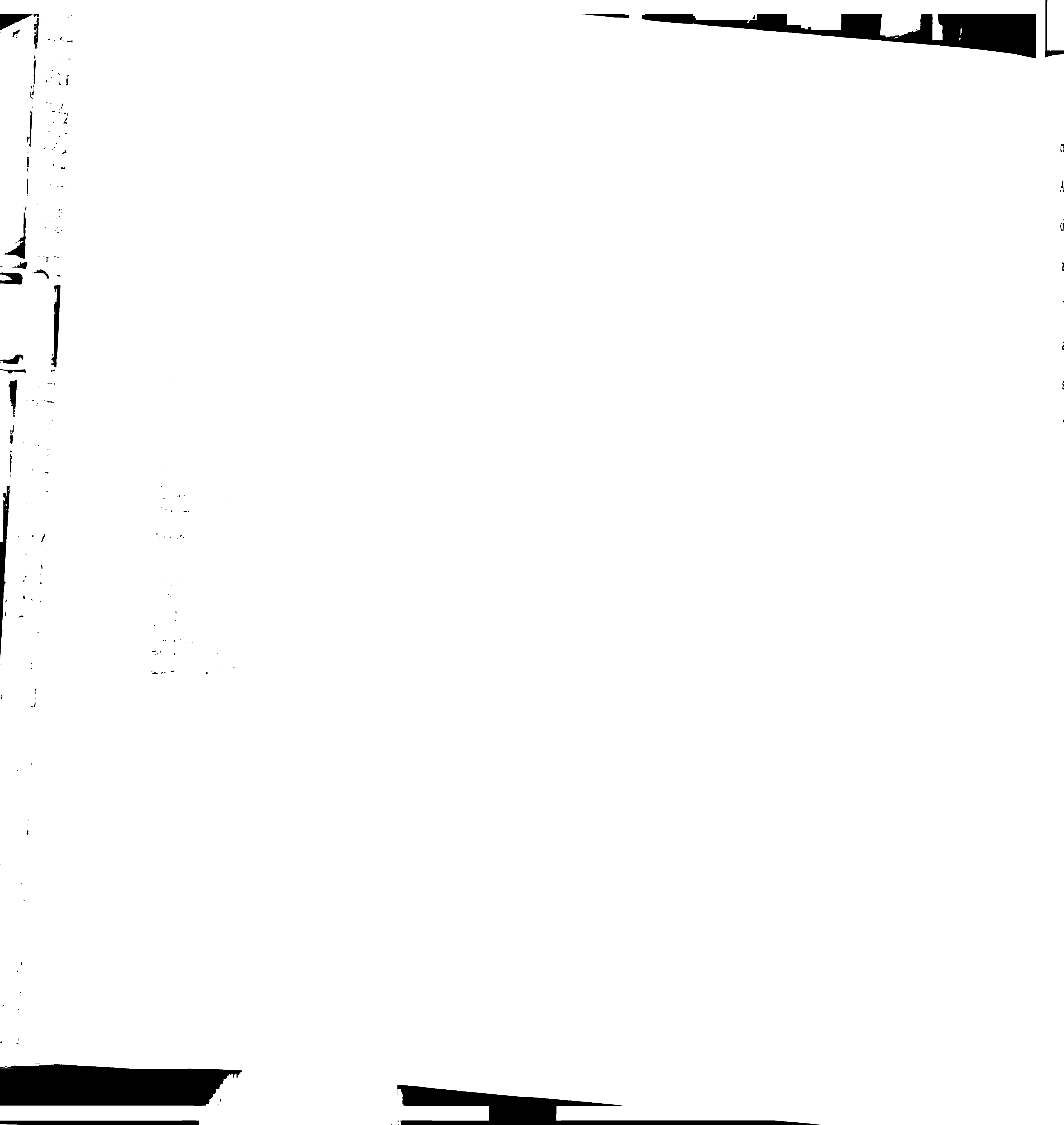
Philosophers whose thinking influenced societal conceptualizations of citizenship and rights, such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, emphasized reason, morals and rationality as necessary individual characteristics to holding citizenship. Of interest here are their ideas regarding children's relationship to citizenship and how they justified children's exclusion from it. Thomas Hobbes believed children devoid of the experience and prudence necessary to be reasonable beings, a prerequisite to being a responsible citizen. As the following passage indicates, children were considered to lack reason:

> Likewise Children, Fooles, and Mad-men that have no reason, may be Personated by guardians, or Curators; but can be no Authors (during that time) of any action done by them, longer than (when they shall recover the use of Reason) they shall judge the same reasonable. (*in* Cockburn 1999).



This "lack of reason" rendered children subject to the authority of their fathers, who were contracting citizens. Children were considered incapable of being responsible actors and thus unable to take responsibility for their deeds or thoughts. John Locke believed there was a need for "moral" and "rational" autonomy in citizens. According to Locke, "children are not born in this full state of equality, though they are born into it" (*in* Cockburn 1999:69). Locke argued children naturally needed the "protection, care, and jurisdiction" of their parents. This need was temporary as children would eventually, through age, gain the wisdom to act on their own behalf. He believed parents were morally obligated to educate and provide their children with the tools necessary to acquire their own sense of reason and autonomous action (Cockburn 1999:69). In other words, Locke conceptualized children in the state of "becoming" full fledged citizens, or as proto-citizens – the term I use to describe an individual with embryonic but developing or incipient rights.

Philosophers such as Hobbes and Locke influenced many subsequent social constructions of children as in need of protection and guidance. In his analysis of the evolution of citizenship in *Citizenship and Social Class*, (1998 [1964]) Marshall briefly addressed children and their relationship to citizenship. This is noteworthy due to an overwhelming tendency in citizenship literature to treat full citizenship as an exclusively adult right. Marshall described children as "citizens in making" (Marshall 1998 [1964]:81). This description justified the apparently permanent exclusion of children from full citizenship, such relegation into a temporary status insinuating that they were incomplete beings. Children were confined to enforced "protected status," a status that



curtailed individual civil rights given to adult citizens, such as contracting employment. Assignment to "protected status" implied children were incapable of being responsible citizens and thus required education and socialization into responsible citizenship. Family and educational institutions were two important sites where the task of producing "responsible citizens" was located. Children were constructed as vulnerable beings with an incipient citizenship, or proto-citizens, and thus positioned in a special yet transitional space where adult society was to afford them protection, education, and guidance until they reached the age of majority. In return, children's duties and responsibilities to adult society included obeying parents, getting an education, learning and respecting laws, in essence becoming "good citizens." Upon reaching the age of majority, or adulthood, children were vested with full citizenship and the rights inherent to being a responsible and upright citizen.

Marshall's idea of social rights included the state's responsibility to its citizens to provide social welfare. He viewed education in particular as a responsibility of the state:

> The education of children has direct bearing on citizenship, and, when the State guarantees that all children shall be educated, it has the requirements and the nature of citizenship definitely in mind. It is trying to stimulate the growth of citizens in making. The right to education is a genuine social right of citizenship because the aim of education during childhood is to shape the future adult. Fundamentally, it should be regarded not as the right of children to go to school, but as the right of the adult citizen to have been educated (Marshall 1998 [1964]:81-82).

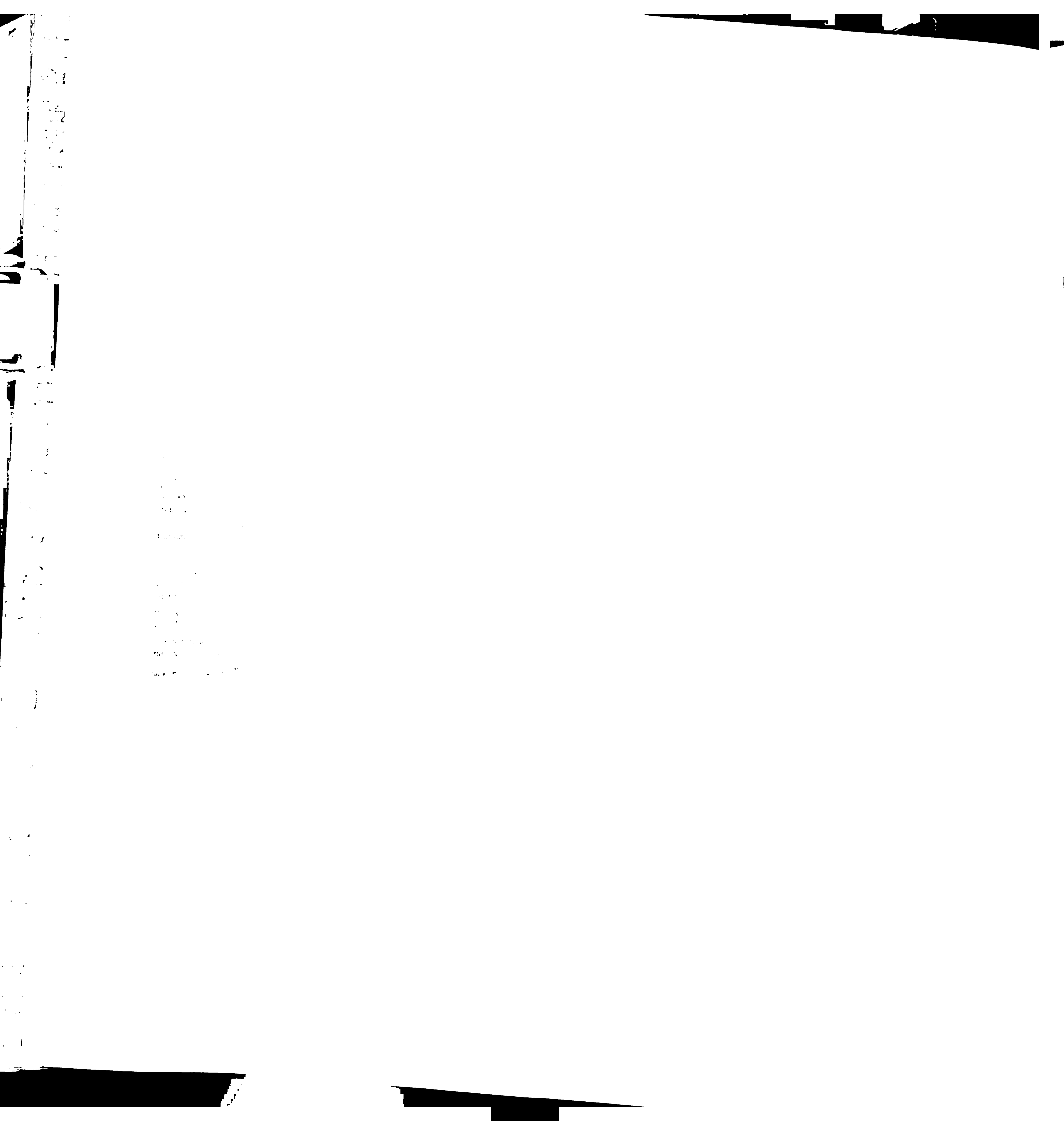
Although children were direct recipients of state education, education was not their right rather the right to education belonged to their future adult selves. It was the children's duty to their future selves (citizens) and society to be educated because "the social health of a society depends upon the civilization of its members" (Marshall 1998[1964]:95).

Marshall's view of children treated them as passive receptacles to be molded as per adult society's desires and requirements.

What happens, then, when children deviate from adult society's expectations of them? What happens when children deviate with respect to getting an education, living within the boundaries of family and home, and behaving according to societal expectations of childhood? What happens when children improperly cross the boundaries between childhood and adulthood? Or undertake undesired routes of socialization into adulthood?

Chile, Childhood, and Citizenship

Compared are two incidents of police violence, in one case against "normative" students and the other against "criminalized" street children in Santiago de Chile. The violent events, media attention and societal reaction and advocacy in response to them reflected the different legal, political and social positions these children and youth occupied in Chilean society, and also highlighted an uneven enactment of citizenship. Each of these incidents was much more complicated than conveyed in this chapter. I am using them as cases where differently regarded groups of children were engaged with infractions of law and order to assess their respective proto-citizenship and how it was enacted as well as how their protected status was safeguarded.

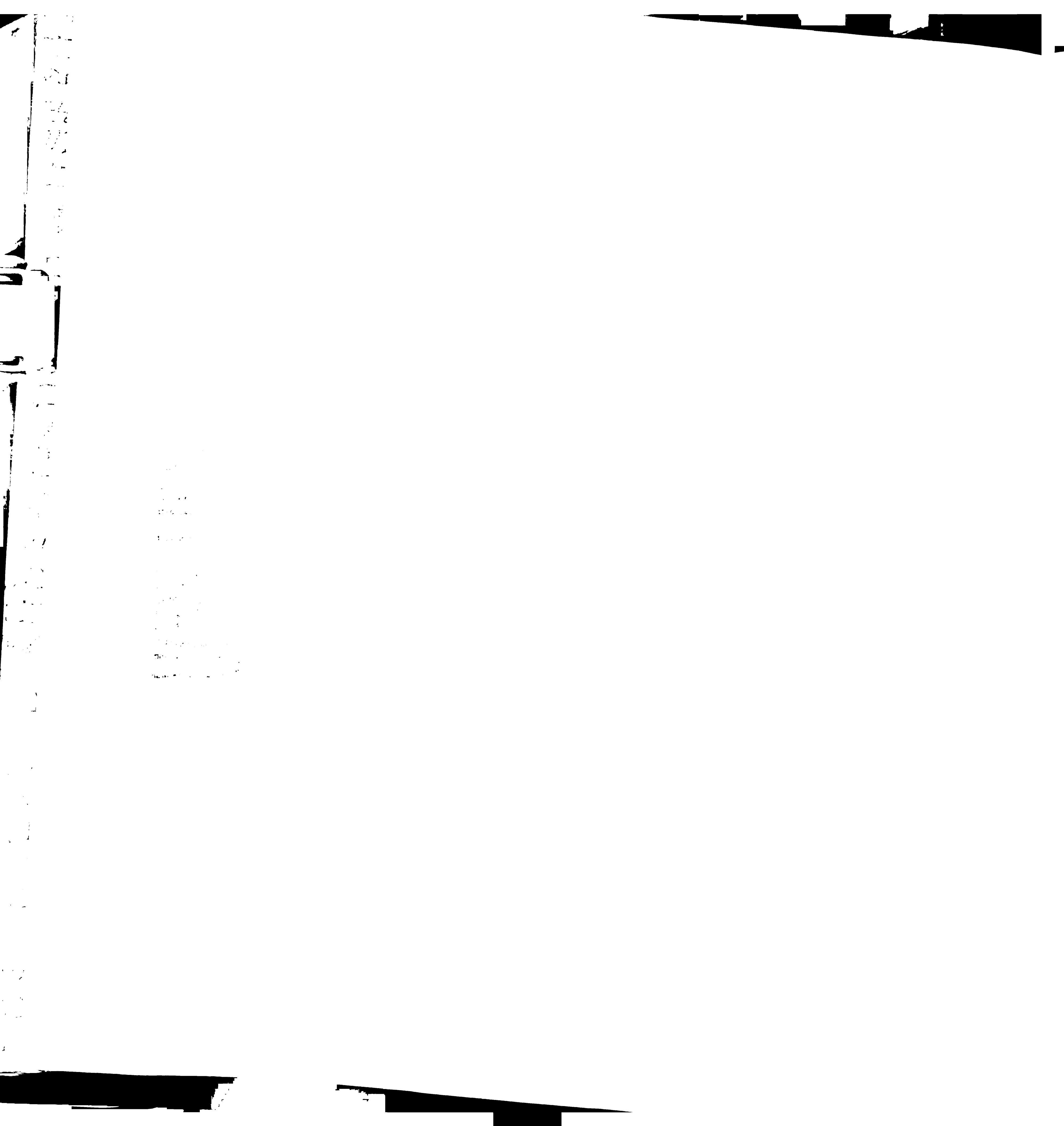


The "Scholastic Pass"

The 2001 scholastic year began tumultuously in Santiago as high school students protested an unwarranted charge for their "Scholastic Pass," an identification card granting to them privileges such as reduced student fares on public transportation. The "Scholastic Pass" for the 2000 school year was to be re-designed to incorporate new technology but problems led to delays in manufacturing and distributing of the pass to students in a timely manner. After a long wait, students received their 2000 "Scholastic Pass" during the last month of that academic year. Students complained about having paid a fee for a pass they were unable to use and were assured they would not have to pay the fee for the 2001 "Scholastic Pass." But when the 2001 school year began, students were charged a fee for the "Scholastic Pass." The students tried to negotiate with the Ministry of Education and the *micrero* (bus driver) union, but negotiations broke down leading to student walk-outs, strikes and eventually a series of destructive riots. An estimated 12,000 or 80% of high school students in Santiago participated in the strike and associated riots (La Tercera 4/10/01).

> We're going to hold a peaceful and cultural demonstration in the *Parque Forestal*, in front of the Museum of Fine Arts, starting at 9 in the morning. We want all students to attend en mass so that authorities realize we are right and we hope the schools understand the situation. (published quote from a student organization leader).

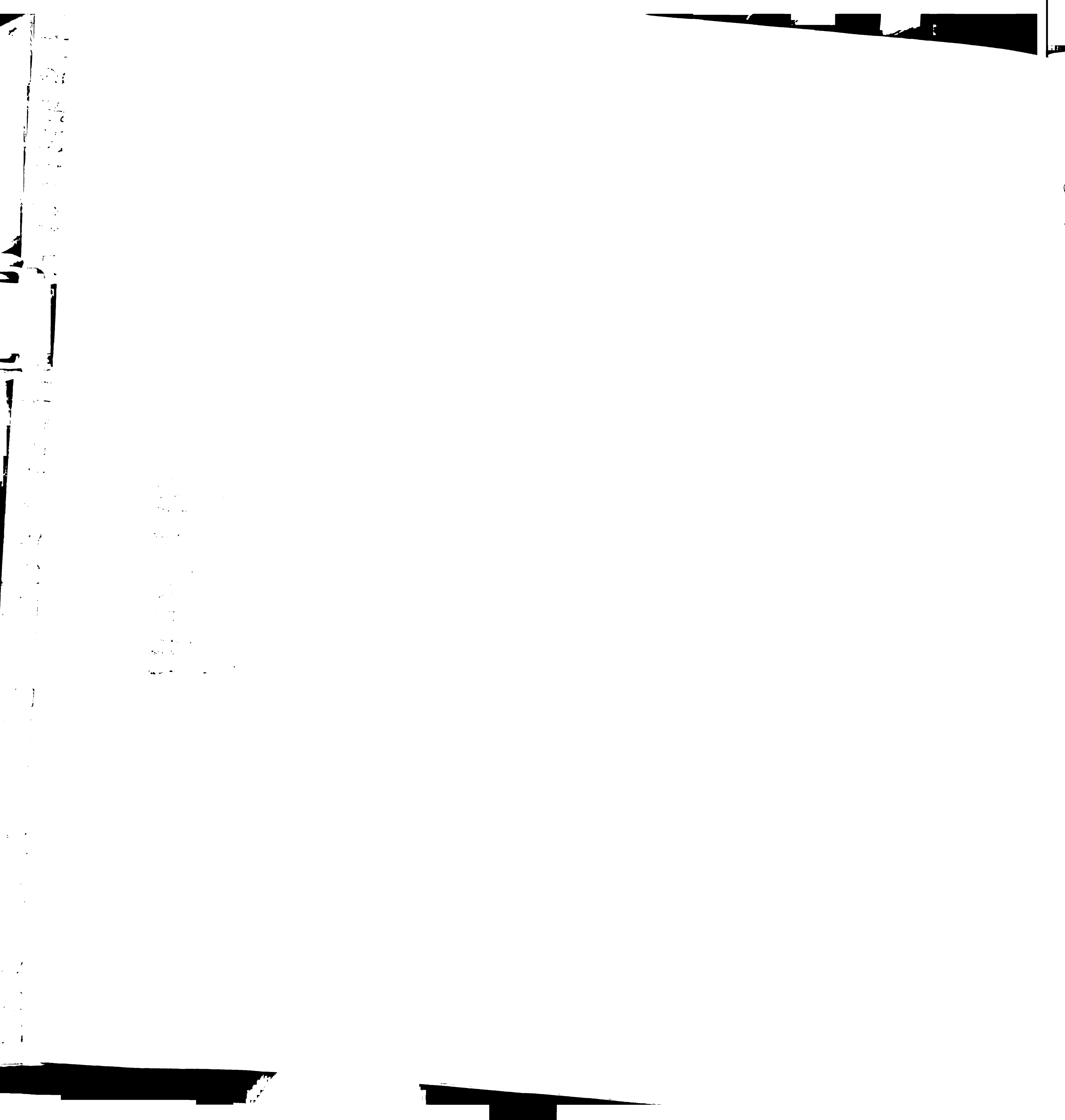
This demonstration held in April 2001 was anything but "peaceful and cultural." Walking behind the Museum of Fine Arts, I saw students in school uniforms, sitting in circles on the manicured lawn. They were talking amongst themselves, trying to laugh



and enjoy not being in classes despite the palpable tension in the air. Five riot vehicles were parked bumper to bumper along the streets adjacent to the museum. These army green tank-like vehicles were equipped with large hoses designed to subdue unruly crowds with high-powered streams of water. All vehicle windows were protected with metal grids to block objects flung at them. These vehicles were used during the Pinochet dictatorship to maintain peace and order via repression in the city especially in the suburbs around Santiago. All *Carabineros* present were outfitted in complete riot gear – they looked like olive green Storm Troopers[127] in their protective clothing and helmets. They carried weapons – guns, rifles and batons – as well as shields to protect themselves. Mounted patrols surveyed the students and their activities while foot patrols positioned themselves at one end on the park.

This demonstration began as a rally but given the tense atmosphere quickly developed into a hostile mêlée between students and *Carabineros* as students flung any object at their disposal at them. *Carabineros* attempted to subdue thousands of rebelling students with high pressure hoses. Instead of "peaceful and cultural," this demonstration culminated in violence as the corralled students retaliated against *Carabinero* surveillance with a destructive rampage along two of the main boulevards in downtown Santiago. Students rioted, destroying public property, such as park benches, trash cans, and street lights as well as private property, such as newspaper booths, vehicles, and windows as they ran from the armed and advancing riot police. The result was the arrest of 500 youth, several injured students and *Carabineros*, and approximately $25 million pesos (~ U.S. $50,000) in damage to private and public property (El Mercurio 4/9/01).

[127] Storm Troopers from the Star Wars ® saga.



Newspaper headlines and pull quotes alluded to the rioters' student status with double entendres such as "*Zero in conduct*" and "*Pass to violence,*" a direct reference to the "Scholastic Pass." One newspaper printed a color photograph of a male youth, in school uniform and carrying a backpack, running at top speed down a main avenue trying to escape the spray and sting of a high pressure hose. There was much controversy as citizens publicly debated and decried the incident in all news venues. "The children are right when they protest the inefficiencies surrounding the pass," (El Mercurio 4/11/01) and "It is necessary that this abuse stop" (La Tercera 4/10/01). Other citizens criticized the students' behavior claiming "it surprised many parents and guardians to see how their little ones had exchanged classrooms for the central avenues." Some, such as the Association of Parents and Guardians of the Metropolitan Region, supported and defended the students' and believed *Carabineros* used excessive force to control them. Interestingly, despite images implicating students in public violence, the destructive rampage was attributed not to them but to political infiltrators and hooligans seeking to instigate disorder.

Even the President, Ricardo Lagos, voiced his opinion on the student uprising stating, "Youth also have to go to the streets once in a while. Has there been a year when youth haven't gone to the streets?" (El Mercurio 4/8/01). The President did not condemn their behavior but instead appeared pleased the students expressed and organized themselves politically.

Citizens in Question: Street Children in Santiago

Street children surfaced globally as a newly defined and constructed class of problematic people during the 1980's (Scanlon, Tomkins et al. 1998; Agnelli 1986), a period referred to as the "Lost Decade" due to the severe economic recession experienced throughout Latin America (Portes 1989). Although research focusing on the lived experience of children living on the streets is growing in Latin America and globally, such as Hecht's (1998) ethnographic work with Brazilian street children, there was no such literature for Chile. Reliable figures were unavailable for how many street children there were in Santiago. There was no consensus from the institutions working with them, for instance according to statistics collected by the *SENAME* (National Youth Service) the government organization responsible for dealing with street children and from the *Casa de Acogida*, a Catholic social service program, street children numbered between 6,000 and 18,000 in Santiago alone. One reason for this lack of consensus or discrepancy in totals was simply the definition of street child utilized. Were they referring to children *of* or *in* the street, or "child at risk?" The term "children *in* the street" refers to children who utilize the streets during the day but return home in the evenings, for example children who work. Whereas, "children *of* the street" refers to children who spend day and night in the streets, children who do not have a home base where to return. Were they including children who work and how was "work" defined? Or, were they collapsing all children who utilize the streets for economic or social reasons into a single category?

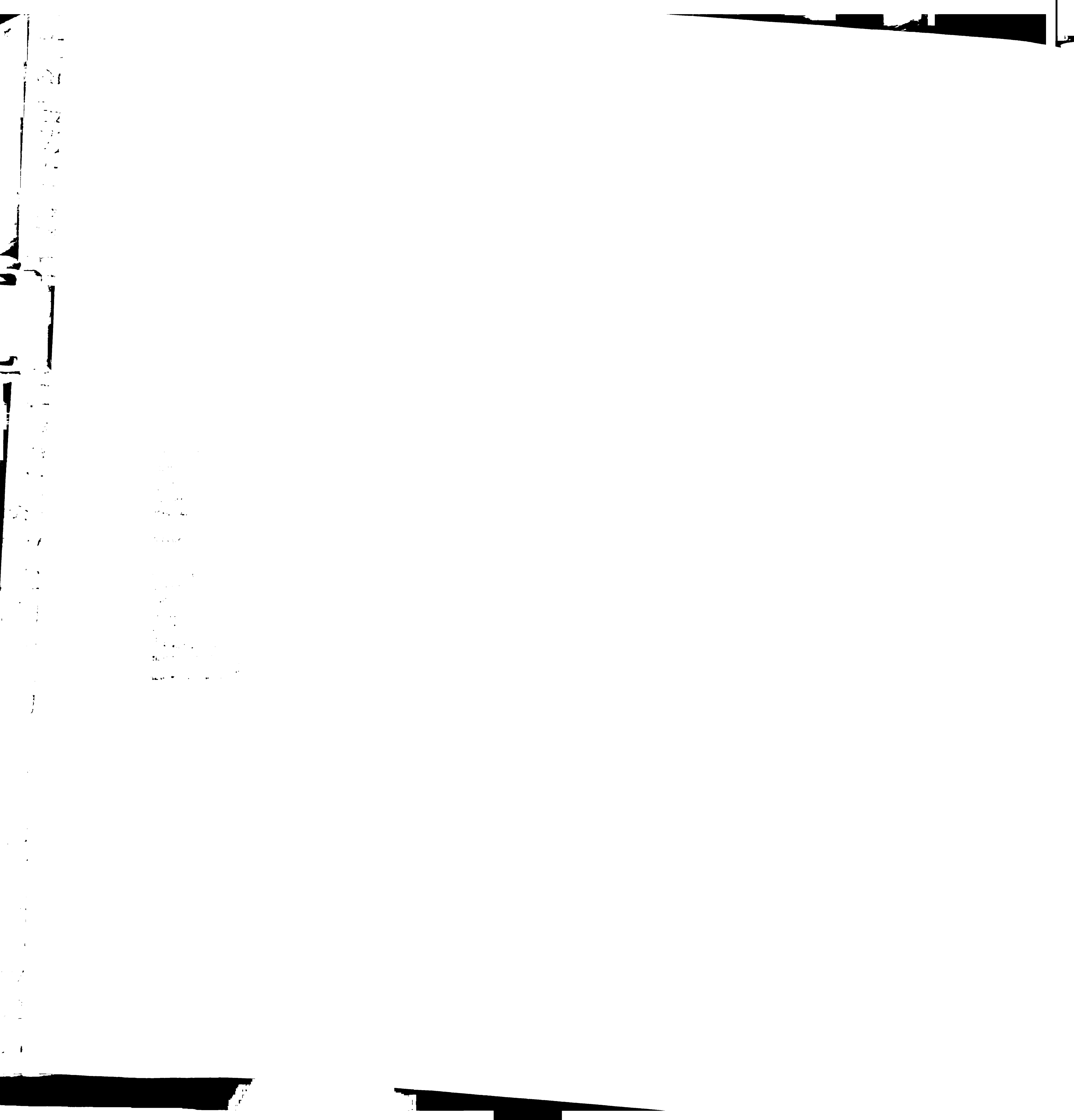
Periodically media venues, such as newspapers and televised news, focused in on "the street child problem" and produced sensationalist articles and news reports

informing and educating the general public about street children and their lives, usually portraying them as objects of fear and pity. But just as suddenly as their appearance, street children dropped off the societal radar and receded into the margins where they remained until another real or fabricated "event or crisis" thrust them into the spotlight again.

Children and youth who were my research participants were on the streets for a variety of reasons including: the family's inability to provide for them economically; physical, sexual, and / or emotional abuse; drug addiction (both parental or their own); the excitement and freedom of being outside of parental authority and supervision; parental inflexibility regarding sexual orientation; outgrowth of having worked on the streets with an adult – usually a family member; abandonment; and orphaned. The vast majority of the informants came from the lower and working class *poblacíones* surrounding Santiago.[128] *Poblacíon* loosely translates into shantytown but it does not capture the word's full meaning. A *poblacíon* is one of Chile's most prominent markers of socioeconomic difference. It is also a term which conveys pride and solidarity (Murphy 2001). Informants had usually fragile and sometimes volatile links with nuclear and extended family who remained in the *poblacíones*. A few street children had severed contact with family completely, but most retained sporadic and irregular contact. These relationships, tenuous as they were, tended to be very important to them.

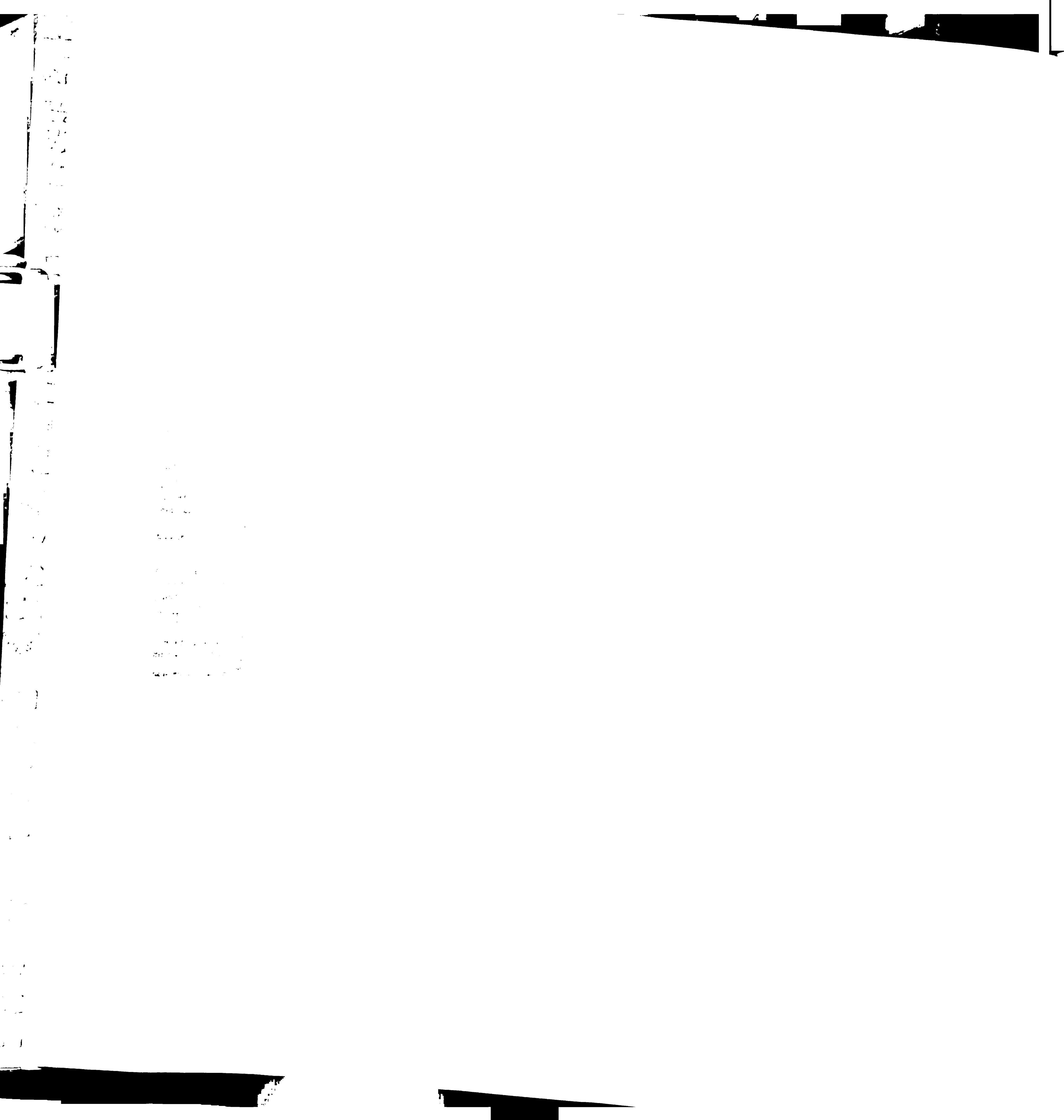
Street child participants had lived on the streets for varying lengths of time - from a few months to several years. They had all dealt with *Carabineros*. They were all familiar with the social services available to them via the Catholic Church and had at some point utilized them or continued to do so sporadically and when convenient. They

[128] Some of these *poblacíones* or *comunas* had been geographically relocated during the Pinochet regime.



had all spent time in at least one *Centro de Orientacíon y Diagnostico* (*COD*). These centers were established by *SENAME* which came into being in 1979 under the military dictatorship and ultimately answered to the Ministry of Justice. According to an informant who worked in a *COD*, *SENAME* was designed to "step in when parents did not fulfill their role as protectors." *COD's* were centers where children who lacked parental protection were institutionalized. Children were taken to *COD's*, usually by the police, for "protection." "Protection" is defined as judicial and psychosocial intervention that confronts situations of grave rights infringements and looks to interrupt these practices, create a process of healing from abusive experiences, and strengthen resources for the psychosocial well-being of children and adolescents" (Minuta Informativa: Areas Prevención y Protección de Derechos. *SENAME* internal document. Santiago: 2001 *in* Gerschutz 2003). I often wondered who in reality was being protected – the child or society?

Just as there were commonalities among street children, there were also differences, such as the level of socialization to street culture. For instance there was a small group who utilized a drainage tunnel referred to as "Chuck Norris" as "home." They were an extremely marginalized group who had minimal contact with family and had long deserted the educational system. They were denied access to social services due to their inability to follow program rules, such as not using inhalants, smoking cigarettes, or fighting while on social service program premises. While they had less contact with social services, they had more interaction with *Carabineros*. They ranged in age between 10 and 17 years old, approximately one third were female.

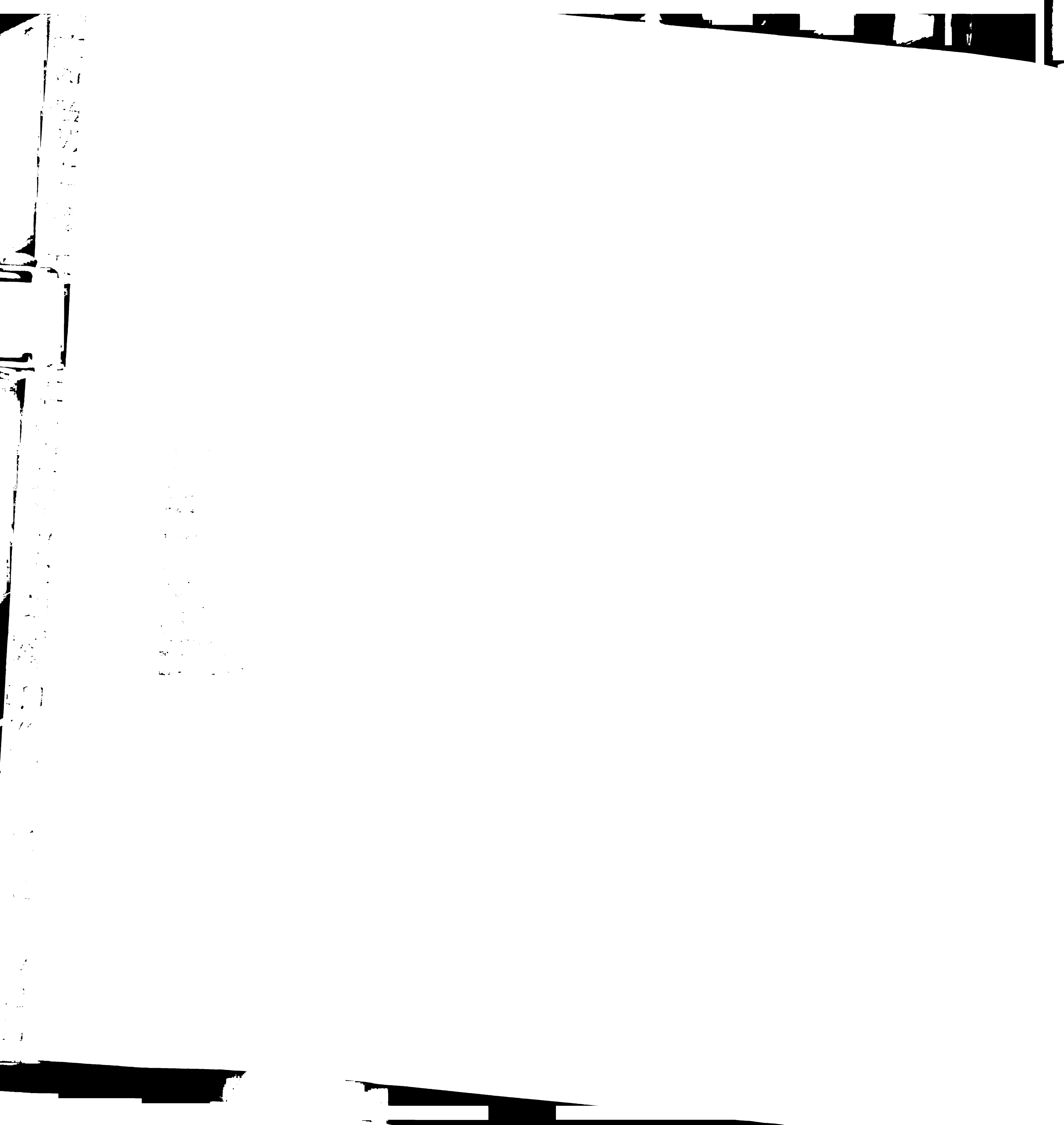


Raid on "Chuck Norris"

Six months later after the student riots for the "Scholastic Pass," in November 2001, police violence was once again directed at children. Now, the recipients were a group of roughly 18 street children who utilized a drainage tunnel "Chuck Norris" as shelter. "Chuck Norris" was situated below street level and outside of public view in a pivotal *Plaza* in downtown Santiago adjacent to the Mapocho River, a polluted watercourse flowing through the city. The *Plaza* is a highly trafficked, important juncture in the city. At the time, it was plastered with political campaign posters for the upcoming governmental election.

This incident revolves around the alleged abduction of three runaways by the group of street children staying at "Chuck Norris." According to the runaways, whom I met and spoke to while doing fieldwork, they had run away from home in the South of Chile because their parents physically abused them. While in Santiago, they heard of and sought out the group living in "Chuck Norris" and were staying with them willingly. The group was excited to have "guests" at "Chuck Norris." As their "hosts," the group behaved as proper adults providing their guests with protection and shelter.

Using the element of surprise, an entire police precinct on a search and rescue mission for the three runaways, descended on "Chuck Norris" early in the morning while the group of street children and youth slept. *Carabineros* used physical force to subdue the boys and girls who ranged in age from 10 to 17 years, including a 16 year old girl who was six months pregnant. In spite of resistance, some street children were captured immediately, arrested, and transported to a Precinct 34 to await transfer to a *COD*,



essentially a juvenile jail. Those who resisted more aggressively were physically assaulted before being arrested, for instance upon arrival at the *COD* a 16 year old boy needed a cast placed on his leg due to the beating he received.[129] Five evaded arrest by running into the depths of the drainage tunnel. *Carabineros* threw tear gas into the entrance of "Chuck Norris" and waited for them to emerge to arrest them. Another lucky three managed to escape and watched the unfolding of this event from the *Plaza* above where I found and talked with them. Upset and angered by the injustice of the raid, these three street children and youth (ages 10, 12 and 16) escaped the situation by publicly using inhalants to intoxicate and numb themselves.

Together, we watched as *Carabineros* waited for Chile's SWAT team to extract the five who had retreated into the depths of the drainage tunnel while television crew filmed the breaking news. A *Carabinero* noticed us, drove his motorcycle across the congested street, onto the *Plaza* and up the steps to where we were sitting. Like a hawk, he literally circled, stopped in front of us and revved the engine loudly, all without uttering a word. He simply glared at us (the street children, really). Intimidated, they scooted closer to me seeking protection. When I, the adult present, confronted the *Carabinero* asking if we could help him, he simply and wordlessly revved his engine and returned to where he had been positioned. After three hours, the *Carabineros* left with the now "rescued" runaways. A youth ran into "Chuck Norris" to tell those inside it was safe to come out. Emerging onto the *Plaza* covered from head to toe in mud and sewage, they utilized a public wading pool to wash their clothes and cleanse their bodies as best they could under the circumstances while passing pedestrians looked on disapprovingly.

[129] While his leg was not broken, it required immobilization to heal.

News reports christened the group of street children staying in "Chuck Norris" the *Children of the Mapocho* (El Mercurio 12/3/01) and informed the public that these *menores* had been "picked up," i.e. arrested. Newspaper headlines warned of the *Worrisome Increase in Tramp Children* (El Mercurio 11/25/01) and *According to Carabineros the Number of Vagabond Children has Increased 14% in One Year* (Las Ultimas Noticias 11/25/01). One newspaper printed several color photos of boys and girls carelessly lounging and using inhalants in the relative privacy afforded by "Chuck Norris" as well as in the very public *Plaza*. A much publicized image captured the children in the center of a photograph showing vehicular traffic on one side, oblivious that just below street level a group of children lived a "dangerous life," and on the other side, the polluted Mapocho River (El Mercurio 11/24/01). This image simultaneously portrayed the group of street children at risk and as social risks. While their environment was a risk to their well-being for they were endangered by the fast traveling vehicles as well as the environmental health risk posed by the polluted river, they posed a risk to unsuspecting and productive citizens commuting to and from work.

The incumbent government was widely criticized and blamed following the "discovery" of street children staying by the Mapocho River. In an effort to spin the news and win the election, the government allocated money to the Ministry of Justice, the institution ultimately responsible for all problems or issues dealing with street children, to put up a halfway house to rehabilitate the *Children of the Mapocho*.

Violence

While both groups of children were recipients of direct violence from *Carabineros*, there were significant differences in how the violence was performed. In the first case, *Carabineros* had forewarning of the "peaceful and cultural" demonstration and were prepared with specialized equipment. While seemingly excessive, the presence of the specialized equipment framed the violence enacted toward the students as unusual and requiring of extraordinary measures. In the second instance, *Carabineros* attacked street children in their daily uniforms and hauled them away in everyday paddy wagons. This framed the abuse of street children within the realm of common, normal and everyday experience both for *Carabineros* and street children. Criminalization of street children by *Carabineros* appeared routine; no special measures were required.

The physical violence with which the children were met also differed. In the first case, high pressure hoses were used very publicly to subdue the students. If and when *Carabineros* actually struck the students, it seemed to be in self-defense. Whereas, in the second case, *Carabineros* were strategic aggressors inflicting physical violence on children for questionable reasons as they tried to run away. There was a certain sadistic twist in *Carabineros* beating street children for resisting being beaten. Location was important as all physical violence toward street children occurred out of public sight. Accounts of physical abuse by street children were not believed, heard or acknowledged.

While enactments of physical violence occurred covertly, the more socially acceptable forms of violence played out in broad daylight, for instance, the *Carabinero* with the motorcycle who used his position of power to intimidate the children in a very

public locale. The street children were a marginalized group who did not yet have full citizenship nor access to adults able to extend to them their citizenship or able to defend their status as proto-citizens with emergent rights as did the students.

Role of the Media

The media provided the context and rationale for the students' misbehavior through coverage of the violence, the events leading up to it, as well as, the students' opinions and perspectives. Photographs of the "normative" children showed them in danger, trying to escape *Carabinero* injustice and brutality. Reports focused on their respectable struggle to get their "Scholastic Pass"; they were portrayed as organized and in search of justice. Furthermore, excuses were made for the students' misbehavior ultimately relieving them of responsibility for their destructive and anti-social acts.

Media coverage of the group of street children was sensationalist in nature which simultaneously fed the Chilean public's voyeuristic fascination with their deviant lifestyle and activities as well as strengthened the stigma already attached to their identity. Media outlets referred to street children as *menores*, a term laden with stigma and criminality (See Chapter Two: *Chile and Citizenship*) whereas the "normative" children were referred to as students, or naughty students. The group staying at "Chuck Norris" was incorrectly portrayed as kidnappers and rapists in the public arena. Aware of this stigmatized representation, this group of street children expressed anger and frustration at this injustice. Apparently, their perspective did not merit ink as did the student rioters.

By referring to street children as *Children of the Mapocho*, the media dehumanized them by erasing their history and reframing them as unnatural, offspring of the polluted river. Print and televised media sources encouraged the "othering" of street children and youth through the images they distributed to the general public. The portrayal of this group of street children living below or sub street level where average citizens lived life and in close proximity to the polluted river, created distance between the general public and the street children by representing them as lurking, dangerous and risky. Images of the group of street children portrayed them as defiant of authority, society and deviant of expected norms. Reports focused on activities that were illicit (drug use), immoral (sexual activity), and criminal (stealing).

Societal Reaction and Advocacy

Public reaction and advocacy or lack thereof illuminates that despite both groups being proto-citizens and possessing an incipient or emergent citizenship, "normative" children were offered more protection than street children. In the first case, parents as full and upstanding members of the community extended their own citizenship and its inherent rights to their children who represented future upstanding members of the community. In the case of the group staying at "Chuck Norris," the general public was fascinated with the images of the street children and their deviant lifestyle. But voyeuristic fascination did not translate into action on their behalf. No one raised their voice in their defense. No one seemed concerned that the rights of street children were

being trampled by overzealous *Carabineros*. Immediate institutional response was violence, criminalization and jail.

The President's comment in defense of the students' behavior strengthened their position by normalizing their actions, approving their attempts at full citizenship. His brief comment was an expression of approval of their activity and established the ubiquitous position of this event in societal discourse. There was no equivalent official government reaction to the incident involving street children. However, given it was an election year, intense and critical media reporting pressured the government to "save" the group of street children by removing them from public view to a house where they could be rehabilitated and more importantly, monitored and controlled.

Although the students' misbehaved, for the most part they were becoming desirable citizens thus the state and society excused their momentary lapse. In contrast, *by definition* street children challenged societal and state expectations of childhood. Whereas students received leniency, street children were exploited and criminalized. Society judged and assigned value to children depending on whether they were perceived to be "future desirable citizens." This social assessment was based on the likelihood of being valuable citizens and participants in civil society; an imaginary citizenship of sorts. Evidently, children and youth do not have full citizenship as do adults *but* parents and guardians are able extend to them their citizenship and rights attached to it. While both groups of children possess a proto-citizenship with incipient rights, the analysis above indicates social constructions create and promote differences in the protection afforded them and how they are able to enact their citizenship. Thus, citizenship is contingent not only on age *but* perceived social value.

Second Class Citizens in Making

The group of street children staying in "Chuck Norris" did not conform to societal expectations of childhood; they lived outside the aegis of the family structure, the first institution bestowed with the responsibility of making children into "desirable citizens." Family was not teaching them how to be civil. This group of street children had abandoned the educational system, the second institution vested with the responsibility of creating "desirable citizens." Hence, the street children referred to in this chapter were neither receiving an education nor preparing themselves to contribute and be an asset to society. When the two institutions, family and the educational system, primarily responsible for transforming children into "good citizens" were unable to do their job, *Carabineros* intervened to discipline both the unruly and deviant children.

Students and street children were both proto-citizens but they represented different paths to socialization. The students, who were following the expected trajectory that would eventually culminate in full citizenship, were prodded back onto the "correct" path by *Carabineros* who utilized violence, parents and the educational institutions who mediated their negotiations, and even the President who publicly expressed his understanding, support, and condoned their actions. Street children, who were taking an alternate and socially unacceptable route to adulthood were portrayed as undesirable. They were viewed as *menores* already on a trajectory toward criminality; a path that would eventually revoke their rights, such as deprivation of liberty and the loss of the privilege of voting due to impending incarceration.

Latin America has been struggling with issues regarding citizenship and rights for more than two decades. These struggles are not isolated events rather they are representative of what is occurring in other countries that are also confronting transitions to democracy and/or 1st and 2nd world status. Street children are not local problems but a global issue that cannot be ignored simply because they are children and as such have no (at least not recognized) political, social, or economic voice or power. Chile, in particular, is currently dealing with past trespasses of human rights and establishing what it means to be a citizen while trying to become a first world country. With respect to street children, it is my opinion that Chilean society would prefer to and tries to ignore them. Street children are a "public secret" of sorts; their existence is common knowledge yet no one acknowledges them. Still, street children routinely emerge onto the social radar. Unfortunately, it is usually in a negative light that illuminates how street children are made into second class citizens.

The purpose of this comparison was to highlight the different citizenship and rights accorded to two groups of children and youth. By doing so, revealing that one group, street children, despite their membership in the category of children and youth and the rights associated with that special status, in reality are accorded fewer protections and guarantees of their persons than children who conform to societal norms. Even at an early stage in their development as citizens, as proto-citizens whose citizenship and rights are only incipient, street children are already being made into second class citizens and this lesser citizenship will most likely carry over into their adult status affecting their future ability to enact their citizenship and rights.

8

The "Street Child Body"

> Social suffering results from what political, economic, and institutional power does to people and, reciprocally, from how these forms of power themselves influence responses to social problems (Kleinman, Das, and Lock 1997:ix).

Street children suffered disproportionately more than normative children and youth in Santiago, Chile. As is evident throughout this ethnography street children in this study did not live "normative childhoods," instead they were obligated to constantly negotiate across the boundaries of adulthood and childhood in order to survive. As noted, their liminal social, political, and legal position in society rendered them incredibly vulnerable as they were neither afforded the "protection" given to children who complied with social expectations of becoming "desirable citizens" nor did they have access to legal, political, social and cultural rights accorded to full adult citizens. Instead of a normative and idealized childhood centered around innocence, street children led lives full of contradictions. A constellation of factors, such as practice, necessity, and circumstances, taught street children to manage effortlessly the contradictions they lived. As a result, they easily vacillated between engaging in behaviors relegated by society into distinct child and adult arenas (cf. Murcott). The ease and therefore invisibility with which they accomplished this negotiation facilitated the fading of the contradiction as well as enabled society to forget street children were developmentally and chronologically children. This social erasure of their child status transformed them from innocent children into child-adults burdened with stigma and negative stereotypes. In

spite of good intention, the *Casa de Acogida* and *COD's*, representatives of institutional power, placed and pushed them along a trajectory leading to criminality. Already expressed in their proto-citizenship this, in turn, impinged upon their developing full citizenship.

Marginality was a fundamental and constant condition framing the lived experience of children living on the street in Santiago. Despite inhabiting prominent centrally located and highly trafficked spaces, street children existed on the margins of society due to their lifestyle which positioned them against social ideals as well as the law. Notions of fear, criminality, and deviance pervaded social representations of street children which directly and negatively impacted how they were viewed and treated by the general public in addition to the quality of their lived experience.

Insecurity and instability were two constant factors which affected all aspects in the lives of street children. Struggles and strategies to satisfy basic necessities for survival such as food, clothing, and shelter were part and parcel of everyday life for the children and youth in this study. Constantly on the edge, they barely survived as they did not have access to legal and reliable means of earning money. They were obliged to be resourceful, for instance stealing blankets from the shelter for children during the cold and wet winter, in order to temporarily satisfy the chronic requirements of everyday life. Survival for street children was replete with physical, emotional, social and psychological suffering. As Scarry (1985) noted "pain is inexpressible," it has the ability to render individuals inarticulate. How then do street children deal with pain?

This chapter analyzes how street life is expressed on street children's developing bodies and considers the resulting ramifications their proto-citizenship. This chapter

offers sketches of everyday struggles for economic and social survival among children living on the streets in Santiago for the purpose of illuminating daily barriers to subsistence. This chapter documents and addresses social suffering among street children and gages it as manifest, experienced, and witnessed through the concept of the "Street Child Body."

The "Street Child Body"

Despite a flourishing in the 1980s of a rich literature focusing on "the body,"[130] children's bodies have not been theorized in medical anthropology. For the most part children have been examined under the aegis of developmental psychology and pediatrics. In this section, I borrow and expand upon the concept of the *Mindful Body* to analyze the "Street Child Body." In *The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology*, Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) consider the (adult) body from three inter-connecting perspectives: the physical body, the social body and the body-politic. The physical body, the individual body-self, refers to the lived experience or phenomenology; the social body addresses the relationships and interactions between society, culture and individuals; and the body-politic represents social and political control of bodies. Borrowing the *Mindful Body* construct plus adding a psychological component to include a psycho-social dimension, this section considers the "Street Child Body" as a unit of analysis.

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[130] See Margaret Lock (1993) *Cultivating the Body: Anthropology and Epistemologies of Bodily Practice and Knowledge*; Bryan Turner (1984) The Body and Society.

The "Street Child Body" is contemplated both literally and figuratively. The concept refers to the corporeality of children who live on the street and considers their bodies as sites where institutional, structural, symbolic and everyday violence(s) and social constructions collide. These collisions are manifest in multiple and distinct forms, i.e. physically, socially, politically, spiritually and psychologically, that overlap and are inter-connected and therefore not separable from one another. This section explores how social constructions and expectations of street children are reflected in the bodies of actual street children via ethnographic accounts of everyday activities and behaviors. These activities and behaviors play a vital role in street children's survival while on the streets of Santiago. Yet, engagement in these specific activities and behaviors label street children as deviant and position them in direct contradiction to "normative" children who do not engage in these activities, at least not openly.

As is common and expected in most "normative" children (and adults), street children in this study experienced a wide array of emotions such as happiness, excitement, pain, anger, and frustration. Unlike most "normative" children (and adults), that latter emotions are inscribed on the bodies of street children in a visible and sometimes permanent manner as is readily evidenced by the scars left by years of self-mutilation. By sketching the necessities for survival and how they are attained, this chapter considers how street children utilize their bodies as a means for survival, vehicles to pleasure, to earn money, and as weapons to punish themselves or others. Also considered are ways that society uses the bodies of street children against them literally, such as, vehicles for sexuality, and symbolically, such as, markers of deviancy.

Cleanliness

Contrary to popular public opinion, personal hygiene was important to children living on the streets for they realized that their appearance, specifically being clean, conditioned the treatment they received from the general public.[131] Street children under institutional control, specifically those who attended the *Casa de Acogida's* day program used the facilities available there to wash their bodies and brush their teeth on a daily basis. Those staying at the shelter were expected to shower and brush their teeth before leaving the premises. Street children availing themselves of these services were provided with the materials – soap and shampoo, toothpaste and toothbrush, combs and brushes, female sanitary napkins, towels and clean clothing – necessary for personal hygiene. Time was set aside each day specifically to be devoted to cleansing the body and washing soiled clothing.

The group of street children living outside institutional walls and supervision, specifically those staying in "Chuck Norris" tended to engage in a superficial sort of personal hygiene for they seldom had the materials to cleanse their bodies properly at least not while at the *caleta*. Additionally, they were forced to wash up in a very public arena, such as using the water fountains in the *Plaza* or an adjacent public park. During their menstruation cycle, girls staying in "Chuck Norris" would get sanitary napkins from staff either at the *Casa de Acogida* or from the shelter. With the inauguration of the *Grupo de Apoyo* for street youth with more street experience and who were not allowed to attend the *Casa de Acogida's* day program, this particular group of street children were

[131] I am aware that Mary Douglas (1970) in *Purity and Danger* addresses the themes of cleanliness and contamination. While relevant to this study, I am focusing on social suffering and the "Street Child Body" here.

able to access showers and resources there (See Chapter 5: *From Street Children to Criminals*).

"Chuck Norris" was a drainage tunnel; it was not intended for human habitation. There were no bathroom facilities or clean running water. Regardless, when members of the group staying there needed to go to the bathroom, they used a small, cement structure that was part of the aqueduct itself as an outhouse, or they defecated close to the river where the water could wash the fecal matter away or outside but not too close to the immediate drainage tunnel entrance. Personal hygiene, specifically taking showers and washing clothes, occurred during the evening program established by the *Casa de Acogida*. Consistent with Hecht's (1998) findings in Brazil, street children in this study, whether barred from attending the day program or not, used the resources available at the *Casa de Acogida* as a way to survive on the streets not necessarily to get off the streets which was how the services were intended to be utilized. The services offered by NGOs often had a "band-aid" quality to them.[132]

Acutely aware of their positioning within society, street children vacillated between resisting and acquiescing to societal norms. The following conversation highlights this social awareness:

> Ramon: Would you be embarrassed to walk downtown holding my hand?
> Me: No. Why would I be embarrassed?
> Tomas interjecting: Because he's ugly.
> Ramon: No, I'm not. All I need is a haircut, scrubbed up and clean clothes and I'm quite a catch!

Ramon, 16, was one of the toughest more respected adolescents among the group staying in the "Chuck Norris" *caleta*. Living on the streets since he was 8 years old, Ramon had a long history of incarceration in most *COD's* and of rule breaking with service agencies.

[132] "Band-aids" cover and disguise wounds but they don't heal them.

While he usually presented himself as tough and care-free, the exchange above reflected an internalization of societal norms as well as an acute awareness of negative judgment by society based on superficial markers, specifically hygiene and appearance. His question and comment were intended to confront me with his own marginality to see how I would react, but they also insinuated doubt and low self-esteem regarding his "self" as a street child; they demonstrated the possession of knowledge about what is necessary to "fit in" socially and appear to be a desirable citizen. Although his self-appraisal expressed the potential to be a desirable citizen, it was not framed in terms of personal action he could take to become a "desirable citizen." The possibility to become a "desirable citizen" was real and he did not eliminate himself from that status. This tiny yet powerful exchange summarizes the enormity of this extremely classist society as a force street children must counter and contend with in order to survive especially as they are located at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Some street children expressed anger and frustration by what they perceived as moral judgment by society because they were undeniably poor. For instance, aware of societal perceptions of street children as filthy and ragged, many placed importance on cleanliness especially when out in public enabling them to "pass" as normal or minimally strange rather than deviant. They explained "people don't notice you so much if you are clean" and "they treat you better." Most indicated that one of the things they liked most of the *Casa de Acogida* was that they could wash their bodies and clothes there as well as get a change of clothing. Cleanliness, both of their bodies and apparel, was difficult to achieve because their immediate environments were usually always dirty. Furthermore, despite expending time and energy washing their clothing, they frequently wore their

clothes damp as they could only line dry or iron dry them during the few hours they were in the *Casa de Acogida*, making it easier for dirt to settle onto their garments. Despite the odds, street children put a lot of effort into being clean not solely due to social expectations but also because an important fringe benefit to their cleanliness was the public tended to be less guarded around them. People more readily perceived them as threats when they wore soiled clothing than when they were clean. That lowering of the public's suspicion index, that extra minute or two gave them the opportunity they needed to steal. Being clean in public was unquestionably a form of manipulation and a strategy for income generation, but it was also an attempt to fit the norm.

"Performing Childhood"

The children who participated in this study were sensitive to discrepancies between the normative childhood society expected of them and their reality surviving on the streets and staying in homeless shelters. They constantly, proficiently, and strategically negotiated the boundaries between childhood and adulthood as well as childhood and social deviance. They also recognized they were penalized for deviating from societal expectations. "Performing childhood" was a strategy street children used that simultaneously manipulated and satisfied society's need to categorize them as "children" as well as helped them with daily survival.

For instance, after washing up the best he could in the public fountains as he did not stay in the shelter for children, twelve year old Tomas participated in the informal economy to secure his basic needs as formal employment was neither a viable nor

necessarily a desirable option to him.[133] During the day, he peddled for money from passengers on *micros* (buses), Santiago's most popular and inexpensive form of public transportation. In the late evenings, he begged food from the fast food restaurants in the area and when necessary he stole from pedestrians. These strategies capitalized on the fact that Tomas was small in stature, cute in a playful preadolescent way, and childlike thus innocent in appearance. Similar strategies were documented by Hecht (1998), Marquez (1999), and Kilbride and colleagues (2000).

Micros were one of the more popular arenas for street children participating in the informal economy because they had a rapid turn around rate of passengers who were also potential consumers thus were sites where entrepreneurial individuals could sell tangible items or a story of need.[134] With the *micrero's* permission, Tomas boarded the micro and handed to the passengers the item he happened to be selling such as wallet-size calendars or colorful stickers of popular Disney ® or cartoon characters. He humbly introduced his situation and need and made a plea to Chilean solidarity, in doing so claiming his common citizenship or proto-citizenship with the bus patrons, and finally asked for a contribution in return for the merchandise. Patrons either returned the merchandise alone or gave him a coin and kept the item. If he lacked money to invest in tangible goods to sell, Tomas sang a song or told a "story of need" in return for a coin although he preferred not to sing because he found it embarrassing. Stories of need were offered via a

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[133] Child labor laws, established to protect children from exploitation, prohibit children working in the formal economy where at least they would have some measure of protection. Instead, children who have no option other than to work must engage in the informal economy where in addition to having no legal recourse they are involved in illicit labor.

[134] Selling stories of need was a common strategy used by several distinct groups: street children, working children, handicapped or disabled, poor adults, and the elderly. The individual selling the story usually appealed to passengers sense of "solidarity."

song or written on a piece of paper that was handed out and then collected hopefully with a coin. An example of a story of need follows:

> Sirs, forgive me for bothering you. We are 5 siblings. I am the only one who helps at home. Could you please help me with a coin as it is better to go out to beg than to steal. And may God bless you.

Once Tomas collected his merchandise and contributions he waited until the micro slowed down enough for him to hop off, usually right onto another micro, sometimes traveling the length of the city numerous times during the course of a few hours. Tomas knowingly appealed to passengers' sentimentality of seeing a small boy having to beg to support his siblings. His story of need was yet another example of how street children strategically manipulated social norms in order to survive. Three boys wrote this particular story, it was hand written on a piece of paper as neatly as possible and photocopied multiple times. The story made appeals to civility, familial responsibility, manners, morality, religion, solidarity. All three boys used the story they penned on the same day but agreed to work different bus routes.

After a few hours of work, Tomas returned to "Chuck Norris" where the group pooled their earnings to buy something to eat, usually bread and bologna as this is one of the least expensive meals available. In addition to buying food, Tomas used his morning earnings to buy glue or *tolueno* to feed his growing drug habit. After lunch, Tomas began inhaling, an activity that sometimes continued until the wee hours of the night. As closing time for the restaurants approached, Tomas along with a few others loitered in the vicinity to ask patrons for food or sometimes the employees gave them food that was not sold.[135] If he needed money in the evenings, Tomas resorted to stealing wallets, watches,

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[135] This was an interesting relationship as sometimes the group negotiated with the employees to not harass the patrons if they gave them left-over food at the end of the night. Sometimes, an employee offered them

and / or cellular phones around the vicinity of "Chuck Norris." Stealing was an activity better suited for the evening as the dark of night helped conceal illegal acts. Additionally, "Chuck Norris" was ideally located at a heavily trafficked juncture for both vehicles and pedestrians so there were always people passing through. Tomas carried a switch blade to help convince pedestrians to hand over their valuables but preferred not to use it because if caught using a weapon to steal carried a stiffer punishment than simply grabbing the valuables and running off. Tomas described using legal terminology the differences between stealing v. stealing using a weapon v. assault. He informed me jail (*COD*) assignment as well as time depended on how the crime was classified.[136] Instead of considering his small size a drawback to being a good thief, Tomas viewed it as advantageous because pedestrians initially dismissed him as being a threat and it was easier for him than a larger person to run through crowds and evade capture, although he has been caught.

Tomas has been arrested and held in three different *COD's* thirty-five distinct times in the five years he has been on the streets. The first twenty-five arrests, he was held in the lowest security center where cases, as the children were referred to, were brought in for "protection" and was easily able to escape. The later ten detentions, he was held in two medium security centers where cases were brought in for disciplinary or criminal reasons such as being caught stealing using a weapon and where escape was

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food without prompting from them for charity. The nature of the interaction depended on the relationship with the person working on a particular night. Also, whenever street children had money, they bought food so they too were patrons of sorts.

[136] Most street children were familiar with the judicial system and the legality of their activities. Older street youth especially as they approached the age of majority were very careful about how and when they engaged in illicit activities at least when not under the influence of drugs. They claimed to have learned this information on the street through experience and from other street children.

much more difficult due to increased security measures such as the presence of more guards and living areas being completely enclosed.

Tomas contributed economically to the group staying at "Chuck Norris." He recognized that the older, bigger members offered him protection and his contribution to the group was to bring in money for their collective needs. He claimed respect from group members by being a consistent source of money and by drawing boundaries around how much money he gave to those who asked him for it. Of course, this was dependant on who was asking for money as Tomas realized that "might was right" and he was small after all. There were occasions when older, bigger boys forcibly took money from him, although they seemed to respect that he fought (a losing fight) with them. But, I witnessed an older adolescent trying to look after and soothe Tomas who had a toothache and had huddled in a fetal position between two video game machines. There was a sense of community and loyalty among the street children in Santiago.

Tomas "performed childhood" as a means of economic gains and survival. He strategically took advantage of his small size and childish demeanor to create a niche for himself not just in society at large but in the group, a position that afforded him some protection due to the consistency with which he provided money. This sketch of Tomas indicates that he differed from "normative" twelve year old boys in several ways including his active involvement in the licit and illicit informal economy to satisfy his daily necessities including his drug use and his development of a refined knowledge of the judicial system specifically regarding the punishments meted out for the type of crimes committed.

Raquel also "performed childhood" but for different strategic means. The photograph above was among the photos Raquel took when given a disposable camera along with the task of documenting her life.

During the fifteen months I knew her, she tried different strategies to survive. Initially, she dressed provocatively wearing short, tight, and revealing clothing, and excessive make-up. Her way of being was very aggressive and rude, constantly insulting others. She was sexually active and slept on the streets with a boy she met and with whom she had paired up. She had recently separated with him when we met and was staying at the shelter for children associated with the *Casa de Acogida*.

Ultimately, Raquel decided the strategy above did not work for her; she found new faith and God and decided to be more conservative in her appearance and behavior. Suddenly, she started wearing long skirts, loose blouses, and little to no make-up. She tried to restrain her aggressive, emotional outbursts and was mostly successful except for a few occasional episodes when her anger and frustration bubbled over. She liked to walk along the crowded pedestrian walkways in downtown Santiago. Frequently, she left the *Casa de Acogida's* day program early to walk along the avenues dressed in a typical school uniform consisting of a white blouse and blue skirt even though she was not a student.[137] Those staying at the shelter who knew Raquel did this teased her mercilessly;

[137] Raquel tried to enroll in school but she needed to provide a physical address of where she was living in order to be able to attend school. She approached staff at the shelter since essentially she lived there but

they told her she was crazy and stuck up. Raquel tried not to show she was hurt by their comments and typically escaped onto the streets where dressed in a school uniform she faded into anonymity.

Common to both phases was an old tattered wedding dress that she would occasionally wear while at the shelter. She said wearing the wedding dress made her feel pretty. It also gave her life the illusion of being a fairytale and thus the hope that she would someday live happily ever after. Wearing the wedding dress satisfied in her what inhalant abuse and self-mutilation satisfied for other street children, it allowed her to escape reality momentarily but it was a non-approved escape into "normal" life rather than into deviant behavior.

Raquel longed for a traditional and normative life. One afternoon while walking with her, Raquel stopped in front of a bridal boutique displaying beautiful, lacy, formal wedding gowns. She told me about her dreams of getting married in a white wedding gown and she wanted to wear a veil. She hoped to someday have a husband, children and a home. She wanted to celebrate birthdays with cake and a party. Apparently, Raquel had identified social markers of normalcy within society and through the invocation and performance of childhood actively attempted to at least appear to belong.

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they would not allow her to use the shelter address as her home address. The reason given was that the shelter was intended to be a transitional space street children were supposed to use for a few months. Raquel had been staying at the shelter regularly for roughly a year.

Drug use and abuse, specifically inhalants, was routine among the vast majority of street child participants in this study. They inhaled, or huffed[138] legal substances such as glue and *tolueno* to reach an altered state of being. Both glue and *tolueno* were readily available and relatively inexpensive thus the most common method of intoxication employed among them. Glue and *tolueno* were legal substances yet their use in a non-indicated manner transformed the user, not the substance, into social deviants. While street children were stigmatized and criminalized for using these substances outside their prescribed indications, glue and *tolueno* maintained their proper societal position and continued unregulated and readily available at all hardware stores to whoever had the means to purchase them.

No single reason explains the incidence of drug use and abuse among street children, instead a constellation of factors influence the prevalence of the activity: opportunity, curiosity, peer pressure, boredom, anticipation of pleasure, conforming to society's (lowered) expectations, addiction, need to escape emotional and/or

[138] "Huffing" is a technique increasingly used by children and adolescents in the United States (Howard and Jenson 1999; Neumark, Delva, & Anthony 1998). There is a growing medical and addiction literature voicing concern over this trend for it is difficult to identify as children and youth use legal substances. According to Kurztman el al. (2001) abuse of inhalants is not easily detected because "urine toxicology screens are not designed to screen inhalants or their metabolites." Gas chromatography can detect most volatile substances within 10 hours of exposure but the procedure is not always available or practical.

psychological pain, etc. Inhalant use and abuse was normative and regular among street children, incorporated into the daily routine. Drug use and abuse seemed fundamental to the lives of children living on the streets in Santiago. Pamela, an adolescent who was 6 months pregnant and had been unable to resist the urge to use inhalants during her pregnancy, described her typical day:

> Get up. Have breakfast and inhale. And inhale. And inhale. (She giggles). Go to the *Casa de Acogida* and continue inhaling. At night I steal. During the day I inhale. Pure inhaling. Stealing and inhaling.

Some street children claimed to use inhalants because, "the body asks for it." Some already exhibited indications of permanent brain damage associated with inhalant abuse such as the inability to mentally process information, for instance comprehension in everyday conversations seemed compromised; some exhibited constant hands tremors which were uncharacteristic for adolescents; as well as possible loss of motor skills, such as occasionally having difficulty with simple walking. Inhalant use temporarily impaired street children's judgment and frequently they were either unaware of the risks they took or simply did not care. Disentangling adolescent notions of invincibility from drug-induced euphoria is neither an easy nor possible task but the combination was certainly dangerous. Furthermore, inhalants were flammable and accidents were known to occur where the plastic bag containing the substance caught fire singeing or burning the user. One such incident was communicated to me by a volunteer from the *Casa de Acogida* shortly after I left the field. Tomas, who appears in several of these chapters, had such an accident and was seriously burned over 70% of his body. Tomas survived but his accident suggests persistent drug use often leads to death in a variety of ways.

Street children by necessity led mobile lives. Glue seemed to be easier to transport as its viscosity made it more difficult to spill than *tolueno*. Crushed bright yellow tubes labeled "***American Rubber Glue***" littered the spaces where they played and stayed. One tube of glue cost $200 Chilean pesos (roughly U.S. $.30 cents) and had enough substance to last the user an entire day if used judiciously. While the idea of "judiciously" abusing toxic substances seems outrageous, reality was that street children were strategic in their consumption to ensure their daily supply sufficed their needs and desires. The tube of glue was discretely and conveniently packaged, easily fitting into a pocket for concealment from service agency staff, *Carabineros* as well as other street children. Street children usually had a bag readily available in a pocket. Despite trying to mask the distinct odor of huffer's breath, dried glue around their mouth often gave them away.

Street children were adept at sneaking glue into places where it was prohibited such as the *Casa de Acogida* and the shelter for children. For instance, although staff and volunteers at the shelter tried to ensure street children did not posses drugs when they were allowed entrance, frequently crushed, empty tubes or little plastic bags with used glue were found under beds, or hidden in nooks throughout the building. If possession of drugs was discovered while inside the premises, street children were given the option of handing over the tube of glue and plastic bag or leaving. I stayed in the shelter at least one night a week for 15 months, totaling a minimum of 60 nights. I witnessed roughly 30 instances where street children had to decide to stay or leave. Not one opted to relinquish the glue and stay.

Tolueno was packaged in liter bottles and cost roughly $1500 Chilean pesos (U.S. $2.30). One liter of *tolueno* lasted roughly a day when shared among the entire group

which was usually the case. Often street children pooled their money to collectively afford the *tolueno* or if one person was doing particularly well economically he or she would treat the group.

Inhalants act as depressants which initially stimulate the user (Tenenbein, 1995). Similar to cocaine, *tolueno* and glue deliver a fast euphoric sensation as they primarily affect the brain regions associated with reward and pleasure (Gerasimov et al. 2002). Common experiences associated with inhalant abuse are giddiness, dizziness, slurred speech, staggering gait, euphoria, disinhibition, impulsiveness, and excitement (Tenenbein 1995). Prolonged or chronic inhalant abuse can lead to neurologic, cardiovascular, renal, pulmonary, hepatic and bone marrow, perinatal and teratogenic health problems (Kurtzman et al. 2001). The central nervous system appears to be the most vulnerable system in the body to the toxic nature of inhalants (Kurtzman 2001:173; Tenenbein 1995) and *tolueno* has been identified as the most damaging to it (Kurtzman 2001:174). Chronic inhalant abusers, as were the street children in this study, are at highest risk to the numerous negative repercussions associated with these substances.

Research identified three common methods for inhalation: "sniffing," "huffing" and "bagging" (Kurtzman et al. 2001: 172). "Sniffing" refers to inhaling vapors directly from an open container. "Huffing" refers inhalation using a piece of cloth soaked in the substance of choice (*tolueno*, benzene, gasoline). "Bagging" indicates the use of a bag as the receptacle for the substance. According to Kurtzman et al., bagging is the method offering exposure to the highest concentration of inhalant leading to a more intense or prolonged euphoria (2001:173). All participants in this study utilized the "bagging" method when using and abusing inhalants.

Fendrich et al. (1997:768) note that psychological explanations for drug use such as the "self-medication hypothesis" examine drug use as a reaction to depressed or anxious internal states but do not allot violence a critical role as an independent causal variable in drug abuse. Their research indicates children exposed to trauma may seek out inhalants due to their accessibility for they are substances that easy to acquire and utilize. Furthermore, inhalants produce a rapid euphoric and dissociative effect which help children cope with their depressive symptoms and dismal situation.

Research in Latin America suggests inhalant abuse among marginalized children, i.e. street children, is a serious problem (Baldivieso 1995; Carlini-Cotrin 1995; Lerner and Ferrando 1995). One study conducted in Peru found that almost 100% of children living on the streets used and abused inhalants (Lerner and Ferrando 1995). According to those findings the primary reason street children used inhalants was "seeking a sense of identification with each other; to feel they belonged to the group" (Lerner and Ferrando 1995:200).

Society tends to focus on drug use among street children as a hedonistic and often illegal behavior[139] in which they voluntarily and knowingly choose to engage. While drug abuse is associated with pleasure seeking, escaping a painful reality is not considered. There is no self-reflection in the societal arena regarding how it creates or treats street children and their reality and therefore contributes to their social suffering.

[139] I am making a distinction between a behavior and an activity. A behavior has an internal (psychological) association whereas an activity has an external (social) connotation.

Sex as Strategy

Sexual activity, whether consensual, paid, or forced, was a significant way street children routinely used their bodies to survive on the streets; as such it is survival sex. When consensual, the intimacy of sexual activity was often confounded with or replaced the basic need for love and affection necessary for a sense of belonging and acceptance. Engaging in sexual activity for remuneration provided "easy money" as there was no need to make an initial investment in merchandise to sell. But street children and youth did not consider having sex for money a respectable activity, unlike being a good thief. Survival sex was strategy usually associated with girls although there were a few rumors circulating of gay street boys also engaging in it. Those who openly engaged in or were rumored to engage in prostitution were harassed, demeaned, and regularly insulted by other street children – another instance when values external to street child culture were influential.

Yet, both boys and girls employed the "normalcy" of prostitution in their milieu strategically. For example, two couples (2 boys and 2 girls) devised a scam to get money. The girls went into a bar, chatted up men, and waited to be propositioned. The girls would take the "johns" outside where the girls' partners were waiting to assault them for their valuables. Although the strategy, analogous to pimping, was somewhat successful, it caused problems for one of the girls'. Gloria's boyfriend, Ramon, believed she had actually engaged in sexual activity with a "john" while inside the bar. She denied a sexual encounter but admitted to finding the "john" attractive and flirting with him. This admission led to violence akin to domestic violence in which Ramon physically struck

Gloria followed by a break-up. Ramon felt entitled to strike her because he considered Gloria "his property" and she had disrespected him. Ramon was a leader in the group and his dumping of Gloria hurt her social standing. Suddenly, the group had license to behave disrespectfully toward Gloria. They insulted her, calling her a whore, which they would not have dared to do so long as she was Ramon's "wife." Gloria struggled with her newly lowered status as she had previously enjoyed the protection being with Ramon afforded her. She unsuccessfully tried to return to Ramon's good graces by performing "wifely" duties, such as washing his clothes. This example clearly demonstrates that engaging in sexual activity was at times strategic. Sex was a gendered vehicle to access money, power, and status. It was not uncommon for girls to engage in sexual activity with boys who had "respect" among the others as way of ensuring her safety or favors within the group. Kilbride and colleagues (2000) also found survival sex among street children in Kenya routine especially among girls.

Sex as Violence and Abuse

Rape, both of boys and girls, was acknowledged as existing and commented upon but rarely admitted by the street children in this study as having happened to them. They claimed young boys and all girls were at highest risk for rape. The threat of rape was real and occurred both internally within the confines of their peer group (thus the rapists were known), as well as externally in greater society (where the rapists were unknown). Rape within the peer group seemed to be incorporated into the reality and expectations of life on the streets, or street culture, and appeared to be an exercise in exerting dominance and

status setting as well as power relations whether male over female, male over male, or in one case female over female.[140] These internal incidents were not usually spoken of openly or directly, rather this kind of information was whispered about and communicated via innuendo and the rumor mill.

Pamela was raped by an insider to the group of street children inside the drainage tunnel "Chuck Norris." She only knew the rapist by sight and described the actual rape as a random event. When she revealed this information, she sobbed uncontrollably for it was the first time she had allowed herself to verbally acknowledge this traumatic incident to another person. She had not spoken of her experience with anyone because she did not want other street children to know about it. Despite being traumatic, she spoke of rape as just another risk girls faced when on the streets; in group rape was "normalized."

In contrast, threat of the unknown rapist fed a sort of scary urban legend among the street children reminiscent to North American stories of the "boogey-man." Sexual predators found in street children a highly vulnerable population that in addition to not being protected was actively ignored by adults and thus very easy prey. This vulnerability is supported by Pain and Francis' (2004) findings that homeless children are frequent victims of crimes that go unreported or underreported.

Rumors circulated by street children described a supposed pedophile named Gonzalo as having "salt-and-pepper" hair. Several distinct sources independently informed me this alleged pedophile would drug his victims by holding chloroform to their mouth and nose in order to render them unconscious and enable him to rape them without resistance or recollection while in "Chuck Norris." The drug allegedly used to immobilize and subdue his victims was not a substance street children used to alter their

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[140] In this specific case, a female adolescent forced younger girls to have sex with her.

senses. This rumor contributed to the urban myth surrounding the "unknown rapist." Claims about the use of chloroform to subdue victims augmented the fear the myth inspired. During the raid on "Chuck Norris," a man named Gonzalo, roughly in his late 20s or early 30s, with whom I was unfamiliar and who had salt-and-pepper hair was observing the events. Cognizant of these disturbing rumors, I was wary about him and observed his actions closely; later other street children confirmed he was the alleged pedophile. Street children who were not arrested during the raid convened on the *Plaza* and Gonzalo joined the newly diminished group there. Some present referred to him as *Papi*, or daddy, even though they knew his name. Gonzalo's attention was focused on Javier, a 12-year-old prepubescent boy, one of the five who crawled into to the depths of the drainage tunnel and endured the tear gas to escape capture by *Carabineros*. When Javier emerged onto the *Plaza* covered from head to toe in filth, he tried to clean up in a wading pool. Gonzalo encouraged Javier to take off all of his clothing. Javier removed his pants but as he wore no underwear he kept his t-shirt on out of modesty and kept pulling it down to cover his genitals. Gonzalo stared at Javier as he tried to cover his genitalia, he caressed and kissed Javier's face and at one point spanked him on his butt playfully. Without brazenly touching him in a sexually inappropriately way, Gonzalo "helped" Javier clean up. He lavished this boy with attention, essentially ignoring everyone else. Gonzalo apparently had once been a street child who had stayed at "Chuck Norris" and would on occasion still visit the *caleta*.

How do street children protect themselves from this? A different 12-year-old boy claimed Gonzalo had unsuccessfully tried to rape him while in "Chuck Norris." According to him, he escaped molestation because he was not yet asleep when Gonzalo

started touching him and he used his ever-present switchblade to (superficially) stab the rapist in self-defense.

While Pamela and Javier are obvious examples of sexual abuse, not all cases and incidents when sex was violence were overt. Roberto represented a case where sexual abuse was not immediately obvious or visible yet his actions and behaviors were alarming and suspicious.[141] Although Roberto, an 11 year old male, was small in stature for his age, he looked much older than his years. Despite frequently being asked to leave the premises due to his violent and destructive rampages, Roberto used the day program at the *Casa de Acogida* sporadically. Triggers I was unable to identify sent him into temper tantrums there during which he threw chairs, broke windows, and climbed on the roof where he openly and defiantly used inhalants, leaving only when staff called *Carabineros*.[142] He constantly threatened staff saying he would *dejar la cagada*, which literally translated into "leave shit," and meant he sought to cause as much destruction as possible. And he repeatedly proved he was capable of much damage. Contingent upon whether he was allowed on the premises and / or whether he was enjoying being on the streets too much, Roberto periodically stayed in the shelter for children where he regularly played "dress-up," modeled girl's clothing, and put on make-up.[143] He would dance around sensually to entertain volunteers and other street children. Roberto had moments of levity and playfulness, but typically he was very detached from adults. I personally found him to be one of the most difficult street children to reach. Roberto

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[141] Roberto's behavior was consistent with common behaviors among children who have been sexually abused.

[142] This was a technique commonly used by many to evade being thrown out of the premises or when not allowed in to disrupt the activities within the center.

[143] Roberto did not do this alone. He usually cross dressed along with another boy roughly his age and stature who incidentally was also prone to violent, uncontrollable rages.

seemed highly sexualized constantly joking about sex, trying to be seductive, as well as expressing and acting on sexual desire toward women, girls, and sometimes boys. Roberto's rage was so uncontrollable that even some street children commented on how difficult it was to rein him in while on the streets.

Some street children, such as Roberto, exhibit many of the symptoms associated with children who have suffered sexual abuse.[144] Many are trapped in situations of abuse whether from within their group membership or from the greater society. Roberto's rage and actions, when considered as sequelea to the possibility that he was the victim of sexual abuse make sense. Recall Guillermo's urgent and haunting plea after my visit to "Chuck Norris," "*You know why the little boys are there, right?*" I do not know whether Roberto was sexually abused by bigger and older members of the group as Guillermo told me happens or by an unknown rapist but the possibility certainly bears consideration. Rape within the street child community is not uncommon as sexual preying within their own social network exists (Lockhart 1998; Campos 1994; Kilbride 2000).

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[144] Research links childhood sexual abuse with psychopathology, suicide, drug abuse; sexual abuse is trauma that affects cognitive, physical, interpersonal, and social levels (Young 1992; Browne and Finkelhor 1986). Studies focusing on the impact of childhood sexual abuse found children who were victims of sexual abuse had a greater likelihood of developing sexualized behavior (Beitchman et al.1991). It has been suggested children who have been sexually abused suffer from characteristics commonly associated with post traumatic stress disorder (Deblinger et al. 1989) and they are more likely to engage in delinquent or criminal behavior (Widom and Ames 1994; Widom 1995). Beitchman and colleagues' (1991;1992) research suggest the short and long term impacts of childhood sexual abuse include higher incidences of sexual disturbance, homosexuality, anxiety and fear, depression, suicide, revictimization, postsexual abuse syndrome (characterized by symptoms of fear, dissociation and withdrawl, anger, muscle tension, and self-injurious feelings), and personality disorders.

Unintended Consequences of Sex

Limited and incomplete knowledge about diseases, such as AIDS, fueled rumors, fears, and stigma among street children and youth. Ramon, a skinny, scrawny youth, who was usually proud of his promiscuity, voiced his concern one evening while incredibly high. In a very distressed state, he insisted he had AIDS[145] and believed his thinness was proof of the presence of the disease. Some street children and youth whispered behind his back that he was *sidoso*, he was infected with AIDS. Sexual education was not on the teaching curriculum neither at the *Casa de Acogida* nor in the *COD's*,[146] the two institutions with the most contact with street children, meaning the knowledge they needed to protect themselves was not offered to them. Furthermore, even if condoms had been readily available to Ramon, he scoffed at the thought of using them. According to Ramon, he preferred the "natural" feel of sexual intercourse, or *bunchi-bunchi*[147] as he called it, and had protection been a viable option to him, he was unwilling to use it. Was his stance a reflection of machismo? Most likely machismo influenced his attitude but it bears consideration that the only possession that cannot be taken away from a street child is his or her body.[148] Perhaps Ramon's attitude also reflects his desire to derive pleasure from his sole absolute possession.

Another essentially immediate consequence to engaging in sexual activity was teenage pregnancy. As noted above condoms were not used neither were oral

[145] This was not the sole time Ramon claimed he had AIDS. This concern was a recurring theme or fear of his.
[146] Chile is a Catholic and very conservative country. Sexual education was not on the curriculum in the general educational system.
[147] Bunchi-bunchi was slang terminology referring to the act of sexual intercourse. I believe the sound of the word is supposed to mimic the sound of bedsprings.
[148] That their bodies are street children's sole possession does not exclude other's exploiting that body such as in incidents of rape or pimping.

contraceptives. In order to utilize contraceptives effectively knowledge, money, and self-efficacy are needed (Kaemingk and Bootzin 1990). In general, street children do not possess the knowledge, money, or self-efficacy required to protect themselves from sexually transmitted diseases. Sex for remuneration but not pregnancy was stigmatized; pregnancy was not feared, it just happened. Pregnancy was a natural consequence to a pleasurable activity. The possibility of becoming pregnant did not seem to deter sexual activity. Being pregnant did not reduce a girl's sexual appeal to boys as they commonly courted and tried to win the affection of girls pregnant with another's child so long as the father was not involved with the girl which was often the case. Few boys stayed with a girl once she became pregnant; rather they tended to be absent fathers who rarely contributed to their child's survival needs. Pregnancy did not impede girls' from engaging in activities that constantly endangered the fetus' viability, such as drug use, smoking, strenuous exercise such as climbing in and out of "Chuck Norris." Some girls romanticized the birth of their child imagining being able to love the child the way they would have wanted their parents to love them. Street children tended to be considerate of pregnant friends, offering them protection, and trying to be considerate of their physical comfort when possible.

Pregnancy and drug addiction are not compatible. Despite knowing inhalant abuse was damaging to the fetus, some girls were not able to curtail their drug abuse. It appeared as if girls were "informed" about the detrimental effects of inhalant abuse to the fetus but they did not necessarily "comprehend" that information and its implications. For instance, Pamela cried true tears of joy after seeing the ultrasound of her unborn child. She was overjoyed and expressed her relief as she chain-smoked cigarettes outside the

emergency room. During the ultrasound, she had seen her child move which alleviated her fears that it might be dead because of her persistent drug abuse. She recognized she should not *volarse*, get high, but she claimed the addiction was too strong and she was not strong enough to resist. Pamela was relieved because in the images she saw the child looked perfect and she had feared physical deformation due to her drug abuse. In Pamela's case, she never contemplated neurological damage to the child, in her mind harm seemed to constitute solely physical handicaps. At times, it seemed the girls' thought their children were immune to those effects. Smoking cigarettes, which was commonplace, was never even contemplated as a risk factor to the developing fetus. Developmental delays among children born to girls living on the street were not uncommon.

Societal reaction to teenage pregnancy was another matter altogether. Recall that Chile is an incredibly conservative, overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country where "illegitimate" children were granted the same rights as "legitimate" children via the New Filial Law passed in 1999 (Milanich 2002) and divorce was legalized in May 2004. One day in the *Plaza* while doing an interview with 16 year old Claudia, an older man mistook me for a social worker. Unapologetically, he interrupted the interview and addressed me, completely ignoring Claudia who was sitting by my side. He complained about the street children who were lounging and playing in the *Plaza*, claiming they were disruptive. Meanwhile, Claudia was silently growing increasingly angry. The man proceeded to single out a pregnant 15-year-old saying, "Look at her, she's pregnant. What about the baby? She doesn't matter. She can die. But what about the baby?" I asked whether he realized what he had just said. He looked at me and with sudden disgust

apparent on his face said, "You're one of them." Offended for me, Claudia jumped to what she viewed as "my defense," telling the man to "Do not tell her that. She has an education. She doesn't abuse drugs. She's not on the street." Claudia's response reflected the internalization of society's diminished value attributed to street children while the man's comments demonstrate the "othering" of street children.

Pregnant street children offend the social order and morality in multiple ways: 1. they are street children, 2. as teenagers they are not "legitimately" entitled to reproduce, 3. they are street children who are reproducing. Murcott (1980) suggests pregnant teenagers challenge ideologies of childhood and ideologies of reproduction because children are expected to be sexually innocent and naïve and the only women who can "legitimately" reproduce are married, financially stable adults. Pregnant teenagers exist in both the worlds of children and adults, worlds that are not supposed to co-exist, instead the individual (child) transitions from one world to the other. This progression from childhood to adulthood is assumed to be linear and unidirectional; yet as Valentine (2004) noted this process can be characterized by fluctuations back and forth between these categories. However, the notions of child and adult are considered mutually exclusive concepts and pregnant teenagers challenge the boundaries of each (Murcott, 1980); they are yet another example of adultified children (Jenkins 1998). Teenage pregnancy, and other variations of adultified children, offends a morality that can identify children only by separating them from adults (Murcott 1980:7).

Self-Mutilation

Self-mutilation refers to the purposeful and voluntary infliction of wounds, usually cutting, upon an individual's own flesh. Although there were some exceptions, the vast majority of street children and youth who participated in this research project engaged in self-mutilation. Layers upon layers of criss-crossing scars were visible reminders and evidence of engagement in self-mutilation. Limbs transcended mere functionality to represent a sort of record of time on the street as older cuts healed and tried to fade while new ones stung and were inflamed. The stratification of scars suggested a temporal account of informants' life experiences. Many street children and youth detailed the incidents triggering self-mutilation that resulted in a particular scar suggesting they inscribed their history on the street directly on their flesh. For example, comments such as "That was when I broke up with my girlfriend" or "That was when I was in *COD San Joaquin* and was bored." Self-mutilation scars were artifacts interpreted differently by street children themselves. While some street children wore their scars as a "badges of honor" claiming the scars garnered them "respect" on the street, others claimed the belief that more scars equaled more respect was stupid. This finding contradicts Marquez's (1999) claim that self-mutilation scars were indicators of machismo among street children in Venezuela. Street children in Santiago, both male and female, were more concerned with "respect" and being perceived as tough. Furthermore,

most street children in Santiago were conscious of and annoyed by the social disapproval their scars generated and some covered their arms out of embarrassment.

Among street child participants in this study, self-mutilation seemed to be a learned activity. Many claimed to have seen others engage in self-mutilation and eventually learned to cut themselves. Forearms were the area of the body most commonly cut but legs, especially thighs and calves, and sometimes the stomach were also ready canvases conveying their pain and frustration. Street children and youth utilized whatever sharp object was available to self-mutilate – switchblades, box cutters, razors, glass. Responses to the question "Why do you cut yourself?" suggested cutting was an outlet for emotions such as sadness, anger, depression, and rejection. "I wanted to kill myself." "I was sad." When held in correctional facilities (*COD's*) which was often and considered "doing time", street children and youth cut themselves to break the monotony of incarceration. One girl explained why she cut herself:

> So they would take me somewhere else (to the infirmary). I don't know…to amuse myself. To get attention.

When street children cut themselves while "doing time," they were taken to a place where someone actively cared for them. Although burdened with negative associations, self-mutilation seemed to have some positive effects for street children. For instance, when cutting themselves, they externalized emotions too painful or difficult to bear or that were simply beyond they ability to articulate (Scarry 1985). As is evident throughout this dissertation, much of their life experience was outside of their control thus when street children engaged in self-mutilation they determined when they cut, how much and how deep they cut, and when they stopped. Furthermore, scars were markers to

themselves that represented physical evidence of their existence, their experiences as well as their ability to survive.

Cutting took place during different times and in a variety of places, such as *COD's*, *caleta*s, and the *Plaza*, and for a multitude of reasons. While not exclusive or definitive, interviews with the street children suggest that feeling vulnerable was a key denominator to engaging in self-mutilation. For instance, holidays such as Christmas or personally meaningful days such as birthdays were triggers for street children in this study. Tension enveloped these dates as street children were highly sensitive to the contrast between "normative" children and themselves on these dates and any reason was excuse enough to engage in destructive activities, such as drug abuse and self-mutilation, as a way of masking their sadness, homesickness, and feelings of rejection. Street children described life inside *COD's* as demoralizing. Different kinds of vulnerabilities were expressed among the reasons street children engaged in self-mutilation, such as feeling sad, rejected or lonely and frustration or anger over their social impotence. "Vulnerability" while living on the streets was not an asset to survival. Vulnerability, rightly or wrongly, was equated with weakness and those who showed weakness of any kind were subject to be taken advantage of by others. They referred to it as *pasar a llevar*, literally meaning "stop by to take," and was understood to mean "to take advantage of." Street children in this study were constantly preoccupied with not being *pasado a llevar*, it was a form of disrespect they could not abide as it directly affected how others perceived them and therefore treated them. It is reasonable to conclude that their state of mind was a great factor influencing acts of self-mutilation. But their state of

mind must be understood as being mediated by their immediate dangerous, complicated, and raw environment.

Ramon, who managed to escape police arrest and incarceration during the raid on "Chuck Norris," watched as his friends were beaten, hauled away, and tear-gassed. He was visibly upset by what he termed an "injustice." In addition to the trauma of the event, he had to deal with a police officer trying to intimidate him and two others apparently out of pleasure of being in a dominant role. Ramon was frustrated by and furious about his social and legal position. He calmly sat on the *Plaza* with a steely look upon his face, he covertly huffed *tolueno*, and openly contemplated cutting himself. He announced[149] he would cut himself when he returned to "Chuck Norris." He believed cutting himself would help him "feel better." His response to a chaotic situation where he had minimal rights and even those were violated was to self-mutilate.

"Chuck Norris," a drainage tunnel, was one of the environments where the acts of cutting occurred. By definition, the *caleta* was neither a sterile nor sanitary space to inhabit or visit. Infections of cut limbs were common occurrences as it was difficult to keep clean in the drainage tunnel. Furthermore, some cuts were deep and required stitches which could be problematic to street children as they had limited access to medical and mental health services. Unfortunately, as I did not accompany anyone to get stitches, I could not explore the type of treatment received by those who presented with self inflicted wounds.[150] Did health professionals judge already marginalized individuals for engaging in what the professionals most likely consider destructive behavior?[151]

[149] I must admit his "announcement" felt like a threat to me. Ramon was aware that self-mutilation was an activity I did not understand.
[150] Clinical literature, based in the United States, makes several references to health care professionals dismissing patients who present with self-mutilation wounds while they attend the "sick" patients (Starr

Street children in this study commented that a reason to not self-mutilate was that scars were markers indicating marginality and criminality to policemen as these types of scars were common among prison populations. They claimed policemen viewed self-mutilation scars as markers indicating belonging to the category "street child" and would search their arms for this obvious signifier when they stopped them on the streets. Vicente, 15 years old, specifically stopped self-mutilating because of this:

> Me: You've stopped. Why did you stop?
> Vicente: Because I learned that if I'm on the street and *Carabineros* stop me, the first thing they do is examine my arms.
> Me: Why do they do that?
> Vicente: Because they know we're stealing.
> Me: If they cut themselves?
> Vicente: He's been inside (*COD's*).

The presence or absence of self-inflicted scars determined how policemen treated street children; if they had scars it was assumed he or she had been institutionalized in *COD's* and therefore it was more likely the street child would be treated as not redeemable or disposable. Self-mutilation scars signified marginality and criminality, and encouraged the categorization of street children as undesirable or trash. Scars were markers of distinction that further separated street children from "normative children" who were following the norms dictated by civil society and were on track to becoming desirable citizens. It is noteworthy that a study among Brazilian prisoners claims self-mutilation did not originate with prison culture but instead with street culture as many of the prisoners had been street children.[152] While Marquez (1999) found street children in

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2004). Favazza suggested health care professionals perceive self-mutilation wounds as "senseless, repugnant, frightening, and mysterious behavior" (Favazza 1989:113).

[151] According to clinical literature about self-mutilating based in the United States, individual's who present in emergency room for attention to self-inflicted wounds often complain about being made to wait while truly "sick" patients are tended to (Starr 2004).

[152] Personal communication from Kathleen Morrison on May 26, 2004.

Venezuela self-mutilate as a strategy to evade arrest that was not the case in among street children in Santiago. Rather than avoid children with cut arms so as to "not dirty their cars," *Carabineros* in Chile expressly looked for self-inflicted scars to identify and categorize street children as criminals in making, or *menores*, and deal with them accordingly.

As noted, street children were aware of potential moral, social, and economic consequences of self-mutilation. A twelve-year-old boy with a few slight scars explained the reason he did not self-mutilate:

> Boy: It occurred to me that later when I'm big…I'm going to work. I won't have a job. I can't walk around the street with short sleeve shirts.
> Me: Why won't you be able to work if you have scars?
> Boy: Because…they look at you! And that rubs you the wrong way.

Self-mutilation scars were markers of distinction burdened with negative connotations, associations, and subtexts. Few recognized the ramifications of the scars and voluntarily ceased self-mutilation. One such adolescent, cognizant of the negative social and political repercussions of having self-mutilation scars, was adamant about not engaging in self-mutilation. She was atypical in that she was considered a leader, a position usually occupied by males. At 17 years old, she had spent the majority of her life living on the streets, fending for personal survival. During her years on the streets, she stole, drugged and cut herself, was raped and beaten, was incarcerated in *COD Pudahuel* and *COD* Santiago where she intimidated and forced other girls into sexual relationships with her. She learned to be as tough like a man to survive. She grew to consider self-mutilation stupid and using her position of authority she actively discouraged street children from self-mutilating and punished them when they did. For example, whenever those who belonged to her group or *caleta* cut themselves, she would clean their cuts with bleach.

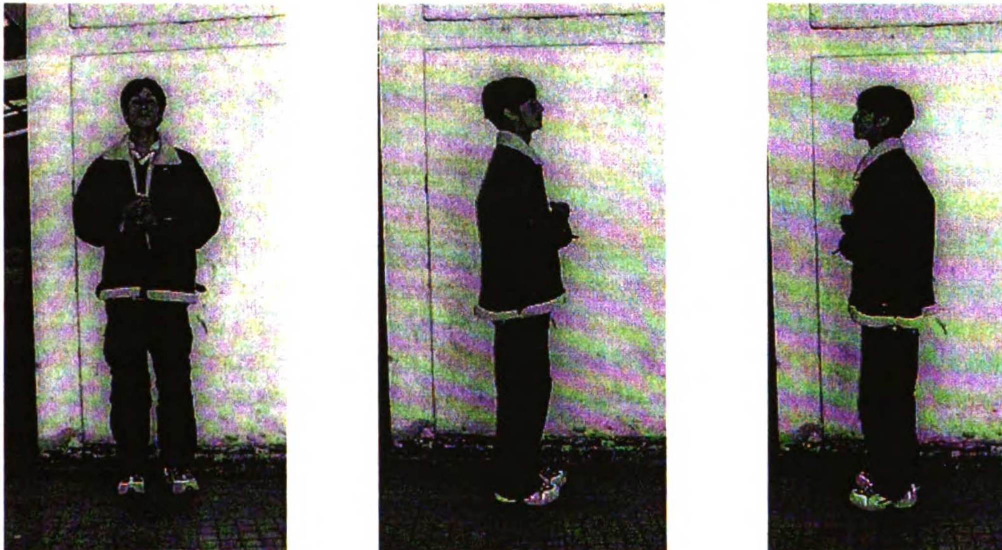
The scars resulting from acts of self-mutilation were a visible way street children differed from "normative" children. A vast majority of street children opted to relieve pent up, unvoiced, and unacknowledged frustrations and emotions through a direct punishment of their bodies. Clinical literature on "self-mutilation" directs one to personality disorders and DSM categories as a way of understanding voluntary and deliberately self-injurious and thus pathological behavior.[153] Although not dismissing the possibility of mental health problems among street children, environmental factors seemed to be enormous contributors and were perhaps more directly responsible for acts of self-mutilation among the participants of this study. This hypothesis is supported by Penn and colleagues (2003) whose findings suggested self-mutilation among incarcerated youth was indicative of high distress levels among that population as well as an association between illicit drug use and self-mutilation. Ayerst (1999) found higher levels of stress and depression among street children in Canada than in non-homeless youth. Children living on the street represented here had to negotiate the daily stressors of belonging to a homeless, socially stigmatized and criminalized category. In the case of the street children in this study, social and political factors seemed greater contributors to self-mutilation. Still, society focused on self-mutilation scars as markers of pathology and

[153] The act of self-mutilation is divided into three categories: self-mutilation as part of psychotic illness; stereotypical acts of self-harm that are linked to organic etiology, and "moderate self-mutilation" (Favazza 1987; Clarke 1998; Kehrberg 1997). According to this typology, the self-mutilation in which street children engage falls into the "moderate self-mutilation" category. Self-mutilation has been theorized according to psychodynamic theory, biochemistry, object relations theory, and trauma theory (Starr 2004). A drawback to existing self-mutilation research is that it only addresses the phenomenon among inpatients at health care facilities. Suyemoto offers six functional models to understand self-mutilation behavior: environmental model, drive models, sexual models, affect regulation models, dissociation and interpersonal model (Suyemoto 1998). Of interest is the environmental model for it focuses on the interaction between self-mutilator and his/her environment and considers factors that contribute to the initiation and maintenance of self-mutilation (Suyemoto 1998:538). Drawing on Bandura and Social Learning Theory, the environmental model appears to be a more appropriate lens through which to try to understand why street children self-mutilate. Instead of framing self-mutilation as solely as psychological and medical phenomena which render it an individual problem and the individual who self-mutilates pathological along with the behavior, the environmental model considers the environmental context of the behavior.

criminality never seeing these very scars as representative of greater issues in need of resolution.

The "Street Child Body" and Citizenship

As noted in earlier sections, engagement in the informal economy, sexual activity, drug use, and self-mutilation were activities in which street children regularly engaged that contributed to their marginalization and criminalization by society. These activities were visible markers to society indicating deviant, criminal and pathological behavior in the individual proto-citizen which also stigmatized the future potential and citizenship of street children. Physical markers of criminality were recognized by street children and they bore them on their bodies, but the social constructions of street child criminality they internalized. This *misrecognition* and internalization of their persons as criminal and deviant was symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).



"Take my picture." Ramon stands facing me with a straightforward stance, serious expression on his face and his empty hands clenched in fists, one on top of the

other, and positioned in front of his chest as if he is holding something. Upon snapping this picture he silently turns 90° to one side, showing me his profile and patiently waits for me to realize he wants to be photographed again. When I snap the second photograph, Ramon turns 180° to the other side and cannot hide a smirk creeping onto his lips. We both laugh at his "mug shot."

While Ramon's posing for a "mug shot" was humorous, more importantly, it reflected his awareness and understanding of his and social political positioning within society. Posing for "mug shots" was not a new experience rather it was within his realm of normalcy. Ramon identified with criminality and was socially identified and labeled as a criminal in making, a *menor*, a social category whose occupants have compromised citizenship and rights. The body politic of street children was one characterized by criminality, deviance, and marginalization. So long as they remained under the surveillance and regulation of the Ministry of Justice, street children were automatically criminalized. As the example above illustrated, inevitable consequences of this immediate criminalization included effects on identity formation as criminality framed a large part of street child existence. Street children in Chile were considered criminals in making, and criminals were entitled to a lesser citizenship with respect to some civil rights, such as deprivation of liberty and voting privileges being revoked.

Conclusion

Street children in Santiago shared some similarities with street children in various other countries: they occupied liminal a space that created social unease and led to their

categorization as criminal, they were creative in finding ways to survive and they were leading lives independent from and at times incomprehensible to adults. Street children represented in this study were obligated to be resourceful and manipulative in order to survive in a hierarchical and classist society that tried not to see them and when forced to do so viewed them simultaneously as disposable and dangerous beings. Street children challenged societal norms concerning childhood and as a result were stripped of the protection afforded to "normative" children.

Several strategies helped children survive while living on the streets or in the shelters for homeless children. Among these strategies was "performing childhood" where street children manipulated common and ubiquitous ideas and beliefs about children and childhood. It remains somewhat ironic that street children must play and work at being children in order to be treated with some of the consideration children usually receive. This strategy was not gender specific rather age and appearance were the factors crucial to its success. Drug use and abuse helped street children survive by providing them with a way, albeit socially unacceptable, to escape the public scrutiny and judgment of their identities and selves. Furthermore, drug use and abuse also gave them immense pleasure. Sex was utilized strategically by both boys and girls but in different ways. Boys tended to use sex to dominate whereas girls used it to secure protection. Both sexes used sex to earn money but this strategy was more closely associated with girls than boys. Self-mutilation seemed to help street children gain some control over themselves which in and of itself was empowering despite the negative consequences of the scars it produced. Engagement in the survival strategies mentioned here played an

important role in how street children were conceptualized and categorized. Essentially, it seemed street children were punished by society for surviving.

As this chapter makes explicit, societal rejection and marginalization, society's punishment, were literally and figuratively inscribed on the physical "Street Child Body." Street children used their physical bodies as vehicles for pleasure, pain, punishment, escape and income generation as is ordinary. But the fact that they used their bodies in ways that were not socially sanctioned as some activities were simply considered unacceptable whereas others were temporarily unacceptable to engage in was viewed as problematic by society. As a consequence, street children were obliged to survive on the margins as best they could with few resources.

The "Street Child Body" reflects the power of social constructions and representations as well as institutional violence in creating the context in which children living on the streets, a disenfranchised, criminalized and repudiated group of legal minors, must survive. This chapter documented the often unacknowledged social suffering of this vulnerable group. Society did not acknowledge the suffering of street children and in doing so depriving them of ownership of their pain; street children had no social validation. It seemed the pain and suffering experienced by street children was not acknowledged because it was deemed not legitimate. As was evident in the representations and stereotypes of street children, their pain was the result of what society perceived as voluntary actions and behaviors therefore street children were held responsible for the condition of and circumstances surrounding their lives.

Street children were invisible as children yet visible as stigmatized, potential criminals who were then pushed into the margins of, and in the case of the group staying

at "Chuck Norris," below society. It almost seemed as if society were symbolically erasing and literally disposing of street children. Negative stereotypes and labels enabled individual citizens as well as society to categorize and classify street children in this study as deviants from expected social norms, an othering of sorts. This, in turn, framed the type of social interactions, or lack thereof, between "normal" citizens and society and "deviants" directly impacting the physical, social, political, and psychosocial bodies of street children and culminating with the creation of the "Street Child Body."

9

Conclusion

Oliver Twist, published in 1838, is a tale whose protagonist, a workhouse orphan turned "street urchin," is forced to survive in England's seedy street slums. That Charles Dickens wrote about a boy who today would be known as a street child in the mid 19th century suggests the presence of children eking out survival on the streets is neither a new nor an exclusively Latin American phenomenon. Historical studies of urban children and street life document their presence in industrial centers as well as changes in public perception of them. For instance, in New York "between 1846 and 1860 the urban bourgeoisie transformed the 'urchin' into an image of fearful pathology, a danger to public health, a threat to domestic family life" (Gilfoyle 2004). In Latin American countries, street children were an accepted part of the urban economic, social and political landscape for decades yet while their presence working and living off the streets has not changed, how they are perceived and treated certainly has. Once considered symptomatic of larger socio-economic and political problems, such as land reform, street children are currently perceived as dangerous problems in and of themselves (Hecht 1998; Stephens 1995; Rizzini and Lusk 1995).

While situated in Chile and framed by its specificities, the issues this dissertation considers, such as multiple violence(s), criminalization of poverty and lesser citizenship, are indicative of more generic and global realities regarding street children. This ethnographic account and case studies speak to processes happening worldwide with

regard to creation and management of the state and subsequent consequences for disenfranchised citizens. It addresses multiple forms of violence(s) present in the lives of street children and how although distinct, these violence(s) are actually interrelated, interconnected, and in a sense, inseparable. Together, these violence(s) enable each other and create the conditions and reality children living on the streets must contend with.

This ethnography considered how children living on the streets were pushed along a continuum toward criminality by the very institutions trying to help them, the Catholic Church and the state. Instead of helping street children, the rigidity and inflexibility of these institutions further stigmatized them and, perversely, encouraged them to continue a marginalized and criminalized life. This institutional violence was not a result of intentionally seeking to hurt children living on the streets rather harm was the consequence of the institution's design which did not provide flexibility for individuals and their assorted needs. Not only was this unintentional and indirect violence not readily identified as violence for these institutions did not actively seek to cause harm but it was also not recognized as originating from them. This *misrecognition* affected street children who were perceived as willfully deviating from societal expectations, therefore blame worthy.

The *"Street Child Body"* focused on how symbolic and everyday violence(s) were literally and figuratively scripted on the bodies of children living on the streets. Steeped in multiple overt and covert violence(s), street children engaged in self-destructive activities such as abuse of inhalants and self-mutilation, for a variety of reasons, including pleasure, escape, and punishment. These destructive activities were survival mechanisms that provided comfort and protection against social exclusion, social

indifference, and marginalization yet society criminalized street children for engagement in these same activities.

I conclude with thoughts about three themes and how they impact street children's citizenship: how multiple violence(s) have affected families, street children as Chilean neoliberalism's "public secret," and social perceptions of street children and violence. Finally, I close with an opportunity to gaze upon the "public secret" exposed via the documentary "***Bus 174.***"

Family

Structural violence destroyed families throughout Latin America, specifically poor and marginalized families who were especially vulnerable. For instance, in *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, Scheper-Hughes (1992) documents how poor and marginalized mothers, residents of impoverished shantytowns, "let go" of their malnourished and dehydrated infants whom they deemed not to have the strength or will to live. These mothers passively euthanized their sickly infants by decreasing the amount of food and water given to them; Scheper-Hughes views these "angel-babies" as sacrificed in the "face of terrible conflicts about scarcity and survival" (1992; 2002:39). Structural and everyday violence(s) impacted mothering and families in Brazil; it was easier for these mothers to get aid in the form of coffins to bury their children "who were meant to die" than to get food to nourish them properly. Structural adjustment policies and Friedman's "shock treatment" of the Chilean economy in the 1970s exacerbated existing economic and social disparities setting the stage for current

economic conditions that have contributed to the fragmentation, collapse, and disintegration of traditional family structures. Did mothers of street children in Chile, like mothers in shantytowns in Brazil, also create a distance between themselves and their children, perhaps as an emotional buffer against a harsh economic reality where they, too, were obligated to "let go" of their children? But Chilean mothers' released their children to the streets where as "street children" they learned to fend for themselves against human and environmental elements. Was the emotional distance, i.e. rejection, Ivan's mother maintained toward him a way of limiting how much she could be hurt?

But how has structural violence impacted street children in Chile? Most street children in Santiago de Chile originate from overwhelmingly poor, families living in economically, socially, and politically marginalized communities (many from those same communities geographically relocated during the Pinochet dictatorship); families dealing with immense pressures, internal and external to the family structure, ultimately unable to survive intact and forced to fragment. This devastating process shatters idealized concepts of family and home for street children along with notions such as security, trust, and love for children. For a multitude of individual reasons some children made the streets their home, but the forces impelling to do so were few and powerful. Recall Pamela, one of the moments where she struggled with her social position(ing) and liminality was while sitting in the midst of photographs including family portraits. Surrounded by symbols of family togetherness, Pamela was overwhelmed by her own impending motherhood, by her desire to provide a "home" for her child yet she had no idea what "home" meant, all she knew was that the street was no place to raise a child. Pamela internalized idealized notions of "home"; she recognized that she had never had a

"home" and that she could not provide one for her son. That awareness saddened and troubled her, especially when thinking about her child whom she wanted to have everything she had not had, specifically home, family, and love. Variations of Pamela's feelings and comments were echoed by an overwhelming majority of street children in their responses to the request that they describe what a "home" should be like. Most responded with great difficulty or simply told me they had no idea how to answer as they had not had a "home" in their lifetime. Thoughts of "home" and "family" tended to elicit emotional or volatile responses for they usually included some sort of nurturance as well as abuse. Events and holidays associated most closely with the ideas of home and family were recognized by those who worked with street children, at the *Casa de Acogida*, the shelter for children, and *COD's*, as emotionally loaded and difficult times.

Some street children and youth opted to leave family and home for what seem to be altruistic reasons: their family simply could not afford them and they did not want to be a burden. Children realized that if they left there was one less mouth to feed and therefore less pressure on the family to provide. While some opted to leave, other children were abandoned by their families, as in the case with Ivan. Some preferred life in the street to the exploitation, pressures and demands by parents who needed them to financially contribute to the survival of the family. Some street children and youth left to escape physical, emotional, or sexual abuse. Some grew accustomed to street life beginning in infancy as they accompanied and eventually transitioned into "working" alongside their parents or other adults. Most of the street children who participated in this study left behind or were pushed out of homes in the surrounding marginalized *comunas*, and families living in abject poverty, to survive on their own. Furthermore, street children

recreated "family" structures among their own social networks. Mimicking traditional family structures, street children cared for each other, as siblings of sorts, when biological families disintegrated. These street networks simultaneously protected and exploited its members.

I have argued that children living on the street suffer a disproportionate amount compared to "normative" children. They are subject to multiple forms of direct and indirect violence(s) from the social inertia or fear lingering from the repressive military dictatorship to the everyday violence necessary for everyday survival. Once outside the normative family structure, children had to learn to be strategic in order to survive on the streets. This meant learning to use their bodies in ways manipulative of society and service programs as Chapter 8: *The "Street Child Body"* demonstrates. Tomas, for example, was exceptionally adept at "performing childhood"; a strategy in which he cultivated society's "pity" response with his childlike demeanor. The money he earned "performing childhood" enabled Tomas to survive on multiple levels: physically, he met his nutritional needs; psychosocially, he bought glue to get high, temporarily escape his reality, and numb his pain; and politically, his earning power provided him protection in the group. Raquel pretended to be a "normative" 15-year- old girl, she wore clothing that inferred she was a student and carried a backpack when she walked around the crowded downtown streets. Altering her appearance and social position allowed her moments of desperately desired anonymity and normalcy. Symbolic and everyday violence(s) that obligate street children to "perform childhood" as a survival mechanism remain unacknowledged as socially imposed violence(s) with the power to cause tremendous harm.

The disintegration of the family affects the citizenship of children living on the streets. In *Peace-Time Crimes*, Scheper-Hughes (2002) refers to the importance of the family setting in protecting children:

> Home is the realm of relational ties and privileges which confer social personhood, human rights and full citizenship. Street is an unbounded and dangerous realm, the spaces of the "masses", where one can be treated anonymously. Rights belong to the realm of the home…As denizens of the streets these semiautonomous kids are separated from all that can confer relationship and propriety, without which rights and citizenship are impossible (Scheper-Hughes 2002:40).

Because they live and sometimes thrive outside the socially sanctioned spaces for childhood, street children "represent the extremes of social marginality and anonymity" (Scheper-Hughes 2002:40). Differences between citizenship and rights afforded to street children and "normative" children were illuminated in Chapter 7: *Second Class Citizens in Making*. "Normative" youth were afforded more protection by their parents who extended their citizenship to them. Society, who defined the students as "desirable citizens," expressed sheer outrage when *Carabineros* treated future citizens with excessive violence. In sharp contrast, street children were categorized as *menores*, as "criminals-in-making," and therefore "othered" and "denaturalized." They were denied protection from society as their rights' were openly violated by *Carabineros* and media sources while individual citizens watched mesmerized by their apparent deviance. I suggest street children in Chile are positioned by society and state institutions on a trajectory toward criminality. This is a reflection of structural, institutional, symbolic and everyday violence(s), notions of citizenship and the evolving discourses on these in Chilean society derived from and in reaction to its immediate past.

> The things that are hardest to perceive are those which are right before our eyes and therefore taken for granted. (Wittgenstein *in* Scheper-Hughes 2002:37).

As noted, street children surfaced as a newly defined and constructed class of problematic "Others" during the 1980s (Scanlon, Tomkins et al. 1998; Agnelli 1986), a period referred to as the "Lost Decade" due to the severe economic recessions experienced throughout Latin America (Portes 1989). The "Lost Decade" corresponds with Pinochet's repressive dictatorship and the "Chicago Boys" administration and restructuring of the Chilean economy according to Friedman recommendation of "shock treatment." This combination represented a multi-pronged assault on the majority of the Chilean citizenry who suffered due to economic scarcity, political repression, and social marginalization. I suggest the "acuteness" of the street child phenomenon in Chile is correlated to Pinochet's draconian neoliberal vision for the country. As such, the presence of children living on the streets is a reflection of economic, social, political, and cultural inequalities that neoliberal strategies, such as the free market, deepened, created, and promoted. Street children represent a daily reminder that progress into modern 1st world status has neither been impartial nor inclusive. Perhaps, the "Chilean Miracle" was not so miraculous.

Street children, then, symbolize the failing of neoliberal ideology whose intention was to achieve progress and social justice but whose consequences have been to enrich the wealthy while further impoverishing the poor; these inequalities represent failures to civil society. Street children are Chilean neoliberalism's "public secret" for although their

presence in highly trafficked, public locations is common knowledge, in a sense it is easier for Chilean society to not "see" them. This social erasure and indifference denies street children their visibility and existence and in doing so impinges upon their rights as proto-citizens, and I argue their future citizenship. How does the concept of street children as a "public secret" help explain their lived experience? In the *Nervous System*, Taussig (1992) writes about social passivity in the face of violence:

> I am referring to a state to doubleness of social beings in which one moves in bursts between somehow accepting the situation as normal, only to be thrown into panic or shocked into disorientation by an event, a rumor, a sight, something said, or not said – something that even while it requires the normal in order to make its impact, destroys it. (Taussig 1992:18)

Although Taussig was referring to "terror as usual" as experienced by the citizenry of countries in the midst of state violence and repression, the "doubleness of social beings" describes contemporary Chilean society's reactions to street children as is clearly documented in Chapter 7: *Second Class Citizens in Making*. Street children are fixtures throughout downtown Santiago yet their presence as children surviving on the streets outside the family is not acknowledged. Street children's childhood is erased by society who denies them their status as "children" and instead categorizes them as dangerous "criminals-in-making." This re-categorization allows for moral and social disengagement requisite for inhumane conduct (Bandura 1999). Alleviated of social responsibility for the conditions that force children onto the streets to survive, society is free to indulge in sporadic observation of dangerous "street children" from a safe distance when events, such as the raid on "Chuck Norris," catalyze public awareness. The raid on "Chuck Norris" thrust street children, who were usually invisible, onto the public domain where they were labeled as deviant, criminal and dangerous. These negative labels enabled

society to voyeuristically satisfy their curiosity about street children's non-normative lives without feeling obligated to resolve the problems creating their reality.

The "public secret" exists in all levels of violence addressed throughout this dissertation – institutional, structural, symbolic and everyday. Violence has the power to silence and it is through violence that the secret is maintained. Taussig's notion of the "public secret," defined as "that which is generally known but cannot be articulated" (1999:5) or knowledge that is repressed describes street children's positionality in Santiago de Chile. On a daily basis, average citizens lived life as usual while sometimes literally side stepping street children who were everywhere – asking for spare change or food outside of restaurants, working on the buses, lounging in the parks, washing up in the public fountain, inhaling glue in the Plaza. It seemed Chilean society knew not see them and in doing so adopted a stance of indifference toward them. Only by maintaining street children as a "public secret," something not spoken about, could society maintain the illusion of normalcy. Acknowledging the "public secret" would require moral and social engagement as well as action to change the unacceptable situation from citizens as individuals and collectively as a society.

Violence(s)

Chilean society's understanding of street children is mediated through violence but this filter is selective. Mainstream individual citizens and collective society view street children as dangerous and threatening; as active agents of violence. Individuals and society focus on the violence(s) street children are capable, such as stealing, muggings,

and physical assault that directly and personally affect the general populace. This ubiquitous perception grounded in fear of personal safety frames street children as perpetrators of violence, as *menores*, as criminals in making.

Despite fearing street children, Chilean society holds a voyeuristic fascination about them, their lifestyle and the violence(s) that occur (or that society imagines to occur) within their groups. There is a generalized and acceptable curiosity regarding the activities in which street children engage. It seemed citizens wanted salacious but safe glances into internal violence among street children, such as fights, rapes, and drug use, but anything more than this fleeting glimpse into the reality of life as a street child might otherwise cause individuals to question the established social order that created, permitted, and sustained such situations. Furtive glances permitted Chilean citizens' to indulge their voyeuristic fascination and walk away without feeling the weight of moral or social responsibility but their silence also implied tacit support of the status quo. Perhaps a more in-depth understanding of street children, their lifestyle, and everyday reality would require individuals and society to re-classify them as "innocent", as "children", as worthy of salvation, and identify them as representative of institutional, structural, symbolic and everyday violence of which society was complicit.

Chilean society viewed the violence street children directed at their own beings as pathological. Drug use and abuse were destructive activities in which street children willingly participated of their volition. Violence directed at the self, such as self-mutilation, was considered indicative of fundamentally flawed individuals. Society focused on illicit and destructive activities but viewed them as behaviors that imbued them with an innate quality, i.e. street children were flawed. It must also be noted that the

vast majority of children living on the streets of Santiago de Chile look "indigenous." Their skin was not white in color, rather it was varying degrees of *café con leche* (coffee with milk). Their hair was straight and thick, very *Mapuche*[154] looking. The pathologizing of street children, who are overwhelmingly of indigenous descent, is analogous to pathologizing ethnicity.

The violence Chilean society associated with street children was readily visible. Violence was present in the form of assault reports to *Carabineros* by citizens and it existed in street children's criminal records. Violence directed from children and youth living on the streets toward society was real. Street children repeatedly committed acts of violence to meet their basic survival and drug addiction needs. Violence was an effective strategy to meet daily survival requirements which included the need to be acknowledged as a human being even if it was as a person who inspired fear and loathing. Street children literally bore violence on their beings through self-destructive activities such as drug use and abuse and self-mutilation. Perhaps these activities were acts of self-medication or temporary escape from life as a street child, but they were also social signifiers of criminality as well as physical reminders of their existence and humanity.

Although Chilean society held strong associations between street children and violence as mentioned above, there did not seem to be much consideration for how society and its social and political institutions were protagonists in creating the violence(s) that engulfed children living on the streets. Society only acknowledged violence as manifest in actions from angry, drug addicted, scarred, criminal-in-making, and therefore dangerous street children. The violence(s) external to street children that

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[154] The Mapuche were one of Chile's indigenous groups. This group was discriminated against because of their resistance to mainstream society and values.

create and promote their existence were seldom considered; street children were not considered symptomatic of larger social problems rather they represented dangerous problems in and of themselves. The connection between the violence(s) street children experienced and their citizenship status did not seem to be considered. The fact that the Ministry of Justice was the institution responsible for dealing with issues or problems associated with street children was not recognized as automatic criminalization. Criminals have fewer or more restricted rights that "desirable citizens" and street children were placed on a continuum toward criminality. What then, could they expect of their future citizenship?

A "Public Secret" Exposed: "Bus 174"

On July 12, 2000, 22-year old Sandro do Nascimiento, a former street child who became a petty thief, interrupted life as usual in Rio de Janeiro when a robbery attempt on a public transportation bus escalated into a nationally televised hijacking. At a complete stand still in the middle of the city, Sandro held eleven hostages at gun point as poorly trained police surrounded the vehicle unsure of how to handle the situation and television and print media representatives surrounded the police intent on capturing the breaking news.

The documentary alternates between live footage from the four-hour siege and explorations of Sandro's past via interviews with family members, a social worker, and prison guards familiar with his life trajectory, tragedies and traumas. Interviews with policemen and SWAT team members present at the crime scene and hostages provide

parallel narratives to the events happening inside and outside the vehicle. Finally, a sociologist analyses Sandro's actions in light of the "street child" problem in Brazil.

A survivor of the Candelaria massacre[155] in 1993, an aggressive, threatening and high-out-of-his-mind Sandro defiantly screams at policemen that they can no longer terrorize him. Although snipers are prepared to kill him to end the situation, the police receive orders to spare Sandro's life because all media venues are covering the event. After a dramatic siege, Sandro finally exits the bus using a hostage as a human shield. A police charges and fires at Sandro but hits the hostage instead. During the confusion that ensues as both Sandro and the hostage are tackled by numerous policemen, Sandro shoots the hostage again.[156] Uninjured, Sandro is forcefully shoved into the rear of a police vehicle and several officers climb on him and they drive off to the police station. En route to the police station, Sandro died of suffocation.

Sandro reclaimed his visibility and his existence through violence. For a four-hour period Brazilians knew who Sandro was and they listened to him. The randomness of his violent act jolted society out of indifference. Sandro symbolized invisible street children who emerge onto the streets to confront society with violence. Violence that is both retaliation for all the violence(s) they experience (remember violence is generative) but it is also a desperate and impotent cry.

The documentary ***Bus 174*** directed by Jose Padilha (2003) captures the brutality of Brazilian street children as a "public secret," that which cannot be acknowledged. It documents a fleeting moment when a marginalized and stigmatized individual rendered invisible by structural, symbolic and everyday violence(s), reclaims

[155] The Candelaria incident, addressed in the literature review, refers to off-duty policemen murdering street children while they slept. This incident thrust street children into global awareness.
[156] The hostage dies that evening of multiple gunshot wounds.

his social and human existence through the use of violence. The social suffering that pushed Sandro to extreme violence in Brazil is felt by street children in Santiago de Chile and throughout the world.

Appendix 1

Salvador Allende
Speech to the United Nations-4 December 1972 (excerpts)

I come from Chile, a small country but one where today any citizen is free to express himself as he so desires. A country of unlimited cultural, religious and ideological tolerance and where there is no room for racial discrimination. A country with its working class united in a single trade union organization, where universal and secret suffrage is the vehicle of determination of a multiparty regime, with a Parliament that has been operating constantly since it was created 160 years ago; where the courts of justice are independent of the executive and where the constitution has only been changed once since 1833, and has almost always been in effect. A country where public life is organized in civilian institutions and where the armed forces are of a proven professional background and deep democratic spirit. A country with a population of almost 10,000,000 people that in one generation has had two first-place Nobel Prize winners in literature, Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda, both children of simple workers. In my country, history, land and man are united in a great national feeling.

But Chile is also a country whose retarded economy has been subjected and even alienated to foreign capitalists firms, resulting in a foreign debt of more than US$ 4,000 million whose yearly services represent more than 30 per cent of the value of the country's exports; whose economy is extremely sensitive to the external situation, suffering from chronic stagnation and inflation; and where millions of people have been forced to live amidst conditions of exploitation and misery, of open or concealed unemployment.

Today I have come because my country is confronting problems of universal significance that are the object of the permanent attention of this assembly of nations: the struggle for social liberation, the effort for well-being and intellectual progress and the defense of national identity and dignity.

The outlook which faced my country, just like many other countries of the Third World, was a model of reflex modernization, which, as technical studies and the most tragic realities demonstrate, excludes from the possibilities of progress, well being and social liberation more and more millions of people, destining them to a subhuman life. It is a model that will produce a greater shortage of housing that will condemn an ever-greater number of citizens to unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance and physiological misery.

In short, the same perspective that has kept us in a relationship of colonization or dependency and exploitation in times of cold war, has also operated in times of military conflict or in times of peace. There is an attempt to condemn us, the underdeveloped countries, to being second-class realities, always subordinated.

This is the model that the Chilean working class, coming on the scene as protagonist of its own destiny, has decided to reject, searching in turn for a speedy, autonomous development of its own, and transforming the traditional structures in a revolutionary manner.

The people of Chile have won the Government after a long road of generous sacrifices, and it is fully involved in the task of installing economic democracy so that productive activity will operate in response to needs and social expectations and not in the interests of individual profit. In a programmed and coherent manner, the old structure, based on the exploitation of the workers and the domination of the main means of production by a minority, is being overcome. It is being replaced by a new structure -led by the workers and placed at the service of the interests of the majority- which is laying the foundations for a growth that will represent real development, that will include all the population and not cast aside vast sectors of the people and doom them to poverty and to being social outcasts. The workers are driving the privileged sectors from political and economic power, both in the centers of labor as well as in the communes and in the state. This is the revolutionary content of the process my country is going through for overcoming the capitalist system and opening the way for a socialist one.

The need to place all our economic resources at the service of the enormous needs of the people went hand in hand with Chile's regaining of its dignity. We had to end the situation as a result of which we Chileans, plagued by poverty and stagnation, had to export huge sums of capital for the benefit of the world's most powerful market economy. The nationalization of basic resources constitutes an historic demand. Our economy could no longer tolerate the subordination implied by having more than 80 per cent of its exports in the hands of a small group of large foreign companies that have always put their interests before those of the countries in which they make profits. Neither could we accept the curse of the latifundium, the industrial and trade monopolies, credit for just a few and brutal inequality in the distribution of income.

The Revolutionary Path That Chile Is Following

The change in the power structure that we are carrying out, the progressive leadership role of the workers in it, the national recovery of basic riches, the liberation of our country from subordination to foreign powers, are all crowning points of a long historical process; of efforts to impose political and social freedoms, of heroic struggle of several generations of workers and farmers to organize themselves as a social force to obtain political power and drive the capitalists from economic power.

Its tradition, personality and revolutionary awareness make it possible for the Chilean people to give a boost to the process towards socialism, strengthening civic liberties, collective and individual, and respecting cultural and ideological pluralism. Ours is a permanent battle to install social freedoms and economic democracy through full exercise of political freedoms.

The democratic will of our people has taken upon itself the challenge of giving a boost to the revolutionary process in the framework of a highly institutionalized state of law, that has been flexible to changes and is today faced by the need to adjust to the new socio-economic reality.

We have nationalized basic riches, we have nationalized copper, we have done so by a unanimous decision of Parliament, where the government parties are in a minority. We want everyone to clearly understand that we have not confiscated the large foreign copper mining firms. In keeping with constitutional provisions, we have righted a historic injustice by deducting from the compensation all profits above 12 per cent a year that they had made since 1955.

Some of the nationalized firms had made such huge profits in the last 15 years that when 12 per cent a year was applied as the limit of reasonable profits; they were affected by important deductions. Such is the case, for example, of a branch of the Anaconda Company, which made profits in Chile of 21.5 per cent a year over its book value between 1955 and 1970, while Anaconda's profits in other countries were only 3.6 per cent a year. That is the situation of a branch of the Kennecott Copper Corporation, which in the same period of time, made an average of 52.8 per cent profits a year in Chile -and in some years it made really incredible profits like 106 per cent in 1967, 113 per cent in 1968 and more than 205 per cent in 1969. In the same period of time, Kennecott was making less than 10 per cent a year in profits in other countries. However, the application of the constitutional norm has kept other copper firms from suffering deductions because their profits did not exceed the reasonable limit of 12 per cent a year.

We should point out that in the years just before the nationalization, the large copper firms had started expansion plans, which have failed in large measure and to which they did not contribute their own resources, in spite of the huge profits they made, and which they financed through foreign credits. In keeping with legal ruling, the Chilean state must take charge of these debts that reach the enormous figure of more than US$ 727 million. We have even started to pay debts that one of those firms had with Kennecott, its parent company in the United States.

These same firms that exploited Chilean copper for many years made more than US$ 4,000 million in profits in the last 42 years alone, while their initial investments were less than US$ 30 million. A simple and painful example, an acute contrast: in my country there are 600,000 children who can never enjoy life in normally human terms, because in the first eight months of their existence they did not receive the elementary amount of proteins. My country, Chile, would have been totally transformed by these US$ 4,000 million. Only a small part of this amount would assure proteins for all the children in my country once and for all.

The nationalization of copper has been carried out while strictly observing internal judicial order and with respect for the norms of international law, which there is no reason to identify with the interests of the big capitalist firms.

In short, this is the process my country is going through, and I feel it is useful to present it to this assembly, with the authority given to us by the fact that we are strictly fulfilling the recommendations of the United Nations and relying on internal efforts as the base for economic and social development. Here, in this forum, the change of institutions and backward structures has been advised, along with the redistribution of income, priority for education and health and care for the poorest sectors. All this is an essential part of our policy and it is in the process of being carried out.

The Financial Blockade

That is why it is even more painful to have to come here to this rostrum to proclaim the fact that my country is the victim of grave aggression.

We had foreseen problems and foreign resistance to our carrying out our process of changes, especially in view of our nationalization of natural resources. Imperialism and its cruelty have a long and ominous history in Latin America and the dramatic and heroic experience of Cuba is still fresh. The same is the case with Peru, which has had to suffer the consequences of its decision to exercise sovereign control over its oil.

In the decade of the 70s, after so many agreements and resolutions of the international community, in which the sovereign right of every state to control its natural resources for the benefit of its people is recognized, after the adoption of international agreements on economic, social and cultural rights and the strategy of the second decade of development, which formalized those agreements, we are the victims of a new expression of imperialism -more subtle, more sneaky, and terribly effective- to block the exercise of our rights as a sovereign state.

From the very moment of our election victory on 4 September 1970, we were affected by the development of large-scale foreign pressures, aimed at blocking the inauguration of a government freely elected by the people and then overthrowing it. There have been efforts to isolate us from the world, strangle the economy and paralyze the sale of copper, our main export product, and keep us from access to sources of international financing.

We realize that when we denounce the financial-economic blockade with which we were attacked, it is hard for international public opinion and even for many of our compatriots to easily understand the situation because it is not open aggression, publicly proclaimed before the whole world. Quite the contrary, it is a sneaky and double-crossing attack, which is just as damaging to Chile.

We find ourselves opposed by forces that operate in the shadows, without a flag, with powerful weapons that are placed in a wide range of influential positions.

We are not the object of any trade ban. Nobody has said that he seeks a confrontation with our country. It would seem that our only enemies or opponents are the logical internal political ones. That is not the case. We are the victims of almost invisible actions, usually concealed with remarks and statements that pay lip service to respect for the

sovereignty and dignity of our country. But we have first-hand knowledge of the great difference that there is between those statements and the specific actions we must endure.

I am not mentioning vague matters, I am discussing concrete problems that affect my people today and which will have even more serious economic repercussions in the coming months.

Chile, like most of the nations of the Third World, is very vulnerable to the situation of the external sector of its economy. In the last 12 months, the decline in the international price of copper has represented a loss of about US$ 200 million in income for a nation whose exports total a bit more than US$ 1,000 million, while the products, both industrial and agricultural, that we must import are much more expensive now, in some cases as much as 60 per cent.

As is almost always the case, Chile buys at high prices and sells at low prices.

It has been at these moments, in themselves difficult for our balance of payments, that we have had to face, among others, the following simultaneous actions, apparently designed to take revenge on the Chilean people for their decision to nationalize copper.

Until the moment my Government took office, every year Chile received almost US$ 80 million in loans from international financial organizations such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. This financing has been violently interrupted.

In the past decade, Chile received loans from the Agency for International Development of the Government of the United States (AID) totaling US$ 50 million a year.

We are not asking for those loans to be reinstated. The United States has the sovereign right to grant or not to grant foreign aid to any country. All we want to point out is that the drastic elimination of those credits has resulted in important restrictions in our balance of payments.

Upon taken office as President, my country had short-term credit lines from private US banks, destined to finance our foreign trade, that amounted to US$ 220 million. In a short period of time those credits were suspended and about US$ 190 million have been deducted, a sum we had to pay, since the respective operations were not renewed.

Just like most of the nations of Latin America, because of technological reasons and other factors, Chile must make important purchases of capital goods in the United States. Now, both the financing of the supplies and that normally provided by the Eximbank for this type of operation has also been suspended for us, putting us in the irregular position of having to purchase goods of that kind by paying in advance. This puts extraordinary pressure on our balance of payments.

Payments of loans contracted by Chile with agencies of the public sector of the United States before my Government took office, and which were being carried out then, have

also been suspended; so we have to continue carrying out the corresponding projects making cash in hand purchases on the US market, because, once the projects are in full swing, it is impossible to replace the source of the respective imports. That is why it had been decided that the financing should come from US Government agencies.

As a result of the operations directed against the sale of copper in the nations of Western Europe, our short-term operations with private banks on that continent, mainly based on payment of that metal, have been greatly blocked. This has resulted in more than US$ 20 million in credit lines not being renewed, the suspension of financial negotiations for more than US$ 200 million that were almost complete, and the creation of a climate that blocks the normal handling of our purchases in those countries and acutely distorts all our activities in the field of external financing.

This financial stranglehold of a brutal nature, given the characteristics of the Chilean economy, has resulted in severe limitations of our possibilities to purchase equipment, spare parts, supplies, food and medicine. Every Chilean is suffering the consequences of those measures, which bring suffering and grief into the daily life of all and, naturally, make themselves felt in internal political life.

What I have described means that the nature of the international agencies has been distorted. Their utilization as instruments of the bilateral policy of any of their member states, regardless of how powerful it may be, is legally and morally unacceptable. It means putting pressures on an economically weak country and punishing a nation for its decision to regain control over its basic resources. It is a premeditated form of intervention in the internal affairs of a nation. This is what we call imperialist arrogance.

Distinguished representatives, you know this and you cannot forget it. All this has been repeatedly condemned by resolutions of the United Nations.

Chile Attacked by Transnational Companies

Not only do we suffer the financial blockade, we are also the victims of clear aggression. Two firms that are part of the central nucleus of the large transnational companies that sunk their claws into my country, the International Telegraph and Telephone Company and the Kennecott Copper Corporation, tried to run our political life.

ITT, a huge corporation whose capital is greater than the budget of several Latin American nations put together and greater than that of some industrialized countries, began, from the very moment that the people's movement was victorious in the elections of September 1970, a sinister action to keep me from taking office as President.

Between September and November of 1970, terrorist actions that were planned outside of my country took place there, with the aid of internal fascist groups. All this led to the murder of General René Schneider Chereau, Commander in Chief of the Army, a just man and a great soldier who symbolized the constitutionalism of the armed forces of Chile.

In March of this year, the documents that denounced the relationship between those sinister aims and the ITT were made public. This company has admitted that in 1970 it even made suggestions to the Government of the United States that it intervene in political events in Chile. The documents are genuine, nobody has dared deny them.

Last July the world learned with amazement of different aspects of a new plan of action that ITT had presented to the US Government in order to overthrow my Government in a period of six months. I have with me the document, dated in October 1971, that contains the 18-point plan that was talked about. They wanted to strangle us economically, carry out diplomatic sabotage, create panic among the population and cause social disorder so that when the Government lost control, the armed forces would be driven to eliminate the democratic regime and impose a dictatorship.

While the ITT was working out this plan, its representatives went through the motions of negotiating a formula for the Chilean state to take over ITT's share in the Chilean telephone company. From the first days of my administration, we had started talks to purchase the telephone company that ITT controlled, for reasons of national security.

On two occasions I received high officials of the firm. My Government acted in good faith in the discussions. On the other hand, ITT refused to accept payment at prices that had been set in keeping with the verdict of international experts. It posed difficulties for a rapid and fair solution, while clandestinely it was trying to unleash chaos in my country.

ITT's refusal to accept a direct agreement and knowledge of its sneaky maneuvers has forced us to send to Congress a bill calling for its nationalization.

The will of the Chilean people to defend the democratic regime and the progress of its revolution, the loyalty of the armed forces to their country and its laws have caused these sinister plots to fail.

Distinguished representatives, before the conscience of the World I accuse ITT of trying to provoke a civil war in my country -the supreme state of disintegration for a country. This is what we call imperialist intervention.

Chile now faces a danger whose solution does not only depend on national will, but on a whole series of external elements. I am talking about the action of the Kennecott Copper Corporation.

Our constitution says that disputes caused by nationalizations must be solved by a court that, just like all the others in my country, is independent and sovereign in its decisions. Kennecott Copper accepted its jurisdiction and for a year it appeared before that tribunal. Its appeal was not accepted, and it decided to use its considerable power to deprive us of the benefits of our copper exports and put pressure on the Government of Chile. In September, it went so far in its arrogance as to demand the embargo of the payment of these exports in courts in France, Holland and Sweden. It will surely try the same thing in

other countries. The basis for this action cannot be more unacceptable from the judicial and moral points of view.

Kennecott would have the courts of other nations, that have absolutely nothing to do with the problems or the negotiations between the Chilean state and the Kennecott Copper Corporation, decide that a sovereign act of our Government -carried out in response to a mandate of the highest authority, like that of the political constitution, and supported by all the Chilean people - is null and void. This attempt of theirs is in contradiction to basic principles of international law by virtue of which the natural resources of a country, especially those which constitute its livelihood, belong to the nation and it can dispose of them at will. There is no universally accepted international law or, in this case, specific treaty, which provides for that. The world community, organized under the principles of the United Nations, does not accept an interpretation of international law, subordinated to the interests of capitalism, that will lead the courts of any foreign country to back up a structure of economic relations at the service of the above-mentioned economic system. If that were the case, there would be a violation of a fundamental principle of international life: that of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a state, as was explicitly recognized at the third UNCTAD.

We are guided by international law repeatedly accepted by the United Nations, especially in resolution 1803 (XVIII) of the General Assembly; norms that have just been reinforced by the trade and development board, based itself on the charges my country made against Kennecott. The respective resolution reaffirmed the sovereign right of all states to freely dispose of their natural resources, and declared in application of this principle, that the nationalization carried out by states to regain control over those resources are an expression of their sovereign powers. Every state must set the standards for those measures and the disputes that may arise as a result are the exclusive concern of its courts, without prejudice to resolution 1803 of the General Assembly. This resolution allows the intervention of extra-national jurisdictions under exceptional conditions and as long as there is an agreement between sovereign states and other interested parties.

This is the only acceptable thesis of the United Nations. It is the only one that is in keeping with its philosophy and principles. It is the only one that can protect the rights of the weak against the abuses of the strong.

Since it could not be any other way, in the courts of Paris we have obtained the lifting of the embargo that had been in effect on the payment of a shipment of our copper. We will continue to ceaselessly defend the exclusive jurisdiction of Chilean courts over any dispute resulting from the nationalization of our basic resource.

For Chile, this is not only an important matter of judicial interpretation. It is a problem of sovereignty and, even more, of survival.

Kennecott's aggression inflicts grave damage on our economy. Just the direct difficulties imposed on the marketing of copper have resulted in the loss of many millions of dollars

for Chile in the last two months alone. But that isn't all. I have already discussed the effects linked to the blocking of my country's financial operations with the banks of Western Europe. There is also an evident effort to create a climate of distrust among the buyers of our main export product, but this will fail.

The objectives of this imperialist firm are now going even further than that, because in the long run it cannot expect any political or legal power to deprive Chile of what rightfully belongs to her. It wants to bring us to our knees, but this will never happen.

The aggression of the big capitalist firms seeks to block the emancipation of the people. It represents a direct attack on the economic interests of the workers in the concrete case against Chile.

The Chilean people are a people that have reached the political maturity to decide by a majority the replacement of the capitalist economic system by a socialist one. Our political regime has institutions that have been open enough to channel that revolutionary will without violent clashes. It is my duty to warn this assembly that the reprisals and the blockade, aimed at producing contradictions and the resultant economic distortions, threaten to have repercussions on peace and internal coexistence in my country. They will not attain their evil objectives. The great majority of Chileans will find the way to resist them in a patriotic and dignified manner. What I said at the beginning will always be valid: our history, land and man are joined in a great national feeling.

The Phenomenon of the Transnational Corporations

At the third UNCTAD I was able to discuss the phenomenon of the transnational corporations. I mentioned the great growth in their economic power, political influence and corrupting action. That is the reason for the alarm with which world opinion should react in the face of a reality of this kind. The power of these corporations is so great that it goes beyond all borders. The foreign investments of US companies alone reached US$ 32,000 million. Between 1950 and 1970 they grew at a rate of 10 per cent a year, while that nation's exports only increased by 5 per cent. They make huge profits and drain off tremendous resources from the developing countries.

In just one year, these firms withdrew profits from the Third World that represented net transfers in their favor of US$ 1,743 million: US$ 1,013 million from Latin America; US$ 280 million from Africa; US$ 376 million from the Far East; and US$ 74 million from the Middle East. Their influence and their radius of action are upsetting the traditional trade practices of technological transfer among states, the transmission of resources among nations and labor relations.

We are faced by a direct confrontation between the large transnational corporations and the states. The corporations are interfering in the fundamental political, economic and military decisions of the states. The corporations are global organizations that do not depend on any state and whose activities are not controlled by, nor are they accountable to any parliament or any other institution representative of the collective interest. In short,

all the world political structure is being undermined. The dealer's don't have a country. The place where they may be does not constitute any kind of link; the only thing they are interested in is where they make profits. This is not something I say; they are Jefferson's words.

The large transnational firms are prejudicial to the genuine interests of the developing countries and their dominating and uncontrolled action is also carried out in the industrialized countries, where they are based. This has recently been denounced in Europe and in the United States and resulted in a US Senate investigation. The developed nations are just as threatened by this danger as the underdeveloped ones. It is a phenomenon that has already given rise to the growing mobilization of organized workers including the large trade union organizations that exist in the world. Once again the action of the international solidarity of workers must face a common enemy: imperialism.

In the main, it was those acts that led the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations -following the denunciation made by Chile- to unanimously approve, last July, a resolution that called for a group of world figures to meet and study the effects and function of transnational corporations in the process of development, especially in the developing countries, and their repercussions on international relations, and present recommendations for appropriate international action.

Ours is not an isolated or a unique problem. It is the local expression of a reality that overwhelms us, a reality that covers Latin America and the Third World. In varying degrees of intensity, with unique features, all the peripheral countries are threatened by something similar.

The spokesman for the African group at the Trade and Development Board a few weeks ago announced the position of those countries towards the denunciation made by Chile of Kennecott's aggression, reporting that his group fully supported Chile, because it was a problem which did not affect only one nation but, potentially, all of the developing world. These words have great value, because they represent the recognition of an entire continent that through the Chilean case, a new stage in the battle between imperialism and the weak countries of the Third World is being waged.

The Countries of the Third World

The battle in defense of natural resources is but a part of the battle being waged by the countries of the Third World against underdevelopment. There is a very clear dialectical relationship: imperialism exists because underdevelopment exists; underdevelopment exists because imperialism exists. The aggression we are being made the object of today makes the fulfillment of the promises made in the last few years as to a new large-scope action aimed at overcoming the conditions of underdevelopment and want in the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America appear illusory. Two years ago, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the UN General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the strategy for a second decade of development. In keeping with this strategy, all UN member states pledged to spare no efforts to transform, via concrete

measures, the present unfair international division of labor and to close the vast economic and technological gap that separates the wealthy countries from the developing ones.

We have seen that none of those aims ever became a reality. On the contrary, the situation has worsened.

Thus, the markets of the industrialized countries have remained as tightly closed as they ever were to the basic products - chiefly the agricultural products - of the developing countries and the index of protectionist measures is on the increase. The terms of exchange continue to deteriorate; the system of generalized preferences for the exportation of our manufactured and semi-manufactured goods has never been put into effect by the nation whose market - considering its volume- offered the best perspectives and there are no indications that this will be done in the immediate future.

The transfer of public financial resources, rather than reaching 0.7 percent of the gross national product of the developed nations, has dropped from 0.34 to 0.24 per cent. The debt contracted by the developing countries, which was already enormous by the beginning of this year, has skyrocketed to between $70 and $75 thousand million in only a few months. The sums for loan services paid by those countries, which represent an intolerable drain for them, have been to a great measure the result of the conditions and terms of the loans. In 1970 these services increased 18 percent, and in 1971, 20 percent - more than twice the mean rate for the 1960 decade.

This is the drama of underdevelopment and of the countries which have not stood up for their rights, which have not demanded respect for their rights and defended, through a vigorous collective action, the price of their raw materials and basic products and have not confronted the threats and aggressions by neo-imperialism.

We are potentially wealthy countries and yet we live a life of poverty. We go here and there, begging for credits and aid and yet we are – a paradox typical of the capitalist economic system - great exporters of capital.

Latin America and Underdevelopment

Latin America, as part of the developing world, forms part of the picture I have just described. Together with Asia, Africa and the socialist countries, she has waged many battles in the last few years to change the structure of the economic and commercial relations with the capitalist world, to replace the unfair and discriminatory economic and monetary order created in Bretton Woods at the end of World War II.

It is true that there are differences in the national income of many of the countries in our region and that of the countries on other continents, and even among countries that could be considered as relatively less developed among the underdeveloped countries.

However, such differences - which many mitigate by comparing them with the national product of the industrialized world - do not keep Latin America out of the vast neglected

and exploited sector of humanity. The consensus at Vina del Mar, in 1969, affirmed these coincidences and defined, pointed out clearly and indicated the scope of the region's economic and social backwardness and the external factors that determined it, pointing out the great injustices that are being committed against the region under the disguise of cooperation and aid. I say this because large cities in Latin America, admired by many, hide the drama of hundreds of thousands of human beings living in marginal towns that are the product of unemployment and sub-employment. These beautiful cities hide the deep contrast between small groups of privileged individuals and the great masses whose nutrition and health indexes are the lowest.

It is easy to see why our Latin American continent shows such a high rate of infant mortality and illiteracy, with 13 million people out of jobs and more than 50 million doing only occasional work. More than 20 million Latin American do not use money even as a means of exchange.

No regime, no government has been able to solve the great deficit in housing, labor, food and health. On the contrary, the deficit increases with every passing year in keeping with the population increase. If this situation continues, what will happen when there are more than 600 million of us by the end of the century?

The situation is even more dramatic in Asia and Africa, whose PER CAPITA income is even lower and whose process of development shows an even greater weakness.

It is not always noticed that the Latin American subcontinent – whose wealth potential is simply enormous - has become the principal field of action of economic imperialism for the last 30 years. Recent data given by the International Monetary Fund shows that private investment by the developed countries in Latin America shows a deficit against Latin America of $9,000 million between 1960 and 1970. In a word, that amount represents a net contribution of capital from our region to the wealthy world in one decade.

Chile is completely in solidarity with the rest of Latin America, without exception. For this reason, it favors and fully respects the policy of non-intervention and self-determination, which we apply on a worldwide scale. We enthusiastically foster the increase of our economic and cultural relations. We are in favor of the complementing and the integration of our economies. Hence, we work with enthusiasm within the framework of LAFTA and, as an initial step, for the creation of the Andean countries' common market, which unites us with Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador.

Latin America has left the era of protest behind her. Needs and statistics contributed to an increased awareness. Reality has shattered all ideological barriers. All attempts at division and isolation have been defeated and there is an ardent desire to coordinate the offensive in defense of the interests of the countries on the continent and the other developing countries.

Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable. These are not my words. I simply share the same opinion. The words are those of John F. Kennedy.

Chile Is Not Alone

Chile is not alone. All attempts to isolate her from the rest of Latin America and the world have failed. On the contrary, Chile has been the object of endless demonstrations of solidarity and support. The ever-increasing condemnation of imperialism; the respect that the efforts of the people of Chile deserve; and the response to our policy of friendship with all the nations of the world, were all instrumental in defeating the attempts to surround our country with a ring of hostility.

In Latin America, all the plans for economic and cultural cooperation or integration, plans of which we form part on both the regional and subregional level, have continued to take on strength at an accelerated pace. As a result, our trade - particularly with Argentina, Mexico and the countries of the Andean Pact - has increased considerably.

The joint support of the Latin American countries in world and regional forums in favor of the principles of free determination over natural resources has remained firm as a rock. And, in response to the recent attacks against our sovereignty, we have been the object of demonstrations of complete solidarity. To all of these countries, we express our most deep-felt gratitude.

Socialist Cuba, which is suffering the rigors of blockade, has always given us her revolutionary solidarity.

On the world scale, I must point out very especially that we have enjoyed the full solidarity of the socialist countries in Europe and Asia from the very beginning. The great majority of the world community did us the honor of electing Santiago as the seat of the third UNCTAD meeting and has welcomed with great interest our invitation to be the site of the next world conference on rights to the sea - an invitation which I reiterate on this occasion.

The non-aligned countries' foreign ministers meeting held in Georgetown, Guyana, in September, and publicly expressed its determined support in response to the aggression of which we are being made the object by Kennecott Copper.

The CIPEC, an organization of coordination established by the main copper-exporting countries - Peru, Zaire, Zambia and Chile - which met recently in Santiago, at the ministers' level, at my suggestion, to analyze the situation of aggression against my country created by Kennecott Copper, has just adopted a number of resolutions and recommendations of vast importance to the various states. These resolutions and recommendations constitute an unreserved support of our position and an important step taken by countries of the Third World in defense of trade of their basic products.

The resolutions will no doubt constitute important material for the second commission. But I would like to refer at this moment to the categorical declaration to the effect that any action that may impede or obstruct the exercise of a country's sovereign right to dispose freely of its natural resources constitutes an economic attack. Needless to say, the Kennecott actions against Chile constitute an economic aggression and, therefore, the ministers agreed on asking their respective governments to suspend all economic and commercial relations with the firm and state that disputes on compensation in case of nationalization are the exclusive concern of those states which adopt such measures.

However, the most significant thing is that it was resolved 'to establish a permanent mechanism of protection and solidarity' in relation to copper. Mechanisms such as this one, together with the OPEC, which operates in the field of petroleum, are the germ of what would be an organization which would include all the countries of the Third World to protect and defend all basic products - including the mining, petroleum and agricultural fields.

The great majority of the countries in Western Europe, from the Scandinavian countries in the extreme north to Spain in the extreme south, have been cooperating with Chile, and their understanding has meant a form of support to us. It is thanks to this understanding that we have renegotiated our foreign debt.

And, lastly, we have been deeply moved by the solidarity of the world's working class, expressed by its great trade union central organizations and demonstrated in actions of great significance, such as the port workers of Le Havre and Rotterdam's refusal to unload copper from Chile whose payment has been arbitrarily and unfairly embargoed.

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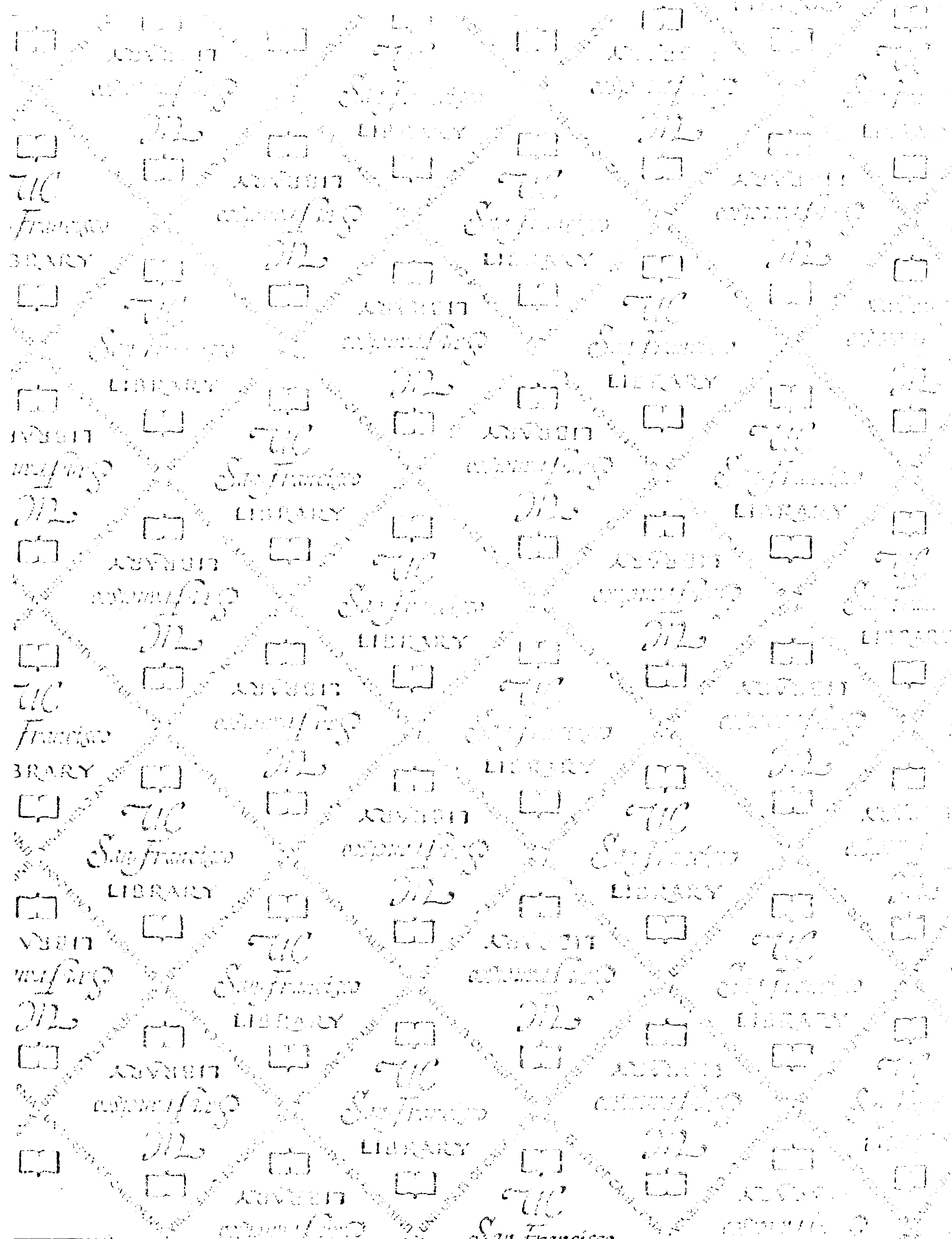

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