

Child Victims, Vulnerable Children, “Violent” Youth in East Africa (Burundi, Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda): Realities and Care

Edited version 2009

1. CONTEXT AND LOCATION OF THE PROJECT

In the Great Lakes region, in Eastern Africa, the vulnerability and precariousness of children (children and teenagers) has increased over the years, with a constant intensity, as a consequence of the ongoing conflict or post-conflict political situation. According to the economic and even the epidemiological situation of countries, the structural reality in the cities and the countryside has been accompanied by an increase of extreme situations. The damage or the limitations of the socio-demographic (infant and child mortality), socio-cultural (education) and nutritional (malnutrition) indicators and the annual national synthesis testify to a small part as the civil society, the NGO's and the international community reveal more and more violent demonstrations. Thus, after many years, the sensitive issue of violence suffered by children has arisen, particularly the case of «child soldiers», a disconcerting condition that reveals a double violence: the suffered violence and the violence that children, teenagers and young people are bearing.

This situation has caused a number of initiatives and achievements which have inspired some public policies; it has created and revealed changes in the perceptions and representations of a child, childhood and youth. On the one hand, the identification of groups of «children victims» beyond «soldier children», such as «street children», «orphans with AIDS», «displaced and refugee children», «children who are victims of sexual violence or trade», have allowed a specific social and urgent treatment either in transitional policies in a context of ending crises, reconstruction, reinsertion or demobilization or in structural, sectorial, social or urban public policies aimed at fighting against poverty. On the other hand, the violence suffered by children or some children, the potential risks for society borne by child victims as well as insecure children, have transformed the youth's position into society into a topic or even a source of debate around mistreatment, children rights and youth violence, which varies from victimization to criminalization of children and young people. Consequently, new problems arise: “adopted and abandoned children”, subjugated children “boys, bellboys, servants and babysitters”, the lack of schooling for girls, the differential child mortality, the modern forms of child trade and school youth violence that demand new political, legal and social decisions.

This emergent awareness reveals that on the side of “child victims” times of war exist in times of peace or at the end of a war, there exists a general precariousness, precarious situations and “precarious children.”

This project is about «precarious children», between «child victims and violent youth». First, it seeks to measure different dimensions, in order to contribute to a better knowledge of the subject. Secondly, it studies the familial and institutional management of children. Third, it questions the nature of changes under three perspectives: historical, political and anthropological, examining the current evolution of the social representations.

1.1 CONTEXT AND SOCIAL, PUBLIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES

The questions about the management of victim and precarious children and young people is a double challenge: as a social and political issue in countries coming out of war, in an unstable region, as well as a societal issue in fragile societies that are under reconstruction.

Since 1994, the resolution of conflicts and the recovery strategy policies and management in post-genocide Rwanda, post-war Burundi, Uganda and the ethno-political conflicts in Kenya have demonstrated, not only the demographic, social and cultural implications but also the political, even geopolitical implications, of human disasters in which children and young people are sometimes the actors and direct or indirect victims of the conflicts. The urgent treatment of transitions and ceasefires allows for the definition of groups, in order to take census, supervise, provide care, educate, rehabilitate «child victims», take charge of displaced children or orphans as a result of genocide or of AIDS (A. Veale, G. Dona, 2003, A. Guest, 2005), of street children (J. Lugalla & C. Kibassa 2002), and refugees. Governments, the international community and NGO's are working in this direction. For geo-political and symbolic reasons, some groups like «child soldiers» and «street children» have a particular management within national programs of disarmament-demobilization like in Burundi or in a specific regional program such as the MDRP (Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program) that covers seven countries. With the exception of Kivu (Democratic Republic of Congo), we can make a preliminary positive country by country evaluation, a statistic evolution (according to OCHA data) and note a reduction in the volumes of war child victims in accordance with the general flow of refugees and displaced persons and the reduction in the number of child soldiers or militia.

However, the end of conflict does not mean a return to normalcy. If the human, political and geo-political issues are determined by the countries, the process of finding a solution to the social issue is always worrying.

Studies after the end of war, surveys, inventories and monographs are often an extension of the humanitarian action (the situation of women and children, UNICEF). Even the urgent interventions (NGO reports: Save the children, *Médecins sans frontières*, Coalition to stop the use of child soldiers), are an extension of the media approach that favours a compassion approach, often biographical (see H. Cheuzeville, 2003), the national evaluations written on the occasion of “the Millennium” or the “2025 Objectives”, present a very pessimistic perspective when estimating the demographic and social dimensions of the facts.

Indeed beyond these typical cases previously mentioned («child victims») and in part already identified, it is an important part of homes and families, of urban and rural social groups, that face conjectural (critical cycle of life) or structural imbalances. The situation of «precarious children», the risk situations described previously through “child victims”, has multiplied.

Recent national census, in post-crisis Rwanda and Burundi, socio-demographic surveys, budgets and some demographic observatories confirm this reality in order to distinguish the «contexts of the risk factors» in times of war (R. Brett & I. Specht, 2004) and the critical environments in times of peace that threaten or could threaten children. According to the general indicators (poverty line), the demographic, epidemiologic and nutritional indicators are limited even if the sanitary cover progresses. It is the same for educational indicators, while the nuclear surveys; incomplete, headed by women, young people and grandparents are

increasing. Apart from this, many demographic and gender studies have proven such changes in families, in homes and in the domestic units (T.S. Weisner, C. Bradley & P.L. Kilbride, 1996, M. Pilon and *ali*, 1997). This «crisis of the family» (or these «families in the middle of crises») was amplified by the evidence and the challenges of war and the end of war. But the most common, beyond these extreme cases of «child victims», «secret poverty» (R. Chambers, 1990) are the «precarious children» who can be compared to «child victims», «obliged subjects» (K. Pilati, 2001).

However, we notice several situations which are intolerable or gradually becoming intolerable: the press, rumours, web sites discussing cases/topics which were taboo in the past, (cases of kidnapping, rape and incest concerning minor children, freedom of young people, and discrimination against girls). In addition, we notice that the public policies are engaged in this field. Governments have ratified the Convention of Children Rights and they have committed to improving rights, procedures, practices and even institutions (for example «children courts» in Kenya) and they commemorate the African Children's Day on 16 June. The political and moral elite as well as the religious authorities are deliberating more on these questions, denouncing distractions, the crisis of values, instability, even criminalizing the young people's practices and uses. The question of school violence was debated in Kenya and in Burundi (T. Kinai, 2002). Victimization and criminalization of children and young people seem to go hand in hand.

This political, public and ethical issue is also social; as evidenced by the answers of the «down-trodden», surveys, families and communities.

Paradoxically, some studies and some observations decode, a more complex, ambivalent but also optimistic reality, revealed by means of resources, survival strategies and the forms of re-composition of the «lower part» at the level of households, families or communities. With regard to the exemplary achievement of the civil society (SOS villages, Shalom homes, the Kamende centre at Bujumbura in Burundi), the families seem to offer answers to the reception, the co-option, the fostering and the adoption of children, following strategies in the mobilization of intergenerational resources and close relations, beyond the ritualized traditional forms. The frequency of «increased families» (these are household units that accommodate related or not-related family, descendants, during conflicts or the most tragic of times) testifies to these reconstructions and these strategies of survival. This issue that has been used in applied research on household re-composition is reminiscent of the analysis of families' survival strategies in the face of food insecurity (V. Briand, 2007) and of the resilience of societies.

We still must be prudent with this resilience of African societies, with the care of children, with the traditional solidarity of the family and the relationship systems. These institutions know the limitations as some recent findings about the end of crises have highlighted. Solidarity sometimes remains provisional while the accommodation of children in households can recover the forms of domestic domination-dependency.

Once the crises have passed, the return to the familiar in the nuclear household is seen mostly in countries where ethnic violence has attacked the family: the relationship of blood and alliance and of the household takes the upper part in this fictitious relationship, in the affinity of identities in times of crises, as has been pointed out in the tracking of households undertaken by the urban observatory of Bujumbura between 2005 and 2007 (Survey 2005/2007, villedebujumbura.org, C. Thibon, 2008).

1.2 PROJECT SITUATION

The issues of «child soldiers», «street children», mainly in Kenya and Uganda, «orphans with AIDS» in Uganda or orphans as a result of the genocide in Rwanda, the school violence in Kenya have become the object of studies or of sectorial programs. The relationships between young people, violence and migrations have been studied in a regional perspective through the problem of refugees. General programs about Africa on the initiative of Centres of research such as the *Nordic workshop on researching children and youth in Africa* (C. Christiansen and *ali*, 2006), the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA – 4 seminars since 2003) or of international organizations have posed the question of precarious children and their care to African universities and the specialists in the region, which has not been greatly covered in Eastern Africa as compared to other applied researches conducted in Africa.

This is the case in Western and Central Africa, in the context of regional projects that fight against child trafficking and child labour such as ENDA programs, the CODESRIA- Institute of children and youth studies «Children and young people in the process of work» and «Conditions of life of marginalized young people», in South Africa (about street children), in Mozambique (about the reconstitution of families at the end of the war). Generally this gap is seen in the scientific result (F. de Boeck & A. Honwana, 2005). For example, the projected research is aimed at applied research; while the composition and the contribution of the actors appear in the initial objectives.

The research program finds the current topics treated by the social and human sciences (SHS), concerning the management and the policies on the end of war (University of Burundi, Bujumbura colloquium, 2008), on the demographic and historical problems of the family, including intergenerational relationships (P. Antoine, 2007), the place of children and young people in a globalized world (J. Cole & D. Durham, 2008, Mazurana, 2008), studies of genre and the anthropology of the family (De Lame, 2005 and 2007), the science and the political anthropology of militia and the place of young people in the society (H. Maupeu, 2002, 2005, 2008; J. Lafargue, 2008). This clears up, to a certain extent, the debates about transition, democratic modernization and poverty.

The project will treat, in relation to the axis of the program, the following topics:

- Definitions of childhood: the ages of life (childhood, teenage and youth) and the statutes, objective and subjective definitions; the representations and collective perceptions in transformation and renewal will also be taken into account. The contribution of demography and a certain measure of the changes of social situations, the quantitative approach, as well as the qualitative approach that take into consideration children's perceptions, will be compared with the points of view of the historian, the jurist, the political scientist and the anthropologist.
- Childhood figures: the knowledge, the legal rules and childhood policies will be examined. These belong to a certain social «invention» through the specific categories of children, hinged on the initiative of societies, national and international institutions.
- The actor child: the environments and centres of life, particularly families and households, and the social and urban changes that reveal certain autonomy of the child, particularly of

the young people that understand a certain form of urban and male cultures in progress, will be the object of a central and original work of data and analysis.

- In general, the modernization problems of tradition (rules, roles and functions attached to children and young people) and/or the traditionalization of modernity (the capacity to regulate the familial anthropological systems and models) will be considered.
- These topics respond to a demand of the national and regional public policies (the four countries under study are part of the East African Community), the national and international actors, the civil society and the NGOs that work in these fields.

2. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

2.1 SITUATION OF THE LOCATIONS

The complexity of the reality, of «child victims», of «precarious children», of youth, as well as the evolution of the care and collective perceptions, are explained by the changes and the environment that leads to these situations of: «child victims», «precarious children» and violent youth, with more or less similar frequency, depending on the country.

Many analysis indicators and several non-exclusive hypotheses have been presented, in the different disciplines of social and human sciences (SHS), giving rise to five questions or main reflections to which the project seeks to respond to. The knowledge of these contexts, scenarios and dynamics plays an essential role in these orientations and in the implementation of public policies.

2.1.1 The explanatory factors: War, poverty and demographic modernization

These situations are caused by critical and extreme contexts such as ethno-political conflicts, wars with high mortality rates, extreme violence (genocides, ethnic purification), training and forced movements that multiply the number of «child victims» and especially that of the «child soldier». The recovery strategy could react in the same exaggerated manner following the inflow of refugees and the displaced in urban spaces that were already deteriorating before the commencement of conflicts such as in Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. Thus, the «contexts of critical factors» (R Brett, I. Specht, 2004) or of extreme factors are sharpened by a more general socio-economic degradation; a crisis already observed before the period of conflicts (D. Rodriguez-Torres, 1996; M. Nayuru, 1996; L. Apetakar, 1996) of a more social nature (impoverishment) that accelerates the disintegration of nuclear households and familial collapse. This socio-geographic crisis affects the cities and some rural spaces debilitated by famine and recurrent poverty. Although in this matter we have to distrust a simplistic determinism associated with overpopulated households and children in distress. Apart from that, the epidemiological context of AIDS and sanitary effects intervene with a varying degree of importance in countries where the rupture of the family cell has increased orphans' dispersion (E. Guest, 2001).

Socio-cultural changes equally play a part: the modes of modern life, the «birth of the modern family» borrowing the expression of E. Shorter (1991), unstructured family modes known as «traditional» or «costumed» (R. Manirakiza, 2008), that are of lineages or generational destabilize the roles and family rules. The demographic indicators (years of marriage, celibacy, gaps in the age of the couple, illegitimate births and prenuptial conceptions, the demographic transition of poverty, the size and the composition of households, marital

practices) and the multiplication of family litigations prove that the hypotheses of the «caraibisation» of families can be kept from some of them (A.C. Courtois 2007/2008). The equality and relationship between this tendency and the presence of «precarious or child victims» deserve to be measured and confirmed, even qualified, because the temptation to moralise destabilization or the modernization of the family with the presence of precarious and child victims, sometimes or often perceived and lived as forms of deviation, is strong.

2.1.2 Practices, uses and perceptions: Historical and anthropological perspectives

A historical perspective, included in the long period (colonial and pre-colonial), of the evolution of facts, practices as well as images and representations; the confrontation with the cultural and anthropological models and the history of family systems, can bring certain perspectives about practices which are not necessarily singular or modern practices.

These practices cover the ancient pre-colonial behaviour of child movement in normal times, the recruitment, abandonment of children in times of famine, familial domesticity, dependency even subjugation during conflicts, and behaviour that appeared during the times of colonial migration of domestic labour and children population (Y. Droz, 1999). These practices vary according to the genre, the urban or rural space melding the ancient and modern practices (schooling). Thus, in Kenya, in rural environments, the positioning of children takes different forms according to the gender: while young boys' position in households allows them to go to school in the best conditions, it is more frequent for young girls to be closer to their parents and the conditions under which they are sent to school are not the best ones as they are occupied with the house chores (V. Golaz, 2009).

With regard to this, we find the classic questions of values and the practices associated with each relationship system, the capacity of adaptation and family adjustment, and the movement of children. We find the resilience problem that some observers distinguish in the present, the survival strategies and the limits of these systems of family solidarity which anthropological works have interrogated (in a general way S. Lallemand, 1993; for Burundi and Rwanda, P. Erny, 1995; P. Vincent, 1952, A. Kashamura, 1973, N. Ndimurukundo, 1978/1979, D. De Lame, 2005 and 2008; for Western Africa, A.M. Peatrik, 1995, P. Shipton, 2002, and for Uganda, A. Williams, 2003) and which vary in accordance with the values and family modes (descent, patriarchal, generational) that vary in the region. Finally, we look at the history of the family and private life, of domestic domination (and submissiveness), and of slavery which historians have tried to reconstruct (C. Thibon, 2004, M. Pilon and *ali*, 1997, J.H. Jezequel, 2006, H. Médard, 2008).

2.1.3 Configurations and dynamics of extreme, post-conflict, national, regional and singular crises

We can distinguish two spaces: on one side, the southern Great Lakes region (Rwanda and Burundi) characterized by a certain demographic, social and anthropological homogeneity; and on the other side East Africa (Uganda and Kenya) that reveals a more heterogeneous socio-cultural, socio-economic and anthropological reality. Some national and regional spaces exhibit dynamics of extreme, post-conflict, national and regional and singular crises that are yet to be specified (Burundi, Rwanda and North Uganda).

In the Great Lakes region, before the Rwanda genocide (1993) and the civil war in Burundi (1993-2004), the family experienced terrible disruptions that prevented it from reproducing

the model of a complex household, of a “big family” that shares the same universe (the hill) and the same domestic unit of residence (the enclosure). This tendency towards a fragmented nuclear household, even if it distended the family bonds of residence, did not weaken the relationship bonds, child mobility and the care practices (the older brother takes care of the younger, “bears” him) that supported the mother, controlled the overpopulated household which their nutritional incidence (shortage) and family hazards (couples without kids, isolated grandparents). This mobility of children was also the defining factor for some households, for the scholarly and urban promotion of some of their children or for the available agricultural spaces.

The effects of the war have been manifested in two ways: on one hand, it has led to the explosion of family and household mortality, displacement, dispersion) in the population and in the camps (of displaced, re-grouped persons, refugees and migrants); on the other hand, it has led to the multiplication of big families even community households, sheltered from conflicts, as the re-composition or the survival strategy in times of famine. Today, in a post-war context, this second reaction tends to disappear; the nuclear household resets and withdraws. However, the households still keep an important part of accommodated children, related or unrelated (neighbours, children coming from the same hill) that come from two differing scenarios: the adoption or domestic dependence, children becoming grooms, babysitters, and bellboys. Apart from this, a high number of critical households (25%), often the poorest (households of single mothers, elderly people or very young adults), accommodate a child population in danger of regression in nutritional, sanitary and educational aspects that can lead to “child victims” (M. Lévêque, M. Boloquy, A.C. Courtois, 2004, urban observatory 2007/2008). These scenarios or dynamics, seen on the level of capital cities, deserve to be specified, followed and reconstituted taking into account the rural spaces, the secondary urban centres and the zones of reintegration of refugees in Burundi as well as in Rwanda.

The northern part of Uganda, which has recently come out of the Lord’s Resistance Army control, is also located in a post-conflict context. After being a location for international refugees (L. Cambrezy, 2007 and 2008), allowing a faster social reconstruction than in transit camps, Northern Uganda not only became centre-stage for guerrillas who have deconstructed families due to the flood of internal refugees the situation has caused, but also of the kidnapping and recruitment of children (Human Rights Watch, 2003; Perrot, 2005; Baines and *ali*, 2006). The return to peace in this mainly rural region provokes the question of the children’s future and their care when such an extreme vulnerability touches a bigger part of the population, not counting the local sanitary, climatic and economical risks. The care of children is a major question in the whole country, in rural zones where work migrations and AIDS affect, in different ways, the population of the active age-group (A. Williams, 2003), particularly men, as well as in urban zones where we find people left out of a care system that has reached the limits of its capacities. Specific to the intra-family care of children, grandparents play a particular role, in the reciprocal support that they give to children. However, in some cases, the care of children exceeds their capacities (Dagira, 2005).

Children’s care is necessary; it needs to take into account both the post-conflict situation in the north of the country and the family deconstruction connected to the damages caused by the AIDS epidemic in the whole country in the last decades.

2.1.4 Representations of children and young people's changes

The observed changes also result from evolutions in different representations. Beyond the moralizing speech of moral, religious and educational authorities on the need for a return to family values, we observe that children and young people's perception of society and the society's view of them is revealing complex changes. Thus, the criminalization and the discrimination of child «victims» as well as «precarious » children, which can take extreme forms (the frequent accusation of witchcraft in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the trade of albino children in Burundi), go together with a new approach beyond the this victimization and other new perceptions. Similarly, we are tempted to take up, as useful conceptual tools, the hypotheses of the emerging «childhood feeling» advanced by P. Aries (1973) and its corollary, the internalisation of the child. The historiography debate that has provoked this thesis deserves to be reactivated, revisited and compared to the studied cases. Indeed, these representations have become dual, traditional and modern and the crisis has accelerated a movement that was already perceptible in 1980/1990.

On the one hand, the child is associated with traditional values: an honour (to the father or the mother according to different societies), a resource (s/he costs less than what s/he brings), a help to mothers and sometimes a danger as in the case of child victims (child soldiers, AIDS orphans and street children). Language, as an invention of the society, relieves these perceptions; which can be the result of a fear or of the consciousness of a political issue; it can also be the sign of a withdrawal towards a moral order, contained in a traditional ethic (Y. Droz, 2006 and 2008), even in the reflection of a social issue to the level of families that will see their older children arguing.

On the other hand, the new state of children's debates refers to the modern perceptions: of a minor, innocent and fragile human being to be protected; an investment that needs educational formation. NGO campaigns and their target audience, the legal advances registered in the last years and the educational demand seem to be cognizant of this new sensitivity; elites and even societies cannot become aware unless the message is in relation to the presence of active NGOs in that scope, with the pressure of the international community (E. Matignon, 2008; A. Cazenave-Piarrot, 2007).

However, these dual representations do not disappear, they coexist. For example in Burundi, education is provided more and more to the girl child but this improvement of the girl's conditions forgets the "babysitter children", incumbent in the brotherhood, the function of the older brother/sister; the expected promotion for some girls becomes the disadvantage for others. This problem is also found in Rwanda (G. Garapayi, 2008). These changes vary considerably according to the socio-economic context in the cities and in the countryside. This imbalance and paradoxes of perceptions can be equally attested for teenagers and young people, distinguishing girls from boys. This ambivalence of perceptions may be connected to a reality: are young people becoming an emerging social force?

2.1.5 Young people and children: An emerging social force?

Given the recently advanced indications of political scientists (A. Mbembe, 1995, African policies, 2000, R. Brett, I. Specht, 2004) and historians on young people (H. Almeida-Topor and *ali*, 1992), we cannot underestimate this «emerging social force». Studies on «child soldiers», street children (M. Davies, 2008) and youth gangs or youthful criminals reveal another aspect often hidden by the dialectic of victimization or discrimination with regard to

these subjects. Not all «child soldiers», are forced but, as actors, they are engaged in conflicts; the same dynamics exist for urban gangs: consumerist ideals, survival strategies, individual evasion sailing between two worlds, in rupture with a moral order, and an inaccessible adult world. The reasons are many although the rupture with the family seems to be the determining factor of the recruitment of minor children to child soldiers (R. Brett & I. Specht, 2004). However, this requires specification.

Ethno-political conflicts, the mobilization of gangs, young militia (H. Maupeu & J. Lafargue, 2008) often manipulated by politicians and the militarization of youth in rebellions and in national armies and their indirect effects on forced migration of refugee children have multiplied these ruptures (S. Turner, 1999; M. Sommer, 2000; C. Thibon, 2004; L. Cambrezy, 2007 and 2008, C. Christiansen, 2006). Once the conflict ends, these dynamics resonate: thus, for Burundi, if the militia, compounded by the ethno-political crisis, have disappeared with the control of cadets, this experience has modified the youth sociability through the multiplication of freedom and sociability spaces, especially for the young male (N. Hajayandi, urban observatory, 2007).

Beyond childhood, adolescence is the intermediate age that appears as a dangerous category. Beyond the experience and the somewhat generational resonance of conflict times, the structural tendencies must not be neglected: the delay of marriage exaggerates the group of «young adults» (that in spite of coming of age, they remain in the «children» category to society). These practices, even if they are only still marginal in the urban world, with a differential force according to the studied countries, give rise to a series of questions: Are they the result of a current consequence of conflicts, a generational effect, or of structural, modern and tendency changes that are sometimes based on ancient practices (cases of age, class and generational society) that can no longer be regulated as they were in the past?

2.2 PROJECT OBJECTIVES AND INNOVATIVE ASPECTS

As an extension of the scientific queries previously discussed and taking into account the state of knowledge, this project has three objectives:

1. **Asserting the situation of the precarious child in between the child victim and the violent young person:** The hypotheses are that this situation, quite unknown, is underestimated.
2. **An examination of child care and the concept of child protection:** Two aspects of this central problem reveal the issues presented in the context (1.1) which study, on one hand, family care and on the other hand, institutional and legal care. These questions remain unknown and quite ignored. This major axis, as the project pivot, will permit the comprehension of the changes thus completing the analysis and the advanced hypotheses in the “situation of the locations” (2.1) regarding: the explanatory factors, war, poverty and demographic modernization; the configurations and dynamics of extreme, post-conflict, national, regional and singular crises; the changes in the representations of children and young people; and young people and children as an emerging social force.
3. **A comparison of completed works with anthropological, historical and political readings:** underpinned by a theoretical questioning about the regulation and the resilience of the societies under study.

Points on the central problem:

This problem is based on the hypothesis that the ruptures in family care lead to the child's exploitation, mistreatment, and abandonment. These problems found in households, families, and in the core of these families, directly or indirectly, are crystallized around children's care in poverty, war, family division, family violence, abandonment and AIDS. These ruptures are similar in certain cases in the domestic unit. Many questions arise: Who is the responsible for the children? Which circumstances lead to the reconsideration or disappearance of this responsibility? What happens when care-givers cannot take care of the child? Which solutions do they offer to the family? Which solutions are proposed by the civil society? By the State? What kind of responsibility, is given to the child or teenager, according to their age and sex? Generally, the responsibility is seen in the comparison of values and obligations, in the difficulty of survival which must be understood in accordance with the place and the period, according to existing rules, social obligations and the range of possibilities that are offered to the child that s/he will experiment with.

This type of responsibility appears as a key element in the vulnerability of children. The «confiding of children» to relatives (uncle, aunt, and grandparents) deserves particular attention. These practices, that recall the traditional uses (the lending of a child, the position of rural relatives in urban households, the help given to the elderly generations) modernized from 1970 to 2000 (the position of a counterpart, education, the beginning in the city) are multiplied in different configurations: from adoption to family domesticity, with an important boy/girl differential. However, this situation is generally ignored, except in studies on generational transfers, on family crime that has existed before the crisis, with an optical ascendant-descendent, inter-household perspective in Rwanda (D. Clay, J. Vander-Hane, 1993) and with an historical perspective in Burundi (C. Thibon, 2004).

However, foster children often constitute a first stage in the gap between «precarious children» to «child victims», and from «precarious children» to «adolescent victims». The connection (or lack of) between the children's parents and the welcoming household is important, though it varies extremely and can sometimes be attenuated in poverty and migration contexts or in extreme cases, when the parents disappear. Thus some foster children are simply taken to welcoming households while others remain connected to their parents. In the regions most affected by AIDS or by ethno-political crises, the welcoming people are sometimes overwhelmed with the number of children to care for; consequently, the system of family responsibility reaches its limits. In this scenario, the grandparents are often the person's relations who cannot refuse to welcome a child but they are also old people who are equally vulnerable (W. Geissler, E. Alber, S. Whyte, 2004).

This hypothesis leads to a second one. Indeed, the limits in family responsibility underline the importance of the legal-institutional responsibility of children. This is in regard to the legal advances, the current experiences, the practices of national institutions, public policies, the actions of the civil society (NGOs) and the international community, as well as the public perception and opinion on this issue (P. Reynolds, 2006). This research will focus on the experiences as well as the current obstacles, at the national and international levels, on the legal statutes on children in the introduction of jurisdictions, processes, institutions; in the management of matters, from the most common (e.g. delinquency) to the most serious (e.g. jailed children) in the context of a transitional, traditional and mutating justice (R. Cario 1997, 2006, E. Matignon 2008, A. Cussac 2008).

The project has the following program:

- **First, to update the current information, and measure child responsibility** and its characteristics from the existing information (objective 1), complimented by a survey (objective 2),
- **Second, a comparison** of these results with the anthropological, historical, and political readings that will allow the expansion of obtained results and the long term interpretation in a regional perspective (objective 3).

These three objectives are divided into 6 tasks.

2.2.1 An updating of the information through collection-analysis (inventory type) of practices, uses and opinions, while the environment of the media and legal public policies shall be considered.

In spite of the high number of actors focusing on child care (UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO, FAO, UNFPA and NGOs dedicated to development, care and emergency management), general statistics on the subject are scarce. With the exception of child soldiers, censuses and estimations, they remain imprecise and sectorial, e.g. with regard to child labour (J. Andvig, Scanegarajah, 2001). Lastly, we do not have a national or regional view of the «precarious childhood» conditions, the accommodated children that work, except for some very particular contexts in which localized studies on plantations or mines specifically enhance the question of the child's precarious conditions, its evolution and the conditions of this precariousness. We can note the beginning of a definite process, such as O.V.C. "orphans and vulnerable children"; an expression created by the World Bank, that re-groups orphans, child soldiers, street children, working children (in plantations, mines), physically challenged children (www.worldbank.org/childlabor) and AIDS orphans (Vignikin and *ali*, 2003). Such definitions can still be improved, for as seen in Burundi the statute on child soldiers does not take into account the very young children, who are mobilised into the «doria» (ear) and used as spies.

The "examination-collection-analysis" work on the environment question has partly been done by major policy makers (UNICEF, Ministries) often in a sectorial form e.g. in annual and national reports on «the situation of the mother and the child». It will be necessary to update these reports' information for the four countries (Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya) and to take into account the changes in collective perceptions.

The expected result shall be drawn up in a table with an updated situation (on states, tendencies and situations of children, households, actors and actions, institutional and legal definitions, public opinions) for each country which shall benefit from this publication.

2.2.2 The measurement of the children's families' responsibility and its characteristics from the information given

The measurement of these practices and uses is based on sources that exist on the entire region which allow for a proper management of the first analysis. The general population census, the national and regional household surveys, the demographic and health surveys, the demographic data from networking sites and socio-economic observatories provide this information in which the unit of measure, i.e. the household, is central. Studies conducted by

some international NGOs (MSF, Oxfam) and some monographs also provide necessary information. Nevertheless, their liability has been discussed (C. Thibon, 2008).

Two methodological indices will be followed. The size, the composition of households with the degree of relationship of the residents with the head of the household, the residence and absenteeism and the declared activity of the residents reveal the diversity of the responsibility situations. Similar information shall also be sought on schooling.

In this case, the methodology debate about the survey unit pertinence, particularly the household, is renewed. However, the reality is often blurred by the unanswered questions, the fluidity of situations and of child statutes and the mobility of young people. Therefore, a critical exploration of information and a complementary survey (See point 2.2.4) is required, because households and personal experiences of its members are realities that are difficult to comprehend through basic statistics measures and photographs.

The expected results are an estimated measure of the three situations on: child victims, precarious children, and «violent» youth. This measurement will be completed by the surveys. (See point 2.2.4).

2.2.3 The measurement of institutional responsibility of children and their characteristics from existing information: Legal rules and public opinion

The institutional responsibility for children and young people, at least in its general environment, fluctuates between victimization and criminalization, which is also attested to by perceptions and collective articulations. This first approach takes into account the legal statute of children and its evolution as well as the orientation of public opinion.

Nowadays, the legal stature of children raises some problems. The increasing number of children without a family makes it difficult to distinguish between precarious children and criminal children, particularly, when they are identified as «street children», «children with legal issues» or «refugee children». These categories raise questions on the legal stature of these children and the legal responsibility of children. Indeed, because the law related to children was, generally, considered as intrinsically related to family law and for the essential treatment of the parent-child relation, the existence of these categories, contradicts the issue of the introduction of a specific legislation, even of a justice, dedicated to minors. Thus, the faceted children law cannot be restricted to private law (care and preservation of children, childhood, divorce and adoption), but it should also be concerned with the protection of «vulnerable» minors or with law issues, and the institutional treatment of delinquency. At the same time, the influence of international speeches about «children rights» and the ratification of the United Nations Convention on Children Rights by all the countries in the region, with the exception of Somalia, is increasing the attention to the notion of «children interest's» in various sectors, including the legal system. This one stresses the question of the constitutional and international protection of children rights, as well as the difficult and problematic relations between the justice of minors and the protection of their rights.

Thus, the objective is to study the institutional approaches (legislation, justice system) according to vulnerable youth or youth with legal issues, the definition of childhood according to the law (with a special focus on the determination of the age for penal responsibility), the evolutions of the legal system regarding children; particularly, the legal and justice reforms encouraged by the adoption, by the countries in the region, of

international conventions related to the protection of children's rights (Convention on the Child's Rights, the African Charter on the Child Rights). Which are the institutional answers proposed at the different stages of the legal system for minors (crimes' prevention, procedures of precocious responsibility, judgment, responsibility after the judgment and reintegration into the family)?

The role of the media and of public opinion seems to be essential in this evolution of law. Thus, the handling of legal matters in the media and, generally, the images of the child or children in accordance with the media and literature, music and mass-media deserve particular attention because they reveal, without the restraint that characterises official or unofficial sources, changes in opinion. This shall be the same process for the phases of life (initiation rituals, giving of names) that will be the object of particular treatment (De Lame, 2009).

The expected result is an inventory of the legal and institutional environment. This approach shall be complimented by a survey on the working practices (See point 2.2.5).

2.2.4 The measurement of the family responsibility for children and their characteristics from a complementary survey

The privileged method is an oral survey so as to collect; on one hand, the stories of household members' lives and on the other hand, information about the household.

In the case of Burundi, the survey's data base will come from the panel of households followed by an urban observatory of the city of Bujumbura and the national data base (2008 census, household survey ISTEEBU). In the case of Uganda, the households will be selected according to a simplified census in urban and rural zones that will be selected in a reasonable way. The interview guide, which shall be the same for the two surveys, will be established according to a biographical collection method, already highly experimented in charts of quantitative collections, that tries to collect in a systematic way the different events and phases of the pertinent aspects for the studied topics that shape life. This method, which takes into consideration the residential domestic unit, presented by V. Golaz (IRD seminar, Arusha, 2008), was also used by A.C. Courtois (2008). Even if it revives the difficulties of painful memories of recent wars, this method avoids the simplification of an individual-centred approach.

2.2.5 The measurement of institutional responsibility from the complementary survey

The complementary survey delimits practices and uses so as to measure the consequences of the creation of specific institutions for minors in some countries (Kenya), the responsibility of precarious children, the limitations of institutional solutions to the situation of precarious children. These central questions provide the answer, to the authorities on the situations of precarious children or children with legal issues. However, it is necessary to investigate alternative methods (psychological help, parents' participation) in this process.

The method will be based on the surveys of the implied actors with regard to responsibility and the legal protection of precarious children (NGOs, children homes, and legal institutions). These two tasks are the core tasks of the project. The expected results are a better comprehension of the practices, uses and perceptions and the factors that lead to these situations.

These five research tasks shall benefit from a mid-term evaluation seminar to which the representatives of ministries, churches, international and non-governmental organizations shall be invited.

2.2.6 Comparisons, changes, duration and political context

According to the established time-plan, this phase of comparing (or questioning) with the historical, anthropological and political science readings will be studied for a second time.

The objective is to determine if the mechanisms of protection, security, solidarity or traditional regulations are failing or if they are modernizing in the period of crisis or peace: What is the duration, as well as the rupture factors? Do these mechanisms highlight a spatial and historical continuity? Although it is an old question that characterises the family and anthropological relationship, this question remains classical for historians and is necessary, given the complex and different evolutions. In this way, we can build a connection, with a rich historiographical tradition, about East Africa. However, this deals with only a few issues in the social history of children and childhood under the scope of slavery, dependency relations, labour, colonial “promotion”, gender, military and religious history. The political configuration for each country or region will take into account: the past or present context of transition, the political and memorial matters associated with violence in which young people have played a role, the means of States and the commitment of the international community. In this aspect, the research will be more classical and mostly based on secondary data (books and documents).

The first scientific meeting, of the research team only, will be dedicated to this topic and shall be organised at the end of the second year. During the program’s closing phase, a colloquium shall be organized and shall be open to the whole academic community, local actors and politicians.

3. BIBLIOGRAPHY

H. ALMEIDA-TOPOR & *al.*, *Les jeunes en Afrique : évolution et rôle (XIX-XXe siècle)*, L’Harmattan, Paris 1992.

P. ANTOINE, *Les relations intergénérationnelles en Afrique, approche plurielle*, les collections du CEPED, Paris 2007.

M. ANYURU, « Uganda street children » in *Africa Insight*, vol. 26-3, 1996.

L. APETAKAR, « Street children in Nairobi » in *Africa Insight*, vol. 26-3, 1996.

P. ARIES, *L’enfant et la vie familiale sous l’ancien régime*, Seuil, Paris 1973.

E. BAINES, E. STOVER & M. WIERDA, « War-affected children and youth in Northern Uganda: Toward a Brighter Future », in *Assessment Report*, June 2006.

R. BRETT & I. SPECHT, *Young soldiers why they choose to fight*, Lynne Rienner, London 2004.

- R. BRIAND, *Manger au quotidien, la vulnérabilité des familles urbaines en Afrique*, IRD Karthala 2007.
- L. CAMBREZY, « Territoire et dimension géopolitique de l'accueil des réfugiés. Les colonies agricoles des exilés du Soudan en Ouganda » in *Nature, Sciences, Sociétés*, Vol. 14, octobre/décembre, 2006.
- L. CAMBREZY, Y. CHARBIT (coord.), « Migrations internationales et vulnérabilités » in *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2007, vol 23, n°3.
- L. CAMBREZY, « Réfugiés et migrants en Afrique : quel statut pour quelle vulnérabilité ? » in *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2007, vol 23, n°3.
- R. CARIO, *Jeunes délinquants. À la recherche de la socialisation perdue*, L'Harmattan, Coll. Transdisciplines, 2ème éd., 2000.
- R. CARIO, *Victimologie. De l'effraction du lien intersubjectif à la restauration sociale*, L'Harmattan, Coll. Traité de Sciences criminelles, Vol. 2-1, 3ème éd., 2006.
- R. CHAMBERS, *Développement rural : la pauvreté cachée*, Karthala, Paris 1990.
- H. CHEUZEVILLE, *Kadogo, enfants des guerres d'Afrique centrale*, l'Harmattan, Paris 2003.
- C. CHRISTIANSEN, M. UTAS, H. E.VIGH, *Navigating youth generating adulthood*, Nordiska Afrika Institute, Uppsala, 2006.
- D. CLAY, J. NE « Patterns of intergenerational support and childbearing in the third world » in *Population Studies*, Vol. 47, march 1993.
- J. COLE, D. DURHAM, *Figuring the future, globalization and the temporalities of children and youth*, Sar presse, 2008.
- A-C. COURTOIS, « Femmes et sortie de crise au Burundi », *Mémoire de Master 1*, septembre 2007, UPPA.
- A-C. COURTOIS, « La place de la femme-chef de ménages dans les changements urbains dans l'Afrique des Grands Lacs, état des connaissances, réflexions conceptuelle, méthodologique et problématiques », *Mémoire de Master 2*, septembre 2008, UPPA.
- DE BOECK, A. HONWANA, « Children and youth in Africa » in A. Howana, J, F. De Boeck, *Makers and breakers, children, youth in postcolonial Africa*, James currey, Oxford, 2005.
- D. DE LAME, « Enfants des ancêtres, enfants du monde. Les rituels rwandais de dation du nom, moments-clés d'intelligence sociale », in E. Mudimbe-Boyi & I. Ndaywel-e-Nziem, (dir.) 2009.
- D. DE LAME, *Délinquance et zones équivoques de la structuration coloniale*, Afrique et Histoire, 2008.

D. DE LAME, « Anthropologie et génocide, Anthropologie du génocide », in J. Sémelin (dir.), *Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*, www.massviolence.org, 2008.

D. DE LAME, « Entre le dualisme et son double, les écueils de la construction de soi. Des difficultés d'analyse biopolitique en contexte post-colonial », in *Politique Africaine*, 2007, n°107.

D. DE LAME, « Rwanda : recomposition et constructions », in E. Remacle, V. Rosoux & L. Saur (réds), *L'Afrique des Grands-Lacs : des conflits à la paix*, Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2007.

D. DE LAME, *A Hill among a Thousand. Transformations and Ruptures in Rural Rwanda*, Madison, Tervuren, University of Wisconsin Press, Royal Museum for Central Africa, 2005.

Y. DROZ, « Street children and the work ethic: new policy for an old moral, Nairobi », in *Childhood*, 2006, vol. 13, 349.

Y. DROZ, « Conflicting realities, the Kikuyu childhood ethos and the etoc of CRC », in *Living Right*, January 2009, IUKB, Sion.

Y. DROZ, « Circulation familiale comme stratégie de survie face aux effets de la globalisation de l'économie : l'exemple des migrants kikuyus au Kenya », pp. 128-146 in Honsberger S.- *Les stratégies des groupes sociaux victimes de la globalisation de l'économie*, 2005, EDES : Neuchâtel. pp. 128-146.

P. ERNY, *L'enfant dans la pensée traditionnelle de l'Afrique Noire*, L'Harmattan, Paris 1995.

G. GARAPAYI, *Scolarisation des filles au Rwanda, Retards, obstacles et disparités dans l'offre, 1900-1994*, Universités et Universitaires en Afrique de l'Est, UPPA-CREPAO, 2009.

V. GOLAZ, *Pression démographique et changement social. Vivre en pays gusii à la fin du XXème siècle*, Karthala-IFRA, 2009 (sous presse).

V. GOLAZ, « Vers une redéfinition des relations intergénérationnelles en pays Gusii », in Philippe Antoine (Ed.), *Les relations intergénérationnelles en Afrique. Approche plurielle*, CEPED, série rencontres, Nogent sur Marne, 2007.

V. GOLAZ, « L'hébergement : un état sans statut », avec C. Bonvalet, A. Diagne, D. Delaunay, F. Dureau, E. Lelièvre, in GRAB, P.Antoine et E. Lelièvre (dir.), *Etats flous et trajectoires complexes. Observation, modelisation, interprétation*, coll. Méthodes et savoirs, INED-CEPED, Paris, 2006.

V. GOLAZ et C. W. NJUE, « Politiques de population : le cas du Kenya », in Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin et Guillaume Wunsch, *Démographie : analyse and synthèse. Traité de démographie*, Vol. VII, 2006.

E. GUEST, *Children of AIDS africa's orphan crisis*, Pluto press Natal press, 2001.

N. HAJAYANDI, *L'enquête jeune » in Observatoire urbain, Mairie de Bujumbura, « Rapport sur l'enquête urbaine 2005*, mai 2006, www.villedebujumbura.org.

J. HOWANA, F. DE BOECK, *Makers and breakers, children, youth in postcolonial Africa*, James Currey, Oxford, 2005.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, *Stolen children: Abduction and Recruitment in Northern Uganda*, 2003, Vol. 15, n°7.

J-H. JEZEQUEL, « Les enfants soldats d’Afrique, un phénomène singulier » in *XXème siècle revue d’Histoire*, n°89, janvier-mars 2006.

A. KASHAMURA, *Famille, sexualité et culture*, Payot, Paris 1973.

T. KINAI, Relationship between parental behaviour towards adolescents and their manifest aggression in Nairobi, PhD, University of Nairobi, 2002.

S. LALLEMAND, *La circulation des enfants en société traditionnelle, prêt, don, échange*, Paris, 1993.

J. LAFARGUE (avec Musambayi Katumanga), « Le Kenya dans la tourmente. Violences postélectorales et pacification précaire », *Politique africaine*, n°109, 2008.

J. LAFARGUE, « Un pays dans l’attente. Ruptures politiques et inquiétudes populaires », *Les Cahiers d’Afrique de l’Est*, n°37, 2008.

J. LUGALLA, C. KIBASSA, *Poverty, Aids and street children in east Africa*, Edwin press, 2002.

R. MANIRAKIZA, *Population et développement au Burundi*, L’Harmattan, Paris, 2008.

H. MAUPEU, « Physiologie d’un massacre : la tuerie du 3 mars 2002, Kariobangi North (Nairobi, Kenya) », in H. Maupeu (dir.), *Annuaire de l’Afrique orientale 2002*, Paris, L’Harmattan.

H. MAUPEU, « Nairobi ou les incertitudes de la masculinité kikuyu. La ville dans la chanson kikuyu », *Journal des Africanistes*, n°75-1, 2005.

H. MAUPEU, « Prophétisme et citoyenneté des milices : le cas de Mungiki (Kenya) », dans Congrès CEAN, *Penser la République. État, gouvernement, contrat social en Afrique*, 3-5 septembre 2008.

H. MAUPEU, « L’État et les milices : le cas du Kenya et de la Tanzanie », dans Colloque *Regards croisés sur les « milices » d’Afrique et d’Amérique latine en situation de violence*, CERI, 25-26 septembre 2008.

D. MAZURANA, « Pillars of the Nation: Child Citizens and Ugandan National Development », in *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 81, Number 4, 2008.

J-A. MBEMBE, *Les jeunes et l’ordre politique en Afrique Noire*, l’Harmattan, Paris 1985.

H. MEDAR & S. DOYLE (Ed.), « Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa », Oxford, James Currey, Kampala, Fountain Publisher, Nairobi East African Educational Publishers, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2007.

N. NDIMURUKUNDO, « Le rôle de la fratrie dans l'organisation de la personnalité du jeune burundais », in *Revue de l'UB*, I, 1978-79.

Observatoire urbain, Mairie de Bujumbura, « Rapport sur l'enquête urbaine 2005 », mai 2006, www.villedebujumbura.org.

Observatoire urbain, Mairie de Bujumbura, « Rapport sur l'enquête urbaine 2007 », septembre 2007, www.villedebujumbura.org.

A-M. PEATRIK (dir.), « Âges et générations : ordres et désordres », Des sociétés aux rythmes du temps, *numéro thématique de L'Homme*, 2005, 134/2.

A-M. PEATRIK, *La Vie à pas contés. Génération, âge et société dans les hautes terres du Kenya (Meru Tigania-Igembe, Kenya)*, Nanterre, Société d'ethnologie, 1999.

A-M. PEATRIK (dir.), « Passages à l'âge d'homme », double numéro thématique de *L'Homme* 167-168 ¾ 2004 (s.dir.), en coll. avec Gilles Holder, Cité-Etat et statut politique de la ville, *double numéro thématique du Journal des Africanistes*, 2003, 74/1-2.

A-M. PEATRIK, « Old system, new conflicts: age, generation and discord among the Meru, Kenya », in W. James & D. Mills (Ed.) *The qualities of time. Anthropological approaches*, 2005, Oxford, Berg (ASA Monographs 41).

A-M. PEATRIK, «Which complementarily between history and anthropology?». About Politics of the womb. Women, reproduction and the State in Kenya, by Lynn Thomas (2003), *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 40 (2), 2006.

S. PERROT, *An assessment of programs for the reintegration of returnees from the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda*, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, 2005, Chicago.

K. PILATI, « Les enfants soldats, objets de discours et sujets oubliés », in *Etudes Courtes*, IUED 4, 2001.

M. PILON, *Ménages et familles en Afrique*, CEPED 15, Paris 1997.

Politique africaine, « Enfants, jeunes et politique », n°80, décembre 2000.

D. Rodriguez-Torres, « Le gang Serena, origine et production d'une contre culture de la rue », in *Politique africaine*, 63, octobre 1996.

P. SHIPTON, *The nature of entrustment: intime exchange and the sacred in Africa*, Yale university press, New York 2002.

E. SHORTER, *Naissance de la famille moderne*, le Seuil, Paris 1991.

- M. SOMMER, « Young males and Pentecostal: urban refugees in Dar es salaam », in *Journal of refugees studies*, vol. XIV, n°4, 2000.
- C. THIBON, « Les réfugiés burundais en Tanzanie » in *Migrants forcés en Afrique centrale et orientale*, A.Guichaoua, Karthala, mars 2004.
- C. THIBON, « L'évolution des ménages au Burundi » (Colloque de Lomé). Togo, in *Ménage et familles en Afrique*, M. Pilon & ali, 1997, CEPED.
- C. THIBON, « Chiffres et victimes au Burundi » in *Séminaire Limites du politique, politiques des limites*, EHESS, Paris, mai 2008.
- C. THIBON, *Histoire démographique du Burundi*, Karthala, 2004.
- C. THIBON, « Recompositions démographiques et sortie de guerre à Bujumbura », *colloque international de Bujumbura, Les politiques de sortie de crise dans la Région des Grands Lacs*, Université du Burundi, septembre 2008, Bujumbura.
- C. THIBON, « Une démographie historique de l'immédiat est-elle possible, Burundi 1993-2005 » in C. Deslauriers (dir.), *Afrique terre d'histoire, au cœur de la recherche avec JP Chrétien*, Karthala, 2007.
- S. TURNER, « Angry young man in camps: gender, age class relation among burundian refugee in Tanzania » in *Journal of humanitarian assistance*, working paper 9, juin 1999.
- UNICEF, « Situation de la mère et de l'enfant », *Rapport annuel UNICEF*, UNESCO, Bilans du millénaire.
- Z. ZIMMER & J. DAYTON, « Older adults in Sub-Saharan Africa living with children and grandchildren », *Population studies*, 2005, Vol. 59, n°3.
- A. VEALE & G. DONA, « Street children and political violence: a socio-demographic analysis of street children in Rwanda », in *Child Abuse & Neglect*, vol. 27, n°3.
- P. VINCENT, *L'enfant au Ruanda Urundi*, IRC, Bruxelles, 1952.
- K. VIGNIKIN & C. AUDEMARD (dir.), « Orphelins et enfants vulnérables à cause du Sida en Afrique », Paris, CEPED (Les Numériques du CEPED), 2006.
- T-S. WEISNER, C. BRADLEY et P-L. KILBRIDE, *African families and the crisis of social change*, Bergin Garvey ed, Londres 1997.
- W. GEISLER, E. ALBER & S. WHYTE, *Grandparents and grandchildren*, Edinburgh 2004.