An analytical examination of the expression of the code of the street in Freetown Sierra Leone

Desiree Crystal Brown - 64019
Michelle Frederikke Heegaard - 63571

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Table of Contents

Acronyms

FGM: Female Genital Mutilation.
M.O.A: Master Overview All data.
M.O.F: Master Overview Female interviews
M.O.M: Master Overview Male interviews
M.O.FN: Master Overview Field Notes.
OSAC: Overseas Security Advisory Council. A US Department of State.
SL: Sierra Leone.
SLIHS: Sierra Leone Integrated Household Survey
SLL: Sierra Leone. The currency used in Sierra Leone.
SLP: Sierra Leone Police Department.

1.Problem Area

The average Sierra Leonean lives in a highly volatile environment, where hostile behavior in different degrees of intensity is a regular occurrence. Freedom House (2019) reports, for example, that domestic abuse remains a large issue with reports of rape and abuse within the household rarely resulting in conviction. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is prohibited by law yet is still practiced widely in the country and approximately half of all girls in the country are married before the age of 18. Politically, the people of Sierra Leone (SL) have the right to organize as they please, yet intimidation, harassment and acts of violence against politicians are often committed by opposition politicians and their supporters. Journalists also face severe intimidation and physical attacks, especially during election campaigns where there is a general upsurge in politics-related hostility, especially in the capitol. Any student protests against the current political structure are furthermore violently dispersed by security forces and police brutality is a fairly regular occurrence. (Freedom House, 2019)

According to the World Bank (2013), violence in SL is generally viewed negatively by the population and perceived as harmful for the overall societal structure, yet pressed locals often defend the usage of violence in numerous circumstances. These circumstances include when the persons themselves are met with a form of violence when protecting private property or the family's honor and when an individual aims to 'save face'. Violence in romantic partnerships are furthermore such a common occurrence that it reportedly has become naturalized and expected within society. (p. 29)

During a research visit to Freetown, the capital of SL, apparent aggressive behavior exhibited by both males and females during social interactions was noticed. This was most clearly expressed through aggressive language, such as threatening violence, proudly describing oneself in volatile terms and discussions about the righteousness of beatings. Other signs of aggressive behaviour were also noticed through, for example, physical abuse within the household and sexual harassment in public spaces. Physical violence committed against others or the threat thereof was additionally often used as a topic of entertainment for locals. Violence seemed to be legitimized on a general level and woven into the social fabric of society in Freetown. The social norms and behavior exhibited by locals in Freetown often seemed reminiscent of those exercised by lower class subcultures in the West (Anderson, 2000). There seemed, for example, to be a similar emphasis on 'saving face' and showing power and status through hostile behavior. Hierarchy and the assertion of one's individual position in it additionally seemed to be prevalent within the social environment of Freetown.

1.1 Problem Statement

These first-hand experiences, alongside general knowledge about Sierra Leone's history, ignited the researchers' interest in investigating how culturally defined violence is legitimized. Violence is defined in this research from the World Health Organization as, "[t]*he intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation"* (World Health Organization, 2002, p. 5). During the research trip, it was noticed how significant a part

violence and general hostile behavior played in social life in Freetown. In order to understand this, the research team became interested in investigating social behavior and interaction. This research study works from the assumption that 'intentional force' is culturally defined within the social code and that it is practiced for survival purposes and based on street code as it is theorized by Elijah Anderson (2000). Seeing Freetown as a representation of the country, this investigation envisions Sierra Leone as one risky neighborhood on the international stage. This study applies Anderson's theory in order to answer the following research question;

1.2 Research Question

How is the code of the street expressed in social behavior within the context of Freetown?

1.3 Project Outline

This study begins with a chapter introducing the reader to the academic field within which this study positions itself. The literature review illustrates the gaps in the academic field this study intends to fill. This leads to the theoretical chapter, where Anderson's code of the street theory is outlined and provides a description of how this theory is applied to the context of Freetown. Methods of data collection and data analysis are provided in the methodological chapter. This chapter also outlines the (de)limitations and ethical considerations for this research. The case chapter justifies Freetown as a case where Anderson's code of the street can be applied and gives an overview of life conditions in Freetown. Putting the focus back on the theory, the third chapter leads into the analysis where main findings are outlined. These findings, as well as assessment of the theory used in this context, are discussed in chapter seven. Here, the focus is taken off of the empirical and put back on the theoretical where the code of the street, as a theoretical tool and our application of it, are discussed. Further studies are also suggested in this chapter. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the contribution of this research to the academic field.

2.Literature Review

This literature review introduces the academic literature that uses Anderson's (2000) code of the street in various contexts and with different demographics. The purpose of this review is to illustrate a research gap in academic literature with which this study intends to fill. As this study applies Anderson's theory to the case of Freetown SL, literature, which has used the theory for explanatory purposes for different context and social groups, will be assessed. Until now, Anderson's theory has mostly been used in an American or Western-European context and on a smaller neighborhood scale. Each of the illustrated studies in this chapter use the code of the street in different social contexts from that of its origin, and has proven that, although the core features of the code can be detected across different environments, these contexts also influence the way in which the code is expressed and internalized in society. As Heitmeyer et. al. (2019) urges, there is therefore a great need for further exploring the application of this theory in other contexts, such as outside the West, in order to gain an understanding of the situational influence on the theory and improve its universality (p. 180). This study will therefore attempt to develop upon Anderson's theory and add to the academic field by applying the code of the street to the context of SL, representing a 'risky neighborhood' on a global scale. This study thus intends to widen the explanatory power of the theory by taking it into the international realm as well as applying it to as large an area as a city. Justification of the use of Freetown as a representation of SL to represent the kind of context Anderson developed the theory for, is outlined in Chapter 5

This study is using Anderson's theory of the code of the street to understand social behavior in Freetown with a specific focus on how violence becomes legitimized within this environment. Most of the literature about application of Anderson's theory, centers around street culture as it is expressed in impoverished neighborhoods in America, gang culture or African American subcultures (e.g. Matsuda et al., 2013; Kubrin, 2005). A few noteworthy exceptions from this general standard are described below.

2.1 European Studies

Brookman et al. (2011) investigates whether and how the Code of the Street is present when looking at street violence in the UK. By conducting semi-structured interviews of predominantly white male inmates convicted of violence-related crimes, the researchers were able to recognize many of the core themes of Anderson's theory within the behavior of their research sample. The interviewees, for example, responded that violent acts were often the result of someone feeling disrespected or when an individual felt the need to maintain their reputation and avoid future victimization (pp. 20-21). The respondents also asserted that violence often occurred when the offender felt he had no other choice but to respond with hostility. Often, the interviewees asserted that they did not have a desire to exert or escalate the violence but felt a need to do so due to expectations by their surroundings and a fear of victimizing themselves if they did not (Ibid, pp. 23-24). Holligan (2015) comprised a similar study in a Scottish context with a much smaller sample size, where incarcerated male youths were interviewed. These respondents had similar responses as those interviewed in Brookman et al. (2011) and Holligan (2015) concludes that despite contextual differences, *"a code of the street with characteristics akin to Anderson's* […] *theorisation exists in Scotland"* (Holligan, 2015, p. 644).

Moving away from a Western-European context, Naterer (2014) investigated extra-, intra-, and inter-group violence as it was related to the interpretation and adaptation of the code of the street amongst street children in East Ukraine (p. 1391). The behavior of 68 street children - of whom the vast majority were male - was studied through participant observation, interviews and visual notes (ibid). The author found that the street children experienced violence on all three social levels; from the general environment (extra-group), between groups of street children (intra-group) and within the singular group of children (inter-group) (Ibid, p. 1393). The researcher furthermore found that, unlike what is suggested in Anderson's code of the street, the street children sometimes benefited from showing signs of weakness and playing the victim. This often occurred, for example, during violent encounters with the general environment or when violent acts had left physical wounds on their body. Since these street children support themselves financially through begging and charitable actions by the public, pity and victimization was crucial for their survival (Ibid, pp.1394-1395). This contradicts Anderson, who emphasizes that victimization will only breed negative results for the individual and make them vulnerable towards violence. This is a clear illustration of how the code of the street can be influenced by factors within the specific context it is expressed in, and that the theory must therefore be applied to different contexts than the one it originated in in order to further develop the understanding of it.

2.2 Expanding the Theory

Until now, the theory has mostly been applied to either American or European contexts, but more research needs to be done on how the code of the street holds up in other contexts as well in order to further expand the explanatory power of the theory. Heitmeyer et al. (2019) offers a comparative case-study, where representative samples from risky neighborhoods within Germany, South Africa and Pakistan are compared with one another to identify how the code of the street is expressed differently between these societal contexts. This was done by first using deductive coding to find core themes within the collected data followed by inductive coding to isolate additional factors leading to violence-related norms. The researchers measured on the following eight aspects of the code of the street, which will be the starting point of this research study as well; 1) respect, 2) social space/neighborhood, 3) enemy, 4) toughness, 5) symbols, 6) friends, 7) street wisdom and 8) violence (p. 66). All of these were found to be interrelated with one another in all three of the cases, however, they were expressed in different ways. In Germany, for example, they found that the link between violence and respect differed from that of the other cases. In a German context, the ability to fight enhanced the amount of respect an individual experienced, whereas the violent act itself more often occurred as a way of self-defence or as a tool to solve an issue. In the other cases, the link between violence and respect reflected the one emphasized by Anderson - in order to maintain respect and street status one must use violence when responding to disrespectful behavior (Anderson, 2000, pp. 76-82).

Overall, the study found that the code of the street theory cannot be applied equally to contexts that are not the US (Heitmeyer et al, 2019, p. 179). The surrounding environment influences the way the code of the street is internalized within the sample population and what manners of behavior are deemed acceptable ways of expressing the code. Three main similarities could, however, be observed between the three different cases; 1) respect is the symbolic currency of life on the streets and each setting promotes different strategies to obtain it, 2) the social space, the neighborhood, in which people live, is unsafe and therefore the code

of the street needs to be learned in order to survive, and 3) the individual must learn a certain level of street wisdom, meaning they must continuously adapt their understanding of how to stay safe in violent situations without losing their street reputation (Ibid, p. 180).

Moving away from the physical realm, Henson et al. (2016) applied Anderson's theory in an online context, where the relationship between internet-based criminal behavior and the code of the street was investigated (pp. 768-772). The study was conducted through continuous self-reported surveys, where the individuals were asked implicitly about the codes, such as what they viewed as proper behavior when feeling disrespected online. With a sample size of 315 mixed gender undergraduates between the ages of 18 and 22, the study found that individuals who portray street-oriented social behavior were more likely to commit cybercrime (ibid). It was also concluded that street-oriented beliefs in general were present in online contexts and that *"these online street-oriented beliefs place a premium on respect, and holds that one's status must be maintained, even at the expense of others"* (Ibid, p. 777). The way to guard one's online status was often through aggressive online behavior, especially in public forums such as on social network platforms (Ibid).

Heitmeyer et al. (2019) and Henson et al. (2016) are both examples of how Anderson's theory can be used in contexts that are vastly different from that in which it originated. The core themes of Anderson's theory materialize across different social contexts, although there are situational differences depending on other contextually based factors that influence social behavior. The studies conducted by Holligan (2015), Naterer (2014) and Brookman et al. (2011) indicates the same. Overall, the findings of all these studies combined also indicate that the way the code of the street is being expressed in a specific context will depend highly on how similar that context is to the one in which the theory was created. Meaning that it is not surprising that there would be a greater difference in the expressions of the code of the street between Pakistan and the US compared to that of England and the US. The US and Pakistan have more differences in terms of culture, historical lessons and economic and political frameworks of their societies. These contextual factors will inevitably influence the way the code of the street is expressed within that context. Since the code of the street has most often been applied to a Western context, there is an academic gap in terms of the understanding of how the code of the street is expressed in contexts that are vastly different from that of the theory's origin. Heitmeyer et al. (2019) encourages academics to further study how these different contexts influence the adaptation and expression of the code in order to enhance the overall understanding of the theory (p. 180).

The code of the street has furthermore, until now, been used on a smaller scale, than the one aimed for in this project. The theory began as a tool for investigating the existence of the code of the street on a neighborhood scale and has since been replicated multiple times (e.g. Brookman et al., 2011; Holligan, 2015). The theory has also been used to understand the presence of the code of the street in a specific group of people within a society that is not necessarily geographically bound to one area; e.g. street children (Naterer, 2014) or college students (Intravia et al., 2017). After reviewing the academic literature using Anderson's theory, it appears that no other study has attempted to apply the theory on a citywide scale or used the theory within the international sphere. Our research will therefore be attempting to fill a gap in this regard. It will do so by investigating social behavior exhibited by a representative sample of the vast majority of residents in Freetown, who live in severe poverty within a highly volatile environment and where state authorities, according to locals themselves, cannot be trusted (see Chapter 5).

3.Theory

This chapter will introduce and explain the theoretical framework. Based on Anderson's code of the street (2000), the theory used in this study is exploratory in that the concepts derived from this scholar's work provide analytical tools for processing the data. The chosen theory thus provides a lens for understanding the sociological dynamic inherent in areas of concentrated disadvantage and where the 'law of the jungle' is apparent. The chapter begins by introducing the scholar and theory generally, as well as how Anderson developed the application of the theory. Next, the analytical concepts used to process the data are defined and a conceptual framework is presented. Critique of the theory is addressed in chapter 7, discussion.

3.1 Anderson and the Code

Elijah Anderson is an award-winning Yale professor of Sociology and African American Studies. He has served as a consultant to the White House and worked on America's National Research Council, where he contributed to research on control and understanding of violent behavior (Sociology.yale.edu, 2020). The code of the street is a theory developed by Elijah Anderson for the purpose of explaining the inner-workings and social dynamics of young men living in disadvantaged areas in inner-city Philadelphia specifically in relation to the legitimization of violence (Anderson, 1994). Used within an American context of inner-city street life, Anderson's theory suggests that, in order to cope, youth develop normative rules of behavior socialized into them from a young age. This socialized coping mechanism is called 'the code of the street' and allows the youth to survive in the volatile context in which they live (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 15).

According to Anderson, the code is as old as humankind and can be seen, for example, during Roman times, within the culture of Shogun Warriors or in the old American south (Anderson, 2000, p. 84). The values of these ancient times are exacerbated in today's contexts by the conditions of an informal underground economy and the implicit 'law of the jungle' mindset existent in impoverished areas (Ibid). The code itself comprises informal rules which govern interpersonal behavior (Anderson, 1994, p. 82). Relating heavily to violence, these rules describe the proper way to respond to violent encounters and regulate the use of violence itself since the code of the street revolves around aggressivity for the use of survival (Ibid). Anderson claims that the code of the street is, in actuality, *"a cultural adaptation to a profound lack of faith in the police and the judicial system"* (Ibid). Areas where street code is present thus creates circumstances where one must fend for themselves. In other words, the code of the street begins where the influence of police authority ends (Ibid).

Anderson developed this theory in the context of the US for the purpose of explaining youth violence (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 25). He explains social behavior governed by street culture as a reaction to specific contexts including, but not limited to; an uprising, drug markets, periods of deindustrialization and environments where racial discrimination is present (Ibid). As his theory is used to explain the behavior of individuals in areas of concentrated disadvantage, Anderson developed the concept of 'code switching'. This concept is used to explain the shift in behavior that people from so-called 'decent' families exhibit when they move between social arenas. The concept 'decent' is contrasted by 'street' with the former describing families that have their own internal code for appropriate behavior yet understands the need to adhere to the code of the street for survival. 'Street' families, conversely, have an

internal understanding of appropriate behavior that is very similar to the one exhibited through the code of the street and no 'code-switching' is therefore necessary (Anderson, 1994). Youth from 'decent' families then learn how to tell which environments require which codes and entails that *"youngsters whose home lives reflect mainstream values* [...] *must be able to handle themselves in a street-oriented environment"* (Ibid, p. 82). Since this study understands Freetown and SL as one big 'risky neighborhood', the use of 'code switching' as a concept is not applied because the social culture is understood as inherently 'street', meaning that there is no need for switching to a 'decent' code.

Gender

Though much of the code of the street revolves around masculine identity, young women in disadvantaged areas are increasingly falling into street behavior and mimicking behaviors normatively associated with manhood (Anderson, 1994, p. 92). The attainment of respect is similarly of utmost importance and this is also achieved through *"posturing, abusive language and the use of violence to resolve disputes"* (Ibid). According to Anderson, though conflicts over turf exist, there are differences between the genders in that young women or girls have disputes rooted in physical appearance, competition over boyfriends and the regulation of other's opinions concerning herself, her friends and her mother (Ibid). Often, girls will have their male family members or friends engage in fighting for them, however, girls are increasingly engaging in the fighting themselves. One big difference between how the code of the street is exhibited by female versus male youth is that the girls are less willing to risk their lives in order to maintain an identity based in manhood (ibid) During the research trip to Freetown, the researchers identified masculine behavior existent within both genders. If anything, women had a tendency to be more expressive and powerful than many of the men and engaged with society in similar ways.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

The code of the street consists of an interplay between; friends, enemies, the appearance of toughness, knowledge of street wisdom and the use of status symbols. All of these elements help individuals living in a specific kind of environment (risky neighborhood), campaign for respect often using violence as a means to do so (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 36). This section defines these eight core concepts; risky neighborhood, respect, symbols, toughness, friends, enemies, street wisdom, and violence. These concepts illustrate the conceptual framework used for analysis. The use of these definitions in the analysis will be explained in the methods chapter.

Risky Neighborhood

The social space where Anderson developed his theory describes an inner-city neighborhood in an American context. However, the concept of a risky neighborhood is extended in this study to any area which includes concentrated poverty, a lack of trust in public services and governmental social control - e.g. police. This effect often induces high crime rates (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 15). It is in these contexts that the code of the street is often present, as this space *"promotes a normative structure which enforces the development of coping strategies for handling a threatened environment"* (Ibid). Anderson's concept of a risky neighborhood underlines the assumption that the code of the street informs individual and

group behavior as both something to cope with, as well as a subcultural norm (Ibid, p. 11). Violence is constantly present, according to Anderson, within contexts where poverty is persistent (Anderson, 2000, p. 94). Police are often understood as not representing the people within the risky neighborhoods and, given that police do not always respond when called upon, residents take measures to protect themselves (Anderson, 1994, p. 82).

Respect

Respect can be 'loosely' defined, according to Anderson, as *"being treated 'right' or granted the deference one deserves"* (Anderson, 1994, p. 82). Respect is at the heart of the code of the street and proves a guiding foundation for negotiating how to behave (Ibid). The higher the degree of respect one obtains in their reputation or image, the less physical danger the person is in and the more he can avoid being bothered in public places (Ibid). Respect is a form of social capital that is highly valued in contexts where other forms of capital, such as economic, are denied - i.e. in disadvantaged areas. For individuals that spend much of their time in 'street' contexts, the level of respect one obtains is at the core of their self-esteem and being disrespected entails a lowering of that person's worth as well as puts them in harm's way (Anderson, 2000, p. 66). It is for this reason that violent vengeance and 'pay-back' is a dominant force within the code and if one does not retaliate, his self-worth is lowered and survival becomes compromised (bid, p. 76). Respect is important *"to such a degree that* [individuals] *will risk their lives to attain and maintain it"* (ibid). Violence is used as a tool to obtain respect as well as to retaliate for being disrespected. It is also used as a tool for regaining respect that was lost. (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 137)

Symbols

Safety on the streets revolves around the presentation of the self and displaying a specific predisposition that demands respect. This is often done through the reputation of the individual as capable of violence (Anderson, 2000, p. 72). Symbols, such as clothing and jewellery, are essential elements for how to present oneself on the street and display status (Ibid, p. 73). Since symbols are imperative for safety and maintaining a specific image, as well as defining which social group a person belongs to, the attainment of valuable material objects becomes another form of symbolic value (Ibid, p. 75). If someone is sporting an expensive jacket, and someone else is able to steal that jacket, that theft becomes a trophy, and a symbolic form of status or of being superior over another group or person. Trophies can include anything from material items to someone's honor taken in a fight or by stealing someone's girlfriend (Ibid). Symbols are a tool of legitimization to show a person's status, reputation or image (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 124). The use of symbols to represent the identity of a person prone to violence is vital when considering that that image protects the individual from violent encounters on the street.

Toughness

According to Anderson's code of the street, toughness is a value that is built into children from a young age as a method of survival. Physically campaigning for respect is a reality children learn very quickly in areas of concentrated disadvantage both from the society within which they live as well as values instilled in them from their parents (Anderson, 2000, p. 69). Phrases often heard from families living in these areas comprise of; *"'watch your back', 'protect yourself', 'respect yourself', 'I didn't raise no punk', 'if you don't whup his ass, i'll whup*

yo' ass when you come home'" (Ibid., p. 70). Toughness is often linked to the image of the 'real man'. This includes the ability to fight and not to show weakness for one's own safety (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 131). This element of the code further legitimizes the use of violence as a tool to maintain the image of toughness, masculinity and respect enacted via antagonizing as well as defending (Ibid., p. 127).

Friends

For individuals living within street culture, commitments and loyalties to specific groups and family members are imperative for the socialization of street norms and survival (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 132). Friends are responsible for having each other's backs, and the rules governing friendships; i.e. when to be loyal, when a friend has disrespected you or the peer group's relationship to the neighborhood, are important aspects of the code. People can often find themselves in violent situations due to their peer group, however, a peer group is often necessary if one is to survive in the neighborhood because they offer protection. Peer groups often have their own internal group-specific rules of behavior. This often includes a hierarchical structure and specific times when members of the group must endure violence, such as when the hierarchical system forces group members to fight each other. An individual's identity and sense of belonging often stems from which peer group they associate (ibid, pp. 132-136).

Enemies

Enemies are essential in negatively defining spaces, identities and violence-related norms (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 149). Groups are often formed in opposition to an enemy and identity is often formed in opposition to society; especially regarding the police, which act as a formal local authority for the overall state. According to the theory, risky neighborhoods have inherent elements of competition and jealousy and this is expressed through other elements of the code, such as competing for respect, girlfriends and reputation (Ibid., p. 145). During this game of campaigning for respect, alliances are formed usually in opposition to another group, friends who have behaved 'disrespectfully' as well as the wider society. These oppositional factors and individuals are seen as the 'enemy' (Ibid).

Street wisdom

Another element within the code of the street is the code of conduct itself. Street wisdom is the fluid defensive knowledge of how to behave within various settings. Specific to each neighborhood, street knowledge includes, but is not limited to, familiarity with the physical geography of the area as well as which groups control which territories. It represents the inherent rules of survival such as; when to fight, fighting one on one and when group fighting is allowed. The code outlines the role of the victim and the role of the aggressor. Street wisdom is the ability to read any social situation and know how to react to it and which role to play. This knowledge is fluid in the sense that the individual needs to constantly adapt to changing conditions in the social space due to e.g. changes in power structures within and between groups. Knowledge of street wisdom gives confidence to survive on the street and contributes to identity, the acquirement of respect and maintaining manhood. (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, pp. 116-117)

Violence

According to Anderson, violence is seen as legitimate and necessary for the purpose of survival. It is a normative aspect within the culture and unquestioned. Violence has a relationship with every element of the code and, *"in inner city neighborhoods, the poverty and mistrust among people result in violence as a way of life 'which is effectively governed by the code of the street'"* (Heitmeyer, et. al, 2019, p. 151). In a place where street fights happen daily and violence accompanies interactions from buying milk to police presence, residents often feel that violence is an effective way of dealing with everyday matters (Ibid).

This study defines violence according to the definition provided by the World Health Organization (2002); *"The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation"* (p. 5). This definition is chosen due to the nature of this research. This research is not only investigating violence in the form of physical force, but aggression and hostility as well as any behavior which intimidates or where one asserts themselves through the use or threat of mental, emotional or physical abuse.

4.Methods

This section includes a description of methods used for data collection and data analysis. It furthermore offers (de)limitations and ethical considerations made during the research process.

4.1 Data Collection

The research process began with preliminary research into the country of Sierra Leone in an effort to gain a general understanding of the country in preparation for a three weeklong research trip. Since this study is data-driven, unstructured observation was used as a starting approach. Observation started out as unfocused and unstructured and became more focused over time as a research problem was narrowed. This entails that observation, usually recorded in field notes, was holistic and open-ended and attempted to capture as much information as possible about the setting before the narrowing of a research focus (Given, 2008). Drawing on participant observation methods, the researchers engaged in observation ranging from complete observer to complete participant throughout the research trip. As *"the purpose of participant observation is to gain a deep understanding of a particular topic or situation through the meanings ascribed to it by the individuals who live and experience it"* (Given, 2008)*,* this method enabled the collection of experimental data (Ibid). Data gathered through participation is represented in recorded conversation.

The field notes were written in two settings in Freetown, one being a half-built mansion where the researchers lived with the original host, a Sierra Leonean they met in Denmark named Kate, and a hotel. The setting changed to a hotel after the researchers felt unsafe living under the original host, and moved to the hotel when hostilities escalated to a point where field study was no longer feasible or constructive. The field notes mostly consist of the researcher's observations of the environment and the social interactions of the people around including locals interacting, the feelings of walking around Freetown, and observations from being in various settings. Personal reactions to the environment were also recorded. All field notes were taken not more than 24 hours after recorded observation.

Interviews were conducted both while in the country, before the research direction was established, as well as after returning to Denmark. While in the country, the interview questions, provided in the appendix, were aimed at obtaining general information from the interviewees about how they saw the environment in which they lived as well as how they understood themselves within that environment. This includes the immediately surrounding neighborhood as well as local's personal opinions about politics and the workings of the wider society within Sierra Leone. Interview settings include; the house of our original host, a designated slum area, military barracks, the airport in Freetown and a hotel. All interviews were semi-structured. An interview guide was created both while in the country and after we returned. The first interview guide was used as a tool to guide conversation rather than a strict guideline. The second interview guide developed after returning to Denmark was directed at obtaining information concerning the code of the street and was kept to more strictly.

Data Information

This research uses 3 different forms of data: recordings of informal social encounters, recordings of formal interviews and field notes. Each type of data is referenced differently

within the analysis. There are a total of 58 pieces of data; 23 interviews, 7 recordings and 28 field notes. Each piece of data includes the written transcript or field note and the overview of the categorizations made for that individual piece of data. There are additionally 4 master overviews providing data information on respectively all field notes, all male recordings, all female recordings and all data across data forms combined. Data analysis methods are further described below. All data, analysis overviews and interview guides can be found in the appendix.

All interview data is represented in the table below. Of the 23 interviewees, 10 are female and 13 are male. Most interviewees lie between the ages of 17 and 25, however, interviewees range from 8 year of age to 40. There are 3 economic classes represented with 8 individuals living under the poverty line, 11 living on or around the poverty line and 4 living above the poverty line. 11 interviews took place in person in Freetown while 12 took place over the phone from Denmark.

Living below the poverty line (Slum)	Living on or around the poverty line	Living above the poverty line
17 year old female (IS-A17f)	20 year old male. Researcher's guide (IH-S20m)	56 year old female Chief (IS-Y56)
18 year old female (IS-A18f)	23 year old male (IDK-A23m)	Middle aged male. Pastor in military (IB-MAm)
27 year old male (IS-AK27m)	14 year old male (IDK-AB14m)	23 year old male Welder (IDK-ME23m)
12 year old male (IS-DC12m)	20 year old male Researcher's guide (IDK-IS20m)	40 year old male Contractor (IDK-AM40m)
8 year old male (IS-DK8m)	20 year old female (IDK-A20f)	
18 year old female (IS-f18f)	23 year old male (IDK-AB23m)	
32 year old male (IS-IK32m)	20 year old female (IDK-AK20f)	
22 year old female (IS-VK22f)	17 year old female (IDK-AW17f)	
	20 year old female (IDK-DE20f)	
	26 year old male (IDK-S26m)	
	22 year old female (IDK-M22f) 28	

Under each interviewee description in the above table, is the citation used to reference that individual. Interviews are referenced according to the context in which they took place; IS used as reference for interview-slums, IH for interview-hotel, IB for interview-military barracks and IDK for interviews taking place over the phone in Denmark. When referencing each piece of interview data, the setting - IS, IB, IH or IDK - is followed by the initials of the interviewee, their age and their sex. In the reference (IS-A17f), for example, IS stands for 'interview-slums', meaning that the interview took place in a slum neighborhood. 'A' stands for the first initial of the individual, 17 is the age, and 'f' stands for female.

Recordings are referenced as R1, R2, R3 etc. Recordings R1-R5 took place in the house of Kate, the original host. R6 and R7 took place in Freetown international airport. These recordings consist of conversations happening between the researchers and people of interest and represent data collected in settings where the researchers engaged as participants rather than observers.

Of the 28 individual field notes, 12 are from researcher A and 15 are from researcher B. Field notes are referenced by researcher and field note number. Researcher A's field notes are referenced as FA1, FA2, FA3 etc. Researcher B's field notes are referenced as FB13, FB14, FB15 etc.

4.2 Data Analysis

This section explains the application of qualitative content analysis (QCA) as a method of data analysis. This will include a general description of QCA, the coding frame developed for the processing of data, including definitions of categories, the analysis steps taken and retroduction as a research approach.

QCA is a qualitative method used for the systematic summarizing of large amounts of data, usually consisting of communication and language such as interview transcriptions or documents. The method is used for organizing a large corpus of text into simplified categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Categories and subcategories are developed retroductively into themes, content or core ideas. When the data can be simplified and organized according to categories, in this case taken from theory, the resulting organization of data can be used for comparative, exploratory, descriptive or, in this case, explanatory purposes as well as to develop or test theories (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). This method is appropriate for this study as it allows for the processing of a large amount of data into categories taken from theory.

Using retroduction, the analysis process begins with pre-determined categories stemming from Anderson's code of the street theory. This theory allows the data processing to begin with the deductive categories necessary to answer the research question. The data is then processed by inductively finding sub-categories within the main deducted categories. This allows the research to account for complexity and nuance within the data given that QCA simplifies large amounts of data. During the process of finalizing categories and sub-categories, both researchers were involved in category development. A large percentage of the remaining data was processed in collaboration by both researchers. Due to time constraints, the two researchers could not continue collaboration of the remaining data, and engaged in analysis separately, but kept in close communication to discuss proper categorization of individual data points within each piece of data. The coding frame is supplied in the appendix to the reader for transparency and validity purposes. Definitions for categories can be found in the data analysis subsection

Steps
1. The coding frame containing only the deductive categories taken from the concepts of Anderson's code of the street were created. These deductive categories are; risky neighborhoods, respect, toughness, symbols, friends, enemies and street wisdom. Anderson's concept of 'violence' was implemented as a sub-category under most of these categories.

2. One piece of data was read and categorized into the deductive categories while subcategories were inductively created so that Anderson's concepts better matched the context.
3. The coding frame was then re-evaluated so that no two categories or subcategories were the same. The same piece of data was analysed again using the new code frame.
4. A different piece of data was selected and analyzed and categories and subcategories were revised again.
5. The two pieces of data already analyzed were analyzed again using the most recent code frame.
6. This finalized the coding frame and the remaining data was processed. If there was a revision of the code frame, all data processing began again.

Application of Concepts on a Global Scale

When applying the concepts on a global scale, some minor adjustments are necessary. In this study, the concept of a 'risky neighborhood' encompasses all of SL, with Freetown being the representative hereof. It is therefore the behavior exhibited by the residents of Freetown that will be under investigation as well as how the code of the street is expressed within social behavior. The international stage represents a large city where SL is one of many neighborhoods. This study speaks to global governance structures as the international authority suggesting Anderson's theory as a tool to aid in policy development for areas of the world latent with disadvantage.

Description of Analysis Categories

Risky Neighborhood

This category is used when categorizing aspects of the environment in Freetown fitting with Anderson's conceptualization of a risky neighborhood. This includes poor living conditions, volatility, poor working conditions, informal economy, international class differences, national class differences, expression of turf-mentality and non-specific elements. These serve as sub-categories within this category. The sub-category of international class difference encompasses data points, where researchers themselves contrasted living conditions in Freetown with those of other wealthier nations as well as when residents explicitly or implicitly asked for help from the international community.

Respect

This category is used to show when assertion of respect is observed or articulated both within a hierarchy and outside of it. The inductive categories of hierarchy and non-hierarchy evolved from the data and allow the analysis to identify how assertion of status is present. Within the subcategory of hierarchy, sub-subcategories of 'explicit violence', 'implicit violence' and 'nonviolence' were created to add nuance to the analysis regarding methods of obtaining respect within the hierarchy. Explicit violence is used to classify data that showcase an individual attempting to gain respect by use of explicit force. Implicit violence is used when respect is obtained or shown through fear of violence and nonviolence is used when respect

is shown without the use of violence. The subcategory of 'non-hierarchy is divided into sub-subcategories of 'respect' and 'disrespect'.

Symbols

This category is used when someone is talking about or was noticed using symbols to show status. This could be shown through material objects such as money or connections, which serve as sub-categories for this category. The sub-category of money includes hiring of servants and non-specific elements such as owning expensive clothing, footwear or housing. The sub-category 'connection' was used, when an individual would describe or exaggerate their number of social connections in order to show status.

Toughness/Strength

Toughness, articulated mostly as strength by locals in Freetown, was used as a category within analysis when identity based on strength is articulated or observed. Subcategories of this include one's ability to endure the conditions, financial strength, one's lack of strength or when strength was linked to an identity of manhood. A non-specific subcategory was also used, when locals in more general terms expressed a sense of identity related to strength.

Friends

This category is used when people mention their connections to family and friends in order to survive on the street. This category is also used when someone's identity is based on their family and friend network. Sierra Leoneans classify friends as family when the friends are very close. Inductive categories within this code consist of alliances; used when family and friends are necessary to survive, God; used when religion is relied on for security, and violence toward friends; used to show how violence exists within this element of the code of the street. The subcategory of 'taking care' was furthermore used, when locals expressed a general burden of our desire to care for their friends and families.

Enemy

This category is used when groups of people are defined as an enemy. This category is about negative identity, meaning identity based on opposition to an enemy. Data put under this category includes mentioning of violent acts being committed by the enemy. Subcategories developed through inductive means include; 1) government, 2) politicians, 3) friends and family and 4) wider society. It is interesting to point out that interviewees often described their friends as their enemy. Positive discourse around self-identified enemies was also used as a subcategory.

Street Wisdom

During analysis, this category evolved to represent general rules of conduct. Inductive categories include; when to call the police, when to use bribery, how to use connections, such as elders and family, when to use violence as a tool and attitudes toward violence. A 'non-specific' category was also implemented and used when an individual expressed or exercised otherwise uncategorizable behavior associated with street wisdom. Unlike Anderson's original development of the theory, rules of behavior in Freetown do not only revolve around violence and the victim/aggressor relationship. Sierra Leoneans have very specific codes of conduct

they developed due to lack of trust in government and police in order to survive in their volatile environment that does not always revolve around the use of violence. Though violence is often used as a tool, the use of elders and local chiefs as mediators to resolve conflicts are emphasized instead to a greater extent.

4.3 (De)limitations

This section presents the limitations and delimitations of this research. Though there were some hindering elements during this process, the researchers were able to overcome most of them.

The lack of a narrowed field of investigation prior to the research trip to SL presented some challenges during the initial phases of data collection. There was, for example, a significant amount of data from interviews and recordings that was rendered unusable post-problem formulation. By using unstructured data collection methods, however, interviews and field notes were exploratory and investigative during the initial phases. Additionally, due to researchers' general interests in social interaction and the ability to procure a large and all-encompassing corpus of data, the ending result still entailed a lot of usable material.

Data collection was limited by the use of gatekeepers in selecting interviewees. We originally had a host by the name of Kate who aided us in obtaining access to individuals within the politically elite. However, midway through the trip, another gatekeeper aided the researchers in navigating Freetown and locating locals for interviews. Most of the data in this study was collected from the latter part of the trip. The data collection process was also hindered due to the fact that most locals speak Creole (Krio), an English-based language mixed with various local languages. This entailed that some of the meaning in interviewee responses were lost in translation.

Using QCA can mean that the simplification of large amounts of data causes nuances within the data to be lost. To overcome this limitation, retroduction was used in order to give as much detail as possible to the context of Freetown while staying within the conceptual framework of the theory.

Finally, as research conducted in 2020, this study has been influenced by the current COVID-19 pandemic. Access to certain academic material has been hindered through the lack of available public libraries during this time. This has been circumvented, to a large extent, through the use of other avenues of information and a higher reliance on online material than what would otherwise have been the case. Some of the Interviews conducted in Denmark, were additionally colored by these global events and a few respondents described COVID-19 as an 'enemy' and compared it to the Ebola crisis.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

The ethical aspect of conducting research such as this was heavily considered both during the data collection process and later during analysis. Ethical considerations resulting from implementing a theory concerning violence on a developing nation, was aimed at being prevented through reflection of our position as outside and Western researchers entering the environment under study.

In terms of data collection, the researchers were rarely able to conduct interviews under private settings. Interviews were often conducted in public forums, where some respondents would appear visibly shy or timid about uttering their opinions in front of others. This was especially the case during interviews conducted in slum areas, where the presence of the researchers attracted attention in the neighborhood, and people gathered to watch and comment on respondents' answers. The researchers tried to circumvent this obstacle by asking the translator to explain to the crowd that they should not lead the interviewee's responses. Individuals, who interrupted the interview process of others, were offered to instead be interviewed afterwards if they were interested. This, however, created a power imbalance between the researchers and the respondents, since the researchers dictated who were allowed to speak in specific moments and who were not. At other times, interviews were conducted in the privacy of someone's home or professional location.

All recordings, including formal interviews and informal conversations, were done with the awareness of the people around us. It was explained to all people involved that the researchers would document and record everyday events around them. Full consent was given by all participants under the condition of anonymity. Anonymity could not always be ensured during data collection, but all participants' names were changed during transcription of recorded data, the typing of field notes as well as in analysis. All participants thus appear either under their initials or have been given an alias, if they appeared across multiple pieces of data.

When discussing violence on a societal level in an African country, one furthermore runs the risk of (re)producing negative and damaging stereotypes already present within wider global discourse. The researchers of this research study have therefore taken great care in selecting which terms are used and how aggressivity in SL is discussed. By determining a specific act as 'violent', scholars hold great power and can help (re)produce a negative image of that specific group of people - determined by gender, race or other identifiable factors - are more inclined towards or capable of violence than others. Social behavior does not exist in a vacuum and violent behavior in Freetown must be understood in the context of, among other things; 1) concentrated poverty, 2) limited social mobility, 3) lack of trust in government officials, police and judicial system, and 4) collective memories of a recently ended brutal civil war. It is furthermore important to note that any conclusions made from this research do not describe the behavior of every individual in Freetown at all times during all forms of social interactions. Human behavior is complex and diverse. Unfortunately, social science is rarely able to understand or explain such complexity in its fullest. Generalizations will be made, as this study attempts to understand how violence on a societal level in Freetown has become legitimized and is constructed around a code of the street-mentality. There is therefore not room in this study for investigating how the individual is either influencing, being affected by or attempts to circumvent the collective legitimization of violence. Additionally, this study does not assume that violence legitimized within a society is inherently right or wrong. This investigation is not interested in demonizing or legitimizing any Western idealized normative behavior or belief.

Any findings of this study will be highly generalized insights into how the code of the street is expressed by residents of Freetown. As researchers, we acknowledge that there are economic, societal and even political differences between specific areas of the overall city in terms of, for example, average salary of the residents, population density, the degree of influence local chiefs has over correction of behavior etc. The data utilized in this study, furthermore, mainly originates from residents of Freetown with a low-income level. The data thus represents the majority of people in SL, who earn between 500.000 and 10.000.000 SLL

with most people earning approximately 1.000.000 SLL. (SLIHS, 2018, p. 190) This study therefore speaks more to the presence and expression of the code of the street within this specific group, which includes the vast majority of residents in Freetown. When looking at findings for individual pieces of data, incongruencies were detected between individuals from higher and lower social classes. These discrepancies, however, mainly revolved around the individual's reliance on and trust in the police and general expression of the codes. The core features of Anderson's theory remained the same across social classes, such as the emphasis on respect and how violence could be used as a tool to obtain this.

As the case chapter will show in detail, there are additionally significant differences between living conditions in rural vs urban SL. It is plausible that the code of the street may express itself in slightly different ways, depending on which specific area in SL is used as a representative unit for the remainder of the country. Freetown was used due to the greater accessibility of data acquisition and due to its nature as a capital, which normally are considered the representatives of the countries they reside in. It should additionally be noted that some of the secondary literature used in the case chapter do not solely describe the conditions in Freetown specifically but all of SL. Other secondary sources specific to Freetown have been used to support the findings of these more universal sources. Secondary sources describing conditions in Freetown are often not solely focused on the inner-city of the capitol but encapsulates the entire western region in SL describing both Freetown and the nearby surrounding rural area. When secondary sources broke data down further to only describe the 'western urban area' (Freetown), this information was prioritized.

Finally, this research recognizes that the code of the street is a Western theory originally developed in an American context and further understanding of it has primarily been done within European contexts. The application of this theory on a global scale with a non-Western country serving as the 'risky neighbourhood requires additional reflexivity on part of the Western researchers.

5.The Case

The code of the street exists within a social space which Anderson terms a 'risky neighborhood'. Anderson defines this social space to be an area with 1) concentrated poverty and an informal economy, 2) a general lack of trust in the police, judicial system and politicians and 3) a high degree of violence. This chapter sequentially describes these aspects as they occur in Freetown.

5.1 Poverty and Informal Economy

The following section will describe the degree of poverty and the informal economy existing within Freetown, SL. Secondary sources, such as the World Bank, the World Bank Group and the latest Sierra Leone Integrated Household Survey (SLIHS), will be used. Poverty in Freetown is described here in accordance with the official national poverty lines congruent with international definitions thereof (Stats SL, 2019, p. 5).

SL is one of poorest countries in the world and is burdened with continuous high levels of unemployment and destitution according to the SLIHS (SLIHS, 2018, p. 267).

Figure 7.3: Size distribution of Income for SL Households 2018 by income category
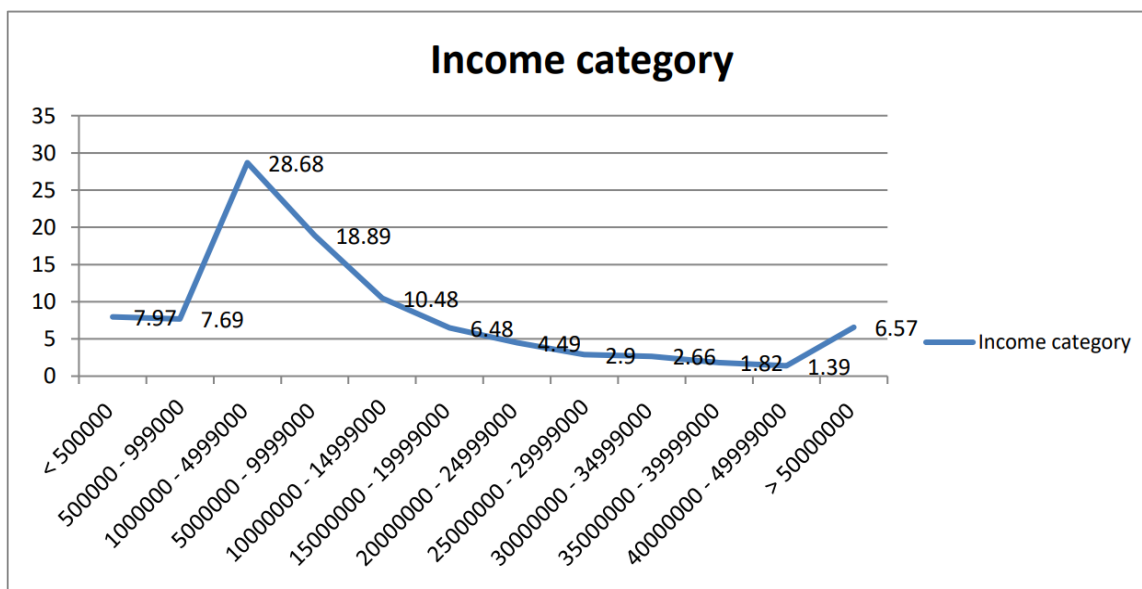
The graph shows that the majority of residents in SL live on an income between approximately 500.000 and 10.000.000 SLL with the greatest spike being at 1.000.000 SLL. A minority of people live on an income with approximately 40.000.000 SLL per year, illustrating the stark economic inequality existent within the country. Inequality is high in SL *"with the bottom 40% of the entire population having only 20% of the total household consumption. The top 10% of the population has 29% of the total consumption"* (Ibid, p. 271). Corruption, weak governance and high youth unemployment additionally remains a large issue for economic stability in the country (The World Bank, 2019). Between 2003 and 2011, Freetown saw a

significant increase of poverty compared to other areas in SL. It is believed that this is a result of; 1) migration from rural to urban, 2) slow job creation, and 3) inflation. With the absence of well-paying work - or any sort of employment - approximately nine out of ten Sierra Leoneans instead end up in or are already part of a vulnerable informal sector (World Bank Group, 2018, p. 14; Ibid, p. 71).

The country also suffers from poor infrastructure. Only about 10 percent of the total population has access to electricity and 95% of these reside in Freetown. The road system consists of approximately 11,311 km of roads with only 1,325 km paved (World Bank Group, 2018, p. 80-81). Lack of access to plumbing and bathroom facilities result in open defecation, which presents major health risks. Poor sanitation, food insecurity and limited access to health services lead to high levels of malnutrition and stunting among young children contributing to poor education performance and fewer completed years of school. This increases the chances of low income in adulthood and thus the cycle continues (Ibid, p. 26). Despite the 2004 Education Act making basic education compulsory for all, approximately 61.6% of Sierra Leoneans do not send their children to schools because education is either not a main priority or a core value for them (SLIHS, 2018, p. 30). The dropout rates for the Western region in SL was 37.2% in 2018 (Ibid, p. 37).

SL additionally has the *"lowest life expectancy at birth in the world (at 50 years) and the worst maternal and child mortality rates in the world, with one death for every 100 births"* (World Bank Group, 2018, p. 25). Fertility rates are additionally high due to lower levels of female education, lack of job opportunities and insufficient access to reliable contraceptives. This limits the resources and time available that the mother must invest in the individual child (Ibid). The average household for urban areas in 2018 was 5.8 people with almost half of SL's population living in households with 7-10 members (Ibid, p. 17-18). These households often live in close quarters with approximately 48.7% residents in the western region of SL living in single dwelling units (Ibid, p. 131). These larger households, with 8 or more members, are four times more likely than smaller households to be poor and they additionally contain over 40% of the population (Ibid, p. 269).

Data shows that there are significant differences between national regions where Freetown shows comparatively lower degrees of poverty than the rest of the country. This should, however, not be understood as if Freetown could, by any means, be categorized as 'wealthy'. Extreme poverty is still highly prevalent among the residents of Freetown and the majority of these citizens consider the economic status of their household 'unstable' or 'very unstable'. (World Bank Group, 2018, p. 71; Ibid, p. 87)

5.2 Lack of Trust in State System

The second aspect defining Freetown as a risky neighborhood, is a general lack of trust in the state system hereby including; police, political actors and other public servants. This section describes the lack of trust that exists in Freetown among the general public towards these actors. The secondary sources used in this section are; public sources such as the World Bank Group, OSAC and the newest Afrobarometer survey from 2016. The Afrobarometer survey is constructed by *"a non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude through surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues across more than 30 countries in Africa"* (Afrobarometer, 2016, p. 1).

SL struggles significantly with corruption including extensive bribery within its public sector. This is illustrated, for example, by the fact that 60% of all tax revenues go to government salaries (World Bank Group, 2018, p. 30). The 2018 Corruption Perceptions Index, published by Transparency International, measures the perceived levels of public sector corruption in 180 countries and territories. The higher the number the less corrupt the public sector of that country is perceived to be. According to this measurement, SL has a score of 30 (Transparency International, 2019, p. 1-3). One reason that corruption is able to run rampant in SL's state system is due to a weak governance system in which official legal documents are often rife with inconsistencies. This leaves them highly interpretative by the government and other stakeholders who are able to create internal personalized agreements with a technical legal backing (World Bank Group, 2018, p. 21).

These high levels of corruption have led to a very low public opinion about the state system and the public servants of the country. According to an Afrobarometer survey conducted in 2016, a large majority of Sierra Leoneans claim that the level of corruption in the country has increased in recent years. A vast majority of respondents 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that politicians are more invested in serving their own interests rather than those of the people (pp. 1-2). This lack of trust in state officials and public servants extends to the Sierra Leone Police Department (SLP) as well. An estimated, 59% of residents in SL believe that 'most' or 'all' police officials are corrupt. This is the highest level of perceived corruption among public institutions in SL (Ibid). The SLP has moreover been accused of the use of excessive force towards the public (OSAC, 2019). The lack of trust in and presence of the SLP on the streets of Freetown has instigated young people in creating groups which protects the immediate community in which they live (The World Bank, 2013, p. 31).

This general lack of trust in the police and the judicial system, in addition to a widespread lack of knowledge about legal procedures, often leads to residents seeking out their local chiefs when legal troubles need to be settled. In theory, the legal system in SL is divided between common law and customary law which is respectively handled by the police and state courts versus local and paramount chiefs. In practice, however, the chiefs will often deal with legal matters beyond their judicial authority and thus settle issues that officially belong under common law. As a result, the local chiefs have great judicial power over their residents and have great customizability in terms of which sentences are handed out to which crimes. (The World Bank, 2013, p. 31)

5.3 Criminal Activities

Violence is, according to Anderson, always present within contexts of concentrated poverty and is an essential part of what constitutes a 'risky neighborhood'. This part of the chapter will therefore, with the use of secondary sources, describe the degree of violence and crime in Freetown.

Violence in SL is present on the streets, in schools and in people's homes. Criminal activities, such as robberies, home invasions and petty street crimes are common occurrences (OSAC, 2019). In Freetown, murders, armed robberies, muggings, rapes and domestic violence have become so common that many of these crimes go unreported (Ibid; Dari, 2011). This is, among other things, due to the commonality of the events but also the general lack of trust in the state system overall and the police in particular. It is important to point out that some violent crimes such as rape or physical abuse are often not reported. This entails that

the numbers presented in this section are often much lower than the number of crimes in actuality.

The World Bank (2013) argues that disputes often occur as a result of theft, poor distribution of resources or complete lack thereof (p. 27). Gangs, created by unemployed young men and women, pose a threat to public order with increased criminal activity, drug use etc. Drug trafficking has increased throughout the country and have been found to have links to organized crime syndicates. Frustrated youth often create societal instability during election times, when political violence tends to increase. Demonstrations will, for example, often become aggressive or violent and political front figures can become targets for attack (OSAC, 2019). Other common criminal and violent activities include; 1) roadblocks that children or road repair will set up to collect money from passing travellers, 2) counterfeit currency or a risk of being shorthanded during exchanges. Homosexuality is additionally considered a crime, punishable with imprisonment, and lesbians of all ages run the risk of being subjected to 'planned rapes' by family members in an attempt to change their sexual orientation (Ibid).

According to the World Bank (2013), violence most often occurs in SL in romantic relationships between partners, and "*domestic and intimate partner violence is normalized in* [...] *Sierra Leone. It is described as part of human interaction and family life*" (p. 25). This form of abuse includes verbal, emotional, physical or sexual violence as a result of infidelity, jealousy or competition for attention. It is committed by both sexes, although women are notoriously worse off in this regard. This form of violence takes place both within the household and between couples not living together. Women in abusive relationships are told by the community to hide and tolerate domestic violence, because either fighting or disclosing it could be harmful for any children the couple might have together (World Bank, 2013, pp. 25-26). The lack of trust in the state system and the corrupt nature of the police furthermore hinders women's access to help when facing abuse (Horn, 2016, p. 117). Outside of relationships, abuse between genders also takes place and sexual violence remains a major issue. Despite the illegality of rape and domestic violence, police are often unlikely to intervene due to the commonality of the events (OSAC, 2019.; Reilly, 2014, p. 22).

Children belong to another group in society that is particularly vulnerable to violence. Beatings and abusive language are common features of everyday life in private households, both in the form of abuse between parents and parent and child (Dari, 2011; World Bank, 2013). As a result of an unstable home environment, with a lack of food and parental guidance, children are forced onto the streets, where they, according to Anderson, learn the code of the street. The groups that children affiliate with on the streets find their ways into the schools, which become social arenas where the code of the street is enforced and internalized. This is a clear example of how Freetown resembles a risky neighborhood, as it is defined by Anderson. Children also face violence in schools, where corporal punishment is widely used. The majority of both girls and boys have been caned or whipped and physical punishment in school is considered a normal part of school life (Reilly, 2014, pp. 19-20). Girls are especially vulnerable when attending school, especially after her body has visibly reached a level of maturity. Male teachers, peers, motorcycle (taxi) drivers and older men acting as sugar daddies are known sexual offenders against girls in and around schools. Girls from poor families are especially vulnerable towards these attacks, since bribery is common in schools and girls, who are unable to pay these bribes or tuition, will instead be forced by their male teachers or school administration into sexual encounters (Reilly, 2014, p. 21-22).

On a community-level, many areas have established various mechanisms to manage and contain the violence, yet it remains widely accepted and is considered a normal part of everyday life. Children are, from a young age, exposed to violence both in the household and

elsewhere and they learn to adapt by understanding and internalizing these social rules where, *"violence is not simply accepted but respected, expected, encouraged and even glorified"* (Dari, 2011).

6.Analysis

This chapter outlines the findings of the data analyses, where QCA was applied to 28 field notes, 23 interviews and 7 recordings of unofficial conversations. All of the categories used in the analysis were found to be related with one another. In this chapter, however, they will for readability's sake. be presented under four separate sections. The first section describes how the analysed data confirms that the environment under study can be categorized as a risky neighborhood. The volatile aspect of the environment, including individuals' perception of violence and local prevention mechanisms thereof, will be discussed in detail. The second section describes the locally defined enemies that exist in Freetown and what function family and friends serve in an individual's life. In the third section, the reader gains insight into the three types of strength that were detected during analysis. The fourth section will describe the importance of hierarchy within the local setting and how hierarchy assertion was often done through violence and by using symbols as indicators of status. The main findings of this study will be summarized in the final section of this chapter as well as how the expression of the code of the street deviates from the theory.

6.1 Freetown Represents a Risky Neighborhood

The findings of the analysis confirm the argument that was put forth in chapter 5; Freetown can be viewed as one large 'risky neighborhood'. Across all data, it was the code that was given the most weight with 22.6% centered around this category (M.O.A.). This is partly due to the researcher's field notes, where 43% of the data centered around this topic (M.O.FN). Many features of a risky neighborhood are additionally visually detectable, such as absolute poverty, compared to for example different forms of street wisdom. This could be part of the explanation for why more data points were found in this category in the overall data. When asked directly about the codes of the street, however, respondents also emphasized characteristics of what, in Anderson's terminology, could be deemed part of a risky neighborhood. Female respondents of this category emphasized this more with 38.1% of the data centered around this category compared to male respondents, who emphasized this category 23.4% of the time (M.O.M; M.O.F).

One of the most emphasized features of the 'risky neighborhood' category was the sub-category 'poor living conditions', which filled 22% of all data describing the environment. The reason for why this specific subcategory filled more than many others can be found partly in the fact that absolute poverty is a clearly visible characteristic, which was often drawn attention to in, for example, the researchers field notes (M.O.A; M.O.FN.;FA1). The 'poor living conditions' category was furthermore often linked to the other subcategories; 'national class difference' or 'international class difference'. Interestingly, across all data, the subcategory of 'international class difference' was stressed far more at 13%, when looking at all data describing the environment, compared to the subcategory of 'national class difference' (M.O.A). Reasons for this stark contrast can be found in the fact that; 1) researchers often compared the absolute poverty around them to personal experiences in their home countries, and 2) interviewed individuals were faced with a foreign researcher, thus being confronted with the economic differences that exist between many countries.

The subcategory that was stressed the most across all data describing the risky neighborhood was the volatile nature of the environment at 41%. This percentage includes violence within the environment that either occurred or was prevented as well as non-specific

volatile aspects of the environment, such as yelling in the street and offering money in exchange for sexual favors. (M.O.A.; FA12) Violence was thus found to be a recurring feature in Freetown and respondents stated that these could occur both in the streets, through, for example, muggings or rape as well as within households (IDK-AB14m; IDK-IS20m; IDK-A20f). Additionally, violent encounters with the police or armed forces were not uncommon events and were considered a contributing factor for why the police are considered an 'enemy' for many residents of Freetown (e.g. IH-IS20m; IDK-A23m; FB26).

Desirable and Undesirable Violence

When asked what violence meant to them, respondents largely indicated an understanding of violence similar to the definition used in this study. Answers varied in their phrasings, yet the majority included terms such as 'seizing advantage', 'taking by force', 'using aggressive behavior' and 'using abusive language' (e.g. IDK-A20f; IDK-IS20m). Further examination of local understandings of violence, however, revealed incongruencies when individuals were asked whether there were scenarios where the use of violence would be justified. It was revealed that violence was not always considered an undesirable act. As one respondent phrased it, "*there are some situations where violence is okay*" (IDK-IS20m). These situations mostly centered around scenarios, where the individual needed to use violence as a means for self-defence. A male respondent explained, for example, that he had beaten someone *"not violently. To fight. Because someone wanted to take advantage of my right"* (Ibid). The female respondents especially emphasized this viewpoint and, when asked directly about the codes of the street, female's attitude towards violence were positive 60% of the time. This is in stark contrast to male respondents with only 23% of the data indicating positive attitudes toward violence (M.O.F.; M.O.M.). The data did not reveal any clear explanations for why female respondents exhibited more positive attitudes about the exercise of violence in some circumstances. One hypothesized reason could be that women more often had to use violence as a tool of defence than their male respondents. One female respondent, however, also stated that violence committed against her was 'okay', because *"she don't have that powers [to prevent it], that is why she say it's okay"* (IDK-A20f). This indicates that this individual has found it necessary to simply accept violence as a normal part of life due to her lack of ability in preventing it. It is possible some of the other female respondents share similar perspectives, although the data did not clearly indicate this.

Some forms of violence, however, were considered undesirable no matter the circumstances, such as muggings and sexual assault on the street. When these forms of violence occurred, there were three avenues of resolvement; 1) the elders in the individual's network would step in as mediators, 2) the local chief would punish misdemeanors through customary law, or 3) a police report would be filed. Which of these were used, depended greatly on the severity of the act of violence being committed. Minor disputes would often be mediated by the elders or the local chief but, if the offense was large enough, for example in the case of murder, the police would become involved (IH-IS20m). Interestingly, the way violence would be handled by the community was often by exercising more violence. A female local chief explained that she would sometimes ascribe *"small beatings"* (IS-Y56f) as a consequence of having used abusive language or physical violence against others. Sometimes, however, fines would be administered instead. It was not clarified in which circumstances one prevention mechanism against violence would be prioritized over the other.

6.2 Enemies and Friends

In the case of major disputes, the police would often become involved which, according to respondents, would inevitably result in a lengthy arrest where the offender would be held at the police for an unknown time period until a 'bill' was paid. Respondents viewed this bill as a form of bribery expected by the police (e.g. IH-IS20m). The majority of respondents in this study expressed a general lack of trust in the police force and 25% of the data addressing the category 'enemies' was linked to the police (M.O.A.). Others, however, had more positive attitudes towards the police force, such as one male respondent stating that *"I cannot trust the police 100 percent. I'll give them 50 percent"* (IS-AK27m). The main reason for this can be found in the fact that respondents perceived the police to only work for those who could 'pay' them for their services through bribes and general favors (IDK-AB14m; IS-A17f; FB16). During the field trip, the researchers were, for example, witness to blatant bribery of the police by a wealthy diaspora, who wanted the police to intervene in a specific case involving a friend. This diaspora stated that *"you do it to make sure you have prober service. If you don't bribe, you would be waiting all day to be seen by the cops"* (FA5). Interestingly, the few respondents who had more favorable views on the police also belonged to upper social classes of society, such as a minister in the current government (IDK-AM40m). By extension of this perception, wealthy people were also often indicated as an enemy. This group of people was, for example, described in terms of being *"filthy rich"* (e.g. IH-IS20m), indicating a negative connotation to this specific group of people. Sometimes, but not exclusively, the subcategory 'rich people' was linked to those of 'politicians' and 'government', since there was a general understanding that individuals could not hold government or ministerial positions without also being financially well-off.

The sub-category 'police' was often linked to the subcategory 'government'. One male respondent, for example, stated that the police *"favor politicians. They serve the government of the day"* (IH-IS20m). The government was discussed in highly negative terms by the majority of respondents and 47% of the data in this category framed the government as an enemy. This is far by the highest percentage given within this category. The majority of respondents did not specify who or what entities within the government were considered the enemy. Instead the government was described as an enemy through more abstract and undefined terms. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that male respondents, when asked about the codes, specifically named the current political party in power, the Sierra Leone People's party (SLPP), as their enemy 29% of the time under the subcategory of 'politicians'. Female respondents were much more un-specific in their answer with no data specifically indicating either one of the main political parties in SL. (M.O.F.; M.O.M.; M.O.A.)

The Role of Family and Friends

Due to the perception of the police and general state system as being untrustworthy, residents in Freetown largely aim at dealing with issues in the community themselves. Advice from elders within the community or the aid of the local chief is prioritized. Sometimes, however, the intervention of the police is deemed necessary and the knowledge of when to use the police expressed a certain level of street wisdom. Another aspect of street wisdom is the knowledge of when and how to use one's connections. Using your connections in a proper way could often solve an issue more sufficiently than using the police. This is one of the reasons why this aspect of the local street wisdom was emphasized three times more in the data than that of the knowledge of when to use the police (M.O.A). Knowing how to use

influential connections could thus help you get out of calamities with the police force or, on a more local level, solve a disagreement between neighbors (FB13; IDK-A23m). Often, these connections lie within the community the individual lives in and there is thus a great reliance on the community to settle its own matters. An astonishing 58% of the data discussing friends and family belonged to the subcategory 'alliance', which was used when individuals either exercised or expressed strong support for their family and friends or was the recipient of it themselves (M.O.A). Female respondents especially emphasized the role of family as protectors in their lives and as someone who could offer security when needed (e.g. IDK-A20f; IDK-DE20f). 'God' was also occasionally mentioned as a source of protection for both males and females (e.g. IDK-AB23m; IDK-M22f). In a volatile environment, where the individual cannot rely on the police or its political representatives for adequate protection, it was often necessary for people to put their faith in a higher existence that could - in theory - provide it for them. One respondent, for example, stated that *"he's not strong and he has none to fight for him. He just leaves everything to God and go and pray for God to remove him from the situation"* (IDK-AB23m).

Interestingly, families and friends could, in some circumstances, also be considered an enemy. Across all data related to the framing of enemies, friends and family were indicated 7% of the time (M.O.A.). Lack of support was often the reason indicated as to why friends and families could be considered 'enemies. *"My enemy is someone who does not want my destiny"* (IDK-A23m) and similar phrases were used to describe this particular form of enemy from the respondents. The fact that friends and families could play the role of enemies was more emphasized by the female respondents than the males (M.O.F.; M.O.M.).

6.3 Three Types of Strength

Three conceptualizations of strength were detected during this research study; physical strength, 'spiritual strength' and financial strength. The understanding of physical strength borders on the self-explanatory and was considered needed by the respondents, when encountering a violent situation and the individual had to physically defend themselves. The 'spiritual strength' was given slightly different names depending on the respondent but they all referred to an ability to endure the harsh conditions of their environment. When asked what would happen if one was not strong in Freetown, respondents would often reply in a manner similar to the following; *"you will continue to suffer.* [...] *It will be very difficult for you to live your life here"* (IDK-AB23m). By equating the environment as a place of suffering if one is not strong enough, the respondent emphasized the harsh living conditions in Freetown and a particular form of strength as a necessity for survival. Approximately 22% of the data describing strength in Freetown was found within this category of 'enduring the conditions' (M.O.A.).

The form of strength that was most heavily emphasized by almost all respondents was financial strength. Across all data, 38% of all data points related to the category of strength was found within this subcategory and was stressed both by female and male respondents (M.O.A.; M.O.F.; M.O.M.). Almost all respondents automatically equated strength to the financial by making statements such as; *"he's not strong. He's a poor man"* (IS-A17f) and *"[t]he strengness mean the money. The money you have.* [...] *That is true way you show strengness in Freetown here"* (IDK-AB14m). As explanations for why money is seen as power, respondents answered that *"If you have money, let me say, if you have money, you don't have to fight for yourself. Your money will fight for you"* (IDK-IS20m). Money could for example be

used, respondents explained, to bribe the police and make them work for you (IDK-AB14m; IS-A17f). One of the respondents had also been the victim of a wealthy individual hiring a gang and ordering it to beat him up after the two of them had had a financial disagreement (IDK-AB23m).

When women were asked what the words 'a strong woman' meant to them, they explained that a strong woman in Freetown was someone *"who is able to do something on her own without a man"* (IDK-AW17f). This often meant being financially independent. Women were often found to be extra vulnerable in their environment, since they usually lacked two out of the three locally identified forms of strength; physical and financial strength. Compared to their male respondents, the female respondents more often identified with a 'lack of strength' and explained that *"[s]ome men use force on them because they are not strong, they are weak. Due to that they take advantage of them"* (IDK-DE20f). This would sometimes be through financial means where wealthy men would *"fool them with money and sexually abuse them"* (Ibid).

Contrary to Anderson's theory, strength was very rarely linked to a sense of manhood during this case study and was only noticed being expressed by two male residents in Freetown. When these individuals described manhood being linked with strength, it was always in the relation to them needing to provide for their family, because they perceived that to be the role of the man. (FB26; IDK-AB23m)

6.4 Respect the Hierarchy

Respect was one of the codes that was most heavily emphasized. Across all data, it was indicated 19.7% of the time with strong emphasis on its link to the sub-category 'hierarchy' (M.O.A.). Respect or disrespect was almost never expressed outside of the hierarchy, except for when individuals stressed the need to show respect in public by, for example, greeting people (IDK-A20f; IDK-AB23m; IDK-DE20f).

Approximately 92% of the times that respect was either shown or expressed by an individual, it was linked to a sense of hierarchy. Respect towards elders was, for example, what often came to an individual's mind when asked about this specific code. Respect was, however, also described in terms of 'humbling', 'obeying' or 'lowering' oneself to another (IDK-S26m; IDK-M22f, IDK-A20f; IDK-AB14m; IDK-IS20m). The usage of such words was sometimes mentioned in the context of elders but were also used independently thereof, which indicates a link between respect and hierarchy in more generalized ways. Interestingly, several respondents emphasized that; *"doing what people want is respectful. Doing what people don't want is disrespectful"* (IDK-IS20m). This could in some circumstances be translated into showing obedience as a form of respect, for example towards one's elder, by not going against his or her order. Yet similar phrasings appeared during other interviews as well (e.g. IDK-DE20f) seemingly independent of established hierarchical structures, indicating a particular meaning to this phrasing. This particular expression of respect was sometimes formulated as *"not going against someone else's feelings"* (IDK-IS20m). Researchers noticed as well that respect was shown by accommodation of another person's wishes. This was not only applied to elders, but anyone an individual wanted to show respect. It seems that, between friends and alliances, non-violent respect can be given by obeying someone's wishes and changing behavior based on how the other person wants one to behave.

Male respondents indicated that a hierarchy and an individual's position in it was most often established and protected through non-violent means. Conversely, female respondents

indicated that non-violent means was only used 41% of the time, whereas the hierarchy 55% of the time was protected through explicit violence, such as abusive language or beatings. The remaining 4% are found in the sub-category implicit violence, which describes actors within the hierarchy being fearful of a violent outcome, if they were to destabilize the hierarchy (M.O.F.; M.O.M.). What form of explicit violence that was used seemed to depend on the perceived degree of threat towards the individual's hierarchical position. If the threat was perceived as small, abusive language could be a sufficient response. If the individual felt appropriately disrespected, for example, if they had been disobeyed by someone that was below them in the social hierarchy, physical violence such as beatings or floggings would be exercised (e.g. IDK-DE20f; IDK-M22f). Testing of an individual's position in the hierarchy and the resulting hierarchy assertion by the socially threatened individual was found to be a significantly influential factor on social life in Freetown. The researchers themselves experienced this during the field trip, where they, as foreigners from wealthy nations, were automatically granted a degree of status by the locals around them. This status was often tested by locals on the street through, for example, attempts of theft, sexual banter and general expressions of strength and dominance. Over time, the researchers gradually adapted to the code and showed aggressivity in order to establish their own rank within the hierarchy and as people who have strength. When this was done, the testing of boundaries was lessened, and a certain level of respect was given from the locals around them. (FB28; FB15)

An individual's higher position in the hierarchy was not always met with hostility or was threatened by those around them. Often respect was automatically given, and the hierarchy was therefore often also protected by the locals - even by those who found themselves in the lower end of it. This, however, often occurred when those individuals, who found themselves in the lower end of the social hierarchy, had connections to those with greater status and benefited from that relation, for example through access to money or due to the occasional granting of favors (e.g. FB16; FB26).

Symbols as Indicators of Hierarchy

According to the findings of this study, there are two distinct ways status can be shown in Freetown; money or connections. These function as symbols through which the individual can indicate which economic and social class they belong to. At the same time, repeated exercise of these symbols serves the purpose of re-establishing and confirming the individual's hierarchical position not only to the individual themselves but also the surrounding social actors. Someone's hierarchical position in relation to other people would be otherwise difficult to detect without such cues aiding the establishment of the hierarchy. Across all data, money and connections were given a comparatively equal amount of weight with money being indicated 52% of the time and connections 42%. The remaining 6% encompasses non-specific symbols of status.

The reason money is used as a symbol of status is hardly a surprise when considering the general state of the country. SL is a country struck by severe poverty and thus money - or the absence thereof - plays a key role in social life. The majority of residents in Freetown struggle daily with making ends meet, whereas a small percentage has access to financial funds the majority does not (SLIHS, 2018, p. 190). According to the data of this study, this latter group was often found indicating their wealth by dressing up in white clothes and gold jewellery or living in large mansions that were beautifully decorated from the outside. Due to the poor state of the country, however, not even those who could initiate the construction of such large housing projects, such as members of the politically elite, had the financial means

to finish them. These massive homes were instead left unfinished on the inside with the residents living in only a few decently built and finished rooms (FB15; FB16). In a very literal sense, these massive outside homes are thus an example of how material objects indicating wealth mainly function as visible cues to indicate the owner's higher position in the hierarchy to the outside world - regardless of what it looks like on the inside. Those who do not have the financial means to indicate their higher hierarchical position were left dreaming of it. When asked, respondents often stated that, in the event they gained an unending amount of money, they would use this money to buy expensive clothes, their own car and begin the process of building a mansion. They believed these things would make them look *"presentable"* (IDK-IS20m) - indicating they do not feel so without it. Since money was also indicated as a sign of strength by the respondents of this study, it ties the category 'strength' together with that of 'hierarchy'. By surrounding oneself with material objects, which symbolise wealth, an individual is able to assert themselves in the hierarchy through financial strength. It sends the signal to other people around them that they have power and thus people will feel less tempted to threaten that individual's position in the hierarchy.

Connections were found to be another way of indicating status and positioning oneself more firmly within the social hierarchy. This was done either by 1) flaunting influential connections to individuals high up in the social hierarchy, 2) exaggerating the amount of people they know or 3) emphasizing their connection to other countries (FB14; FB15; R1). The researchers themselves were, for example, often used as symbols of connection by those around them, as researcher A stated in one of her entries; *"It was pretty obvious to all of us that we were being used* [...] *as assets to show off her status, as well as used to show her foreign language skills"* (FA7). The fact that connections can be used as a way to indicate status is linked to the high degree of reliance residents of Freetown have on their social network. Individuals for example stated that job opportunities are scarce without good connections (e.g. IH-IS20m). Having good connections is thus a highly valuable asset in order to secure one's livelihood within Freetown and it is therefore not surprising that it is simultaneously used as a symbol of status. As one local resident of Freetown stated; *"without connections, you are nothing"* (FB26).

6.5 Main Findings and Deviations from Theory

The data analysis confirmed the starting assumption of this study; Freetown is a representative of a risky neighborhood. All of the characteristics of a risky neighborhood were found present in Freetown. The volatile aspect of a risky neighborhood was found to a high degree in Freetown with violence occurring both on the street and within households. All neighborhoods, however, have local chiefs that exercise customary law in a way they personally see fit and a degree of violence and crime is therefore mitigated by local chief authority. Depending on how the local chiefs administer their communities, the law of the jungle therefore does not fully apply to all neighborhoods within Freetown equally. Violence on the street toward members of society are thus socially and collectively agreed upon as unjust and not supported within local communities. This deviates from Anderson in that violence in these instances are not inextricably linked to campaigning for respect and the context therefore influences the expression of the code of the street.

Categorization of a risky neighborhood includes lack of trust in state authorities. This aspect was also present in Freetown with most of the data concerning this category being centered around the government and, to a lesser degree, the police force. This contradicts

Anderson's theory, where residents of a risky neighborhood often emphasize rivalling gangs as enemies. The classification of enemies in SL is much more focused on authority and the state system than in other contexts where the code of the street has been applied. Rather than indicating that enemies represent other groups, such as in gang culture, most interviewees expressed a general level of solidarity, in that the majority of residents can agree on common state-related enemies. This solidarity could be one reason that social networks are so large, and alliances considered so important for survival. Given that one of the enemies, the police force, has the job of enforcing the law, it allows a fertile ground for the code of the street to exist. However, as stated above, due to culture and history, the context of SL challenges the concept of 'risky neighborhood' as customary law allows the people to deal with this challenge by creating their own form of governance somewhat separate from that of the Westphalian state authority. Due to the perception of the police and government as enemies, there was great reliance on friends and family for protection and providers of aid when an individual was in trouble. This is a further confirmation of Anderson's theory, since he describes how residents of a neighborhood, where state authority cannot be trusted, must rely on the community around them to a greater extent.

According to the analysis, Anderson's conceptualization of toughness and Freetown's expression of strength vary greatly. Toughness was not an applicable concept during interviews since locals did not often recognize the word. Therefore, the word 'strength' was used instead, which may be an influential factor to the deviation. Both the concepts of strength according to Sierra Leoneans and Anderson's toughness, include the need to present oneself as having the ability to take care of themselves for survival. Anderson's concept, however, is linked closer with the need to present oneself with the image that the person has the ability to endure violence and navigate threatening situations on a regular basis. Toughness, according to Anderson, is also linked to manhood and attainment of a violent image. Strength in Freetown's context, however, had less to do with violence and was instead linked to the ability to deal with the poor living conditions. Rather than living in an environment ripe with competition and jealousy, where a tough image helps someone survive possible attacks from others, Freetown had a bigger emphasis on community and alliance between fellow community members. Strength was needed for the survival of extreme poverty rather than a violent community. This is further exemplified by how the local understanding of strength was continuously linked to financial wealth. Money was seen as a way to escape not only poverty but also a way to obtain a different relationship with locally defined enemies of the majority of residents in Freetown.

Respect was illustrated in analysis to stem greatly from a respect of the collectively agreed upon social hierarchy, where elders and chiefs are automatically given respect without the need to campaign for it. Other individuals would have to continuously assert themselves in the hierarchy through various symbols and explicit violence when their position was threatened. Sometimes violent hierarchy assertion would occur by an elder within a family unit, if those lower in the family structure disobeyed their wishes. The status of elders and chiefs were, however, seldom questioned on a larger scale within the community. Any hostilities towards these were socially policed by most if not all members of a community. This contrasts with Anderson's concept of respect. According to Anderson, respect is obtained in risky neighborhoods through violent or threatening means and viewed as a form of social capita that constantly needs work to attain and maintain. However, within the context of Freetown, a non-violently obtained position in the hierarchy is possible to maintain without the use of aggression or force, especially between younger and older generations. When the social hierarchy was not a given, symbols, such as money and connections, were used to show

status. These functioned as signifiers through which an individual could continuously remind those around them that they were higher in the hierarchy.

7.Discussion

The starting section of this chapter will discuss how the expansion of Anderson's theory to encompass a citywide 'risky neighborhood' has brought development to the theory itself. Critique of the theory will also be introduced. The second section of this chapter will suggest further research and discuss how further application of Anderson's theory in the Global South can improve global governance policies regarding development and development projects within disadvantaged countries.

7.1 Developing and Critiquing Theory

This section discusses how the theory was developed in order to apply it to this case. It also criticizes Anderson's theory by emphasizing the lack of an inherent gender distinction and the issues involved with generalizing larger groups of people based on their location of residence.

Citywide Risky Neighborhood

By applying the code of the street on a citywide scale, rather than a specified poor neighborhood, this study creates significant generalization between different social classes and nullifies any economic and local-political differences there may be between individual neighborhoods of Freetown. The environment of Freetown, however, reflects the general aspects of a risky neighborhood and the majority of its residents endure similar challenges as those individuals for whom the theory was originally created. Some of the data pieces included in this research reflect the upper classes of Freetown and significant features of the code of the street have been found within these. The building of huge half-mansions is, for example, a clear indication that status is tied with money and that the elite also seek to express the code of the street, albeit in their own way. If the study had only applied this to a poor neighborhood, observations about the expression of the code of the street extending to the upper class would not have been possible. The researchers also noticed that the more money and connections someone had, the higher they were in the social hierarchy and the more explicit violence was used as a tool to maintain respect (e.g. IDK-DE20f; IDK-M22f). Certain aspects of the code were therefore more applicable to people living above the poverty line, than those living on or below it due to differences in financial means.

The fact that the theory, in this study, could be expanded to a citywide scale and obtain credible and congruent findings also indicates the possibility of further development of the theory. It is feasible for future studies to seek to replicate the approach of this research design to other cities within developing countries with similar conditions to SL. By doing so, one might attain valuable insight into general applicability of the theory onto environments where core features of the concept 'risky neighborhood' are present. If the findings of such studies are congruent with the theory, this could create a general understanding of how violence is used and locally legitimized in countries where such conditions are present. Aside from the pure academic contribution, this generalized understanding could become valuable for the part of the developmental sector which aims at preventing and delegitimizing violence within these environments.

Critique of Theory

Anderson's theory ignores how the gender of an individual influences the expression of the code. The theory is instead aimed at understanding street culture as it is expressed by young men. Anderson briefly mentions the aspect of gender in a column summarizing his work in Philadelphia, claiming that young women mimic the social behavior exhibited by men, although young women are less likely to put their lives on the line for respect or image the way some men will. This brief mention of gender within the code is not sufficient according to this study. There were significant differences between male and female interviews and these differences were described in field note observations as well. These differences include attitudes toward violence as a tool for survival, the meaning of strength and the role of family (M.O,M; M,O,F). This research, for example, found that women were regarded as weaker, both financially as well as physically, by both male and some female interviewees. The data also shows that the perceived vulnerability of women increase their chance for physical and sexual assault in homes and school as well as walking down the street (IDK-AK20f). The lack of a gender element within the theory ignored the influence gender may have on the expression of the codes and thus created an analysis challenge. This research suggests that future usage of this theory prioritizes this gender aspect by, for example, the use of deductive categories. It is also suggested that the theory develops and incorporates a greater prioritization of the influential role of gender.

Another significant critique that can be made of this theory is its usage of Westphalian analytical concepts such as the 'state'. This theory also has a danger of being used to generalize massive groups of people as being inherently violent or uncivilized. As individuals who live in 'risky' environments are often discriminated against or negatively generalized, the application of this theory by Western scholars on non-Western societies runs the risk of perpetuating the damaging effects Western discourse has historically had on these cultures. The use of the theory should thus include increased reflection on the part of the researcher. The theory also seems to have been generated by researchers who take the role as 'outsiders' examining cases at a distance. This encumbers the collection of tacit cultural codes that are invisible to outsiders. Anderson's theory, moreover, contains Eurocentric concepts requiring additional reflexivity on the behalf of the researchers, when applied to non-Western cultures. Most notably, the "risky neighborhood" concept is measured as a low level of trust in state institutions. Given that state institutions are products from colonial times, and imposed upon countries like SL, a risky neighborhood in the eyes of a Westerner might not be a risky neighborhood in the inhabitant's own eyes who would possibly prefer other, non-state, sources of human security. In the case of Freetown, customary law within the chieftaincy comes to mind.

7.2 Further Research

The expansion of the theory to a city and country rather than a neighborhood allowed this research to assess and observe social interaction within hierarchies in upper class environments in Freetown. Given that this study was the first so far to broaden the neighborhood to a city, further research could be done through a different methodological approach that could improve the application of the theory to citywide levels. To improve understanding of how social classes influence the expression of the code, a comparative study could be conducted where different social groups could be analysed independently and later contrasted. This would necessitate an equal amount of data from all social classes and that they would be distinctively defined from one another. If done in the global South, not only

would valuable academic literature be produced that would help explain social codes in that country between classes, it would also create further development of the code of the street toward application in the global South and outside the West. The continuous application of the theory onto other contexts would also improve the general universality of the theory and, if a greater diversity of scholars took part in further replication and development of the theory, it would prevent the theory from mainly being used by Western researchers onto non-Western areas of the world.

The approach introduced in this study could also be sought to be replicated in further studies in the Global South, which would improve general understanding of social behavior according to the code of the street within those countries. With enough replicated studies, the theory could potentially reach a substantial level of explanatory power about social behavior exhibited in disadvantaged areas of the world. Such explanatory power could improve global developmental efforts, since social behavior exhibited by residents of the area under development would be understood to a greater degree and development projects could be implemented more appropriately. Historically, disadvantaged people have been misunderstood and negatively stereotyped. This has occurred on a micro-society level but has also become apparent on a macro governance scale and can be seen, for example, in development critique literature (e.g. Cremin & Nakabugo, 2012; Venkatesan & Yarrow, 2012). It is the opinion of this research that any theoretical tool used to shed light on cultures and areas of the world, where either little is known or knowledge production has proven to be damaging to the subject, can be useful to global governance institutions. Development and countries engaging in development have been criticized for taking a power position and neglecting locally identified needs of the people in areas being developed. Additionally, being a state with the money and ability to engage in development, nations have control over how development occurs. This gives powerful nations great influence over deciding which aspects of a country should be developed and how. Oftentimes, however, these development projects do not have the effects intended, being that the local culture, including the people and their local needs, were not properly assessed. (Ibid)

Theories, such as the one developed in this study, have the potential to be used as a tool to inform global governance and development institutions by providing a better understanding of a local population residing in a disadvantaged area of the world. Though this theory should be further developed before used to consult policy, it has the potential to provide an understanding of an environment ripe with violence without normatively classifying violence as inherently positive or negative. This can, however, only be accomplished with continued development of the theory to include the perception of violence as culturally defined. While doing so, scholars should continuously reflect on presumptions focusing on understanding the culture, rather than critiquing it.

8.Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been the development of the code of the street and application of it to a different context than that of its origin. As stated in the literature review, this study can be applied for explanatory and exploratory purposes in environments that can be classified as 'risky neighborhoods' - i.e. any context with limited trust in state authority, high levels of crime and/or violence and instances with concentrated disadvantage. In other words, contexts where the 'law of the jungle' can be applied to describe survival mechanisms. Being that the research question investigates how the code of the street is expressed in SL, this research worked from the assumption that the code of the street did exist in Freetown's context due to the ability to classify the context as a 'risky neighborhood'. The analysis details how each element of the code of the street is present in Freetown and expressed during social interactions. This shows the theory's usability in understanding the people of this context and the social behavior they exhibit.

All core features of the code of the street could be detected in Freetown, although there are significant differences. Respect was not always obtained through violent means and the social hierarchy was, to a large extent, accepted. When an individual's position in the hierarchy was threatened, however, explicit violence in some form would often be exercised in order for that individual to defend their status. Strength was additionally only in rare circumstances linked to manhood by the locals and economic capital was instead heavily emphasized as a source of strength. Differences in how the code of the street was exercised by males and females were detected but could not be explored due to limitations of the theory. The findings of this study show that, although Anderson's theory can be broadly used in any environment that can be categorized as a 'risky neighborhood', the code of the street is influenced and expressed differently depending on the context in which it exists. Similar to how the code of the street was used to develop policy in Philadelphia pertaining to vulnerable youth in 'bad' neighborhoods, when applied to the global South, this theory can also be used to develop policy for development and global governance - i.e. if this theory can be used to better understand the environment that developers seek to change, development projects pertaining to violence-related issues could improve in their approach as well.

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