The re-integration of homeless street children through football in Harare, Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

My original contribution to the body of knowledge was a response to the main objective of my study, which was to assess the potential of using football to help facilitate the reintegration of the homeless street children in Harare. This qualitative action research study involved more than thirty homeless street children, who joined the project at different intervals between September 2014 and December 2016, and was an attempt to examine the possibilities of changing the children's behaviours and attitudes before re-integration. Data for my study was collected through individual interviews, focus group discussions, observations, questionnaires and a conference. It was appropriate to have such a number of the children, given how volatile street life is, which meant that it was impractical to retain the same faces over a period of time. Such numbers did not prove a threat to my findings, since I also engaged a non-governmental organisation, a number of assistants, one person who played football at the highest level in Zimbabwe and one who has worked and written extensively on the street child phenomenon. The difference in the background to the majority of the homeless street children also called for a holistic approach, which my study attempted to provide by all means possible.

DECLARATION OR ORIGINALITY

I, **MANUNGO RODGERS DUMIZULU**, declare that

(a) This thesis is my original research, except where it has been indicated otherwise.

(b) This thesis has not been submitted with any other university, organisation or examination body for purposes of conferment of a degree or other qualification.

(c) This thesis does not have other personnel's information that include, graphs, pictures, figures, or related stuff, unless such information has been specifically acknowledged.

(d) All information directly or indirectly quoted from other sources has been properly referenced for the purposes of this thesis.

(e) This thesis does not contain tables, graphs, pictures and other related information from the Internet, unless such information has been properly acknowledged within my study, as well as in the reference list.

Rodgers Dumizulu Manungo Signature:
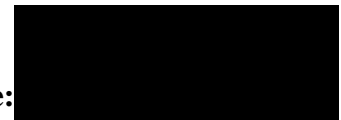
Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris Signature:

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to my beloved parents, Dixie Dickson and Olippah, as well as my siblings, Patient, Patience (late) Elwyn, Maureen, Russell and Conwell, and my family at large, especially my late Mother, Lungile Manungo, who, before she passed away told me she had dreamt me putting on a 'red beret.'

It is also dedicated to my lovely Family comprised of my beloved Wife, Lorrin, and my Twins, Gabriella and Gavrie. May God richly bless you my family. Last, yet not by any means last, it is also dedicated to the homeless street children of Harare.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the same vein, I also want to thank personnel, such as Stanley Chirambadare (former Dynamos football club left back) for the training sessions and the invaluable sharing that you had with the young people.

Last, but not least, I thank all my uncles, aunties, among other innumerable members of my Family and Friends. Thank you for everything!

Above all, thanks to GOD for everything!

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GLOSSARY

Bhabharasi: The word refers to hangover that drinkers of liquor usually suffer from

Blaz: It is a slang word referring to brother or someone who is older than the user

Broncho: Refers to 'broncleer' cough syrup; can lead to numbness if taken to excess

Maiguru: The word refers to an aunt, who is usually one's mother's older sister

Mainini: The word refers to an aunt, who is usually one's mother's younger sister

Marijuana: Also known as 'mbanje,' it is an illicit, yet popular drug in Zimbabwe

Masaga: This refers to grain bags

Mdhara: The word is used to refer to an elderly person or a father figure

Msombodhiya: It is a highly intoxicating liquor which is also referred to as 'blue diamond'

Mugoti: The word refers to the African traditional cooking stick

Musika: The word refers to an African steering stick

Sekuru: This noun refers to an uncle or grandfather

Zed: It is a highly intoxicating liquor which is being imported from Mozambique

ACRONYMS

AAZ:	Action Aid Zimbabwe
AFCON:	African Football Cup of Nations
AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AR:	Action Research
AU:	African Union
AYSA:	Aces Youth Soccer Academy
AYSSF:	Aces Youth Sport and Soccer Foundation Trust
BC:	British Council
BP:	British Petroleum
CAF:	Confederation of African Football
CBD:	Central Business District
CDF:	Civil Defence Forces
CESVI:	*Cooperazione e Sviluppo* (Cooperation and Development)
CHAL:	Christian Health Association of Liberia
DDR:	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DFC:	Dynamos Football Club
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSW:	Department of Social Welfare
DUT:	Durban University of Technology
DVD:	Digital Versatile Disc
EFA:	English Football Association
ESAP:	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAR:	Football Association of Rhodesia
FC:	Focus Group
F4P:	Football4Peace
FIFA:	Federation of International Football Association
FRELIMO:	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GD:	Great Depression
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GG:	Girl Guides
GIZ:	*Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit*
GS:	Grassroots Soccer
HOS:	House of Smiles
HSM:	Holy Spirit Movement
HWC:	Homeless World Cup
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
INPFL:	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
IOC:	International Olympic Committee
ITR:	Identification, Tracing and Reunification
JIC:	(Zimbabwe) Join In Circuit
LN:	League of Nations
LRA:	Lord's Resistance Army
MNCS:	Malawi National Council of Sports
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
MGLSD:	Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development (Uganda)
MORE:	Model for Orphan Resettlement and Education (Uganda)
MP:	Member of Parliament

MPLA:	*Movimento Nacional de Libertocao de Angola*
MYSA:	Mathare Youth Sport Association
NAC:	National AIDS Council
NAWGC:	National Association of Working Girl's Clubs
NFAR:	National Football Association of Rhodesia
NGO:	Non-governmental organisation
NPFL:	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPO:	Non-Profit Organisation
OICI:	Opportunities Industrialization Centres International
OAU:	Organisation of African Union
OSSG:	Out of School Study Group
PSI:	Population Services International
PSL:	Premier Soccer League
PSZ:	Population Services Zimbabwe
REF:	Research Excellence Framework
RSA:	Republic of South Africa
RWC:	Rugby World Cup
SAfAIDS:	Southern Africa AIDS Dissemination
SANOC:	South African National Olympic Committee
SAN-ROC:	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SDP:	Sport for Development and Peace
SIDA:	Swedish International Development Aid
SLOIC:	Sierra Leone Opportunities Industrialization Centre
SRH:	Sexual Reproductive Health
SWC:	Soccer World Cup
TC:	The Centre
UDI:	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN:	United Nations
UNCRC:	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPF:	United Nations Population Fund
UNITA:	*Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Tatal de Angola*
UPDA:	Ugandan People's Democratic Army
USA:	United States of America
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
UZ:	University of Zimbabwe
SDP:	Sport for Development and Peace
SFM:	Sports Frequency Modulation
SLA/AFRC:	Sierra Leone/Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
SU:	Soviet Union
USSR:	Union of Socialist Soviet Republic
VFU:	Victims' Friendly Unit
VVC:	Volunteers for Vulnerable Children
WB:	World Bank
WC:	World Cup
WE:	World Education
WHO:	World Health Organization

YWCA: Young Women's Christian Association
ZAN: Zimbabwe AIDS Network
ZANU PF: Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU: Zimbabwe African National People's Union
ZCTU: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
ZIFA: Zimbabwe Football Association
ZNFPC: Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council
ZRP: Zimbabwe Republic Police

Part I INTRODUCTION

Chapter one introduces the background to the study, and gives an overview of the general statistics of the homelessness phenomenon, as well those that prevailed in post-independent Zimbabwe. This background also focuses on the political and socio-economic trends that in turn provide disturbing statistics on homelessness amongst the children. The chapter also looks into the research problem (1.2), which posits that, while children are the future of all nations, there have been lethargic efforts from society and government to address the root causes of homelessness in general and in Zimbabwe in particular. The overall objective of the study (1.3) is premised on how community football could be used as relevant intervention and an approach tool towards changing behaviour and attitudes of street children before they can be re-integrated into society. The research questions (1.4) focus on the existing trends among the homeless children in Harare, areas and communities that have used community football as a re-integrating tool and how football can be used as a focal point in addressing homeless street children's behaviours and attitudes before any form of re-integration. The significance of this study (1.5) rises from the assertion that homelessness among children has reached alarming levels in Zimbabwe, but with no clear reciprocating response from either the private or the public sector. The research approach towards my study (1.6) focusses on the sequence of my study vis-a-vis my main objective and my research questions. The overview of my study (1.7) relates to the chapter organisation for the whole study.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Overall, it was estimated that the world was host to some one million street children, in 1991, and projections then pointed to the number increasing to around 2 million by the year 2000 (Baker, 1999: 1). Their number might have increased in the 21st century, but what matters most is not their quantity, but their quality of life. It is also apparent that the causes, nature and extent of homelessness among children are similar worldwide. According to Muchini (1993: 2), the number of street children in post-independent Zimbabwe was increased by the Mozambican civil war of the 1980s. By 2005, Zimbabwe had approximately 12000 homeless children roaming the streets of the major cities (Thapaliya, http://www.globalpolitician.com- Accessed on 10/12/17). The current number of street children in the capital is debatable, especially in the face of continual new entries. Recent estimates put the daily numbers of children who visit the streets of Harare between 700 and 1 000 children (Interview with Enias Marama, 15/09/14). Causes of these high numbers of street children are embedded in the country's socio-economic and political status since the attainment of national independence in 1980.

Some of the policies that might have fuelled homelessness among children are, the *Economic Structural Adjustment Programme* (ESAP) of the second half of the 1980s, and the 2005 *Operation Murambatsvina* a clean-up exercise loosely meaning to clean 'dirt' (Kamete, 2007: 153). ESAP, which was a desperate ploy to cut costs, increase the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and create formal employment, was backed by the Bretton Woods International institution, such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This, unfortunately left the Zimbabwean economy holding on by a bare thread by the mid-1990's, with inflation rising from 23 per cent in 1991, to 42 per cent at the end of 1998 (Mwanza, 1999: 3). What might have increased the figures of children finding their way into the streets was the fact that production halted, resulting in 4 per cent of children aged between 10 and 14 years turning their attention to informal employment, especially given that 48.5 per cent of the urban and rural dropouts could not afford the resultant fee schedules demanded by schools (Ibid, 21-25).

Perennial droughts, and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), have only exacerbated this position. Recent research by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has listed the following as reasons that force Zimbabwean children onto the street: becoming orphans, 30.7 per cent; abuse by parents, guardians and care-givers, 18.3 per cent; committing an offence and running away from home, 6.4 per cent; employment, 7.3 per cent and earning income for family, 35.3 per cent (http://www.unicef.org-Accessed on 10/12/17).

Political differences between the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in the 1980s, and between ZANU PF and the Zimbabwe Commercial Trade Union (ZCTU) led, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), from 1999, could also have fuelled the homelessness of children. It is this light this, much has been done in post-1980 through the sheer effort of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Marima et al., 1995). The recent phenomena also clearly show that the source of the country's homeless street children by the turn of the 21st century has been from both, rural and urban areas.

I chose football as an intervention, because it is one of the most popular, simplest and cheapest sporting activities, especially at community level. It was in light of this that this study sought to assess the potential of using football, also referred to as 'soccer,' to facilitate the re-integration of homeless street children in Harare into their paternal and maternal homes, NGO run homes and education systems, among others that the children deemed necessary in their lives. Zimbabwean football has predominantly retained amateur status and is relatively untainted by the politics of the day, especially at club level, while the environment created by the sport is largely informal and relaxed. It is with this in mind that the research sought to facilitate the collaboration of former players of the game, an NGO, among other relevant players.

1.2 The research problem

Children are an anchor for future generation of every country and anything that threatens that perspective creates a challenge to this ideal situation. While many studies into issues that pertain to homeless street children are well documented, there have always been lethargic

responses to the root, underlying and immediate causes of the problem. While most national governments in developing countries have remained theoretical, leaving most of the practical initiatives to the non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the relationship between them is usually suspicious. In addition, the NGOs shoot themselves in the foot by not collectively coordinating their efforts towards healing the fractured lives (Anderson, 1999: 15-20). In this light, it might be argued that the situation for the homelessness African children has not been positively transformed. Additionally, the policing instruments of the governments as represented by the members of parliament (MPs), city councils and police forces, have been found to be vindictive most times when responding to the presence of the homeless street children, especially before national functions. Overall, the homeless street children are not part of long-term plans of most countries, in general, and the Zimbabwean case is not exceptional.

Comparatively speaking, the causes of the homelessness of children are similar the world-over. In the case of Zimbabwe, the country's history has been infested with politically-motivated direct and structural violence since the attainment of independence in 1980. In the process of the uneasiness of the political and socio-economic structures of the country, the children have been living in squalid conditions as families fight for survival. This has proved expensive from the economic and social point of view, especially given that these children's negative behaviour and attitudes have been shaped by their living conditions and vice-versa. Reciprocally, they have generally been perceived as a nuisance and beyond redemption. Moreover and to the stretch of my mind, not much research on homeless street children has been done in Zimbabwe in recent times.

It is with this in mind that this action research, therefore, intends to investigate, alongside all relevant parties, including victims, the possibilities of addressing the livelihood of the Harare homeless street children at community level, through the use of football, with the aim of transforming their current living conditions, attitudes and behaviours, before they are re-integrated back into their paternal and maternal homes, or NGO run institutions, the education system, or they have acquired certain relevant papers, and so forth.

1.3 Overall objective of study

The overall objective of this study was to assess the potential of using community football to help facilitate the re-integration of the homeless street children in Harare.

1.4 Research questions

This thesis will attempt to meet the study objective by answering the following research questions:

1. What is the nature, extent, causes and consequences of homelessness of children in Harare?
2. How has sport been used elsewhere to build peace and help to re-integrate marginalized people?
3. Can community football be an effective way of helping the re-integration process of street children in Harare?

1.5 Definition of key terms

The term 'children,' refer to any human being who is below the age of 18 years (Article 2 of the *African charter on the rights and welfare of the child.* Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49). The definition of a 'child' by the defunct, Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is similar to that of the United Nations (UN) (Article 1 of the *Convention on the rights of the Child*, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989). I also have to mention that traditional definitions and perceptions of 'child' differ, according to different societies as determined by one's social status or qualified, for instance, by one's marital status. It is in this vein that Archard (1993: 27) defines 'childhood' as the stage after infancy, but before adolescence. The operational definition of a 'child' in this research bears similarities with that of the former OAU and the UN.

The above definition of a 'child' will also provide an understanding of the 'homeless street child.' There are children who are homeless, but who are not necessarily street children. At

the same time, there are street children who are not necessarily homeless. This means there could be problems in making a distinction between children 'of' the street and children 'on' the street (Bourdillon, 1994: 518). The former depicts children who spend their days and nights on the street, but would go to their respective homes during the night. Different titles, such as 'urchins,' 'street kids,' 'homeless children,' have been used to define these children. Scharf et al. (1986: 262) called them 'strollers.' It might be argued that some of these titles sound derogatory and fail to render such children a face. In this study, I adopted the use of 'homeless street children,' as a working definition of the boys and girls of under-18 years, who are temporarily or permanently on the streets of Harare.

Re-integration is complex and refers to a myriad of intertwined issues. These include health and basic needs, family control, establishment of positive relationships, creating opportunities for formal education and income-generating programmes and psychosocial support (Verhey, 2001: 21). The concept, which has mainly been used in the rehabilitation of former child soldiers, can also be referred to as 're-insertion.' In this study I will adopt 're-integration' to refer to acts characterised by socio-economic, and to a lesser extent, political efforts to transform the life of the homeless street children.

The efforts to re-integrate street children cannot be separated from the concept of conflict transformation (CT), which Lederach (2003: 14) explains as "life-giving opportunities for creating change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction with social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships." Lederach's definition of conflict transformation points to the fact that, at the centre of all conflicts are human relationships, yet conflicts can lead to better comprehension of oneself, as well as other people, if well administered. That means the conflict transformation lens looks at the proximate cause of conflict, how it can be solved and how it can lead to better relationships at all levels of human existence. In this study, conflict transformation is synonymous with Lederach's definition of this term and together, with the homeless street children, their guardians and my assistants, I seek for the best solution for their lives around the game of football in Harare.

1.6 Research approach

This study considered mainly, the re-integration of the Harare homeless street children through football and was conducted between 2014 and 2016 through qualitative design study. The study was conducted with an accumulating number of 36 Harare-based homeless street children, the majority of whom were under-18, who volunteered to be part of a football project. I deliberately worked with the personnel that were already involved in working with the children under Volunteers for Vulnerable Children (VVC), which, by the end of my study, worked under the auspices of the Italian NGO, *Cooperazione e Sviluppo* (Cooperation and Development) (CESVI). The majority of these children would come to the organisation's House of Smiles (HOS) for lunch, bathing, resting, and undertaking education lessons and for football. As I discovered later during my study, the coming of the children to the House of Smiles was very erratic and inconsistent. Together with three coaches, two of whom went on to be my assistants, we identified and addressed some of the relevant exercises for the children, as we related the game to their lives, as well as identified and addressed existing gaps in terms of training equipment, such as footballs, uniforms and cones. The children were also already involved in some relevant activities, such as reproductive health, among others, which also later became a highlight of my study, despite not having contributed much in the area. Being an action research, I collected data through semi- and unstructured individual and collective interviews, focus-groups, observation, supplementary questionnaires, and a conference. This study specifically sought to determine the effectiveness of using community football as a vehicle towards changing the homeless street children's attitudes, behaviours before they could be re-integrated (context).

1.7 Overview of the study

Chapter one of my study will look into the background, the research problem, overall objective of the study, the research questions, and the research approach. Chapter two discusses some of the relevant existing and upcoming theories applicable to the homeless phenomena, such as conflict-transformation and Galtung's ABC triangle-model. These theoretical frameworks seek to examine how conflict can be perceived as a positive tool for social change, and how human behaviour and attitude can be shaped by certain negative and, or, positive contexts or environments. Chapter three examines some of the existing and

developing theories on homelessness. These are meant to examine the nature, extent, consequences and the multifarious causes of homelessness amongst children. Chapter four discusses some of the groups that have faced challenges similar to those of the homeless street children and that needed re-integration, such as former child soldiers in the African context. In addition, the chapter also looks into some of the African examples where attempts have been made towards re-integration of homeless street children. Chapter five explores how sport has been used as a double-edged sword towards separation and pacification of society. It also discusses how community sport in general, and football, specifically, can be an intervention towards the re-integration of the street children. Chapters six and Chapter seven discuss and justify the research design and research methods used in this study, respectively. Chapter eight assesses some of the causes and experiences among the homeless children who are associated with the NGO, CESVI, that the children I worked with in this study frequented daily, and how the experiences in the street context have shaped their behaviour and attitudes. Chapter nine analyses collected data on how football was being used as a re-integration tool amongst homeless street children that were part of project 'Destiny,' alongside other programmes. Chapter ten continues with data analysis vis-à-vis re-integration and how the homeless street children define how they perceive their near and distant future. Chapter eleven reflects on and evaluates the impact of my study on the children who were involved in its different levels. Chapter twelve presents the conclusion of the study and the recommendations.

Part II LITERATURE REVIEW

This part of the study comprises of four chapters that focus on the relevant literature in a number of areas.

Chapter two addresses the existing and nascent theories of conflict, especially those that act as feeders into individual and societal or group dynamics.

Chapter three will seek to answer research question number one by reviewing relevant literature on the causes, nature and consequences of street life, and how this connects with some of the theories that address the phenomena.

Chapter four will seek to answer research question number two by reviewing and examining literature around the experiences from one of the groups that have faced similar experiences to those of the street children in volatile times, and have witnessed a lot of re-integration in Africa involving former child soldiers.

Chapter five will focus on answering research question three by discussing literature that addresses the relationship between football and society. The chapter will seek to assert that, despite the fact that sport has been used as a double edged sword towards dividing, as well as pacifying society, especially at national and international levels, there is potential to promote re-integration and peaceful living through community sport.

CHAPTER TWO: RELEVANT PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORIES

2.1 Introduction

The causes of conflict are varied and, will take up the suggestion by Galtung (1996), of the possibility of getting positive results out of formerly negative attitudes, behaviours and contexts as reflected in Figure 2.1 below. That means the flip side of negative attitudes, behaviours and contexts, are the possibilities of growth, development, reconciliation and better relationships between the involved parties. Later chapters will focus on the causes, course of conflicts and negatives of conflicts, most of which have resulted in children flocking to the streets of Harare. It must be mentioned here that these children's attitudes, and behaviour will become wholly or partly altered. Positive change in attitude and behaviour can result in peaceful co-existences between street children and society, including their families of origin, and the same could be said vis-à-vis positively and intentionally altering the children's living conditions, which might result in their change of attitude and behaviour. These changes can only be effected if account is taken of the fact that along the way, there would have been loss of trust between the involved parties, which makes re-integration difficult, especially if it involved attempts to return the children into their paternal and maternal homes.

2.2 Galtung's attitude, behaviour and context model

The Conflict Triangle

B: Behaviour

Observable Behaviour

Underlying Interests

A: Attitudes   **C: Context**
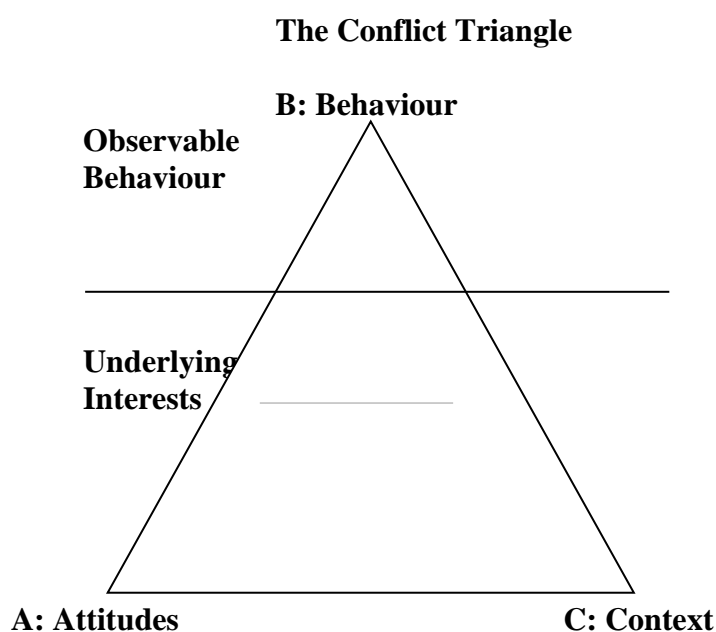
Figure 2.1: Galtung's ABC Model (1969)-Adopted from Miall et al. (1999: 14)

Galtung's ABC triangle model (Figure 2.1), while it helps to shed light on the current social relationships, between the homeless street children and other parties, it cannot always work alone (Miall et al., 1999: 14-15). Essentially, the model points to the context, which is also referred to as, 'contradiction,' or 'situation,' which includes the actual, or perceived 'incompatibility of goals' between conflicting parties. Right at the centre of the conflict, are relationships and conflicts of interests based on attitudes, which are the result of the parties' perceptions and misperceptions of each other (Ibid). These could be either negative or positive and could lead to stereotyping of each other and of themselves, leading to emotions, such as fear, arrogance, anger, bitterness, intolerance and hatred (Ibid). Behaviour explains the pragmatic gestures that signify conciliation, or hostility (Ibid).

The fact that behaviour and attitude are results and not necessarily causes might have given credence to Ramsbotham et al. (2011: 176) focus on context more than on the former two, in terms of where peace practitioners might have to focus their transformation endeavours. This might be suggested that the writers implied that positive transformation of the contexts, which usually involve political, social and economic status, will have a positive influence on societal behaviour and attitudes and hence lessens possibilities of negative or violent conflicts. My research was premised on the assumption that street children's behaviours and attitudes were shaped by a mainly negative contexts or environment in which they were ejected from paternal and maternal homes and forced onto the street, where they encountered further negative experiences at the hands of those that they faced.

2.2.1 Attitude

Attitudes are one area that Galtung's ABC model (Figure 2.1) emphasises, and it is appropriate to recall the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) assertion that conflicts, including those that result in war, begin in the mind (See Hegel, 2015: 251). People's thoughts can be negative, as well as positive, with the latter giving hope to the conflict transformation processes examined later. Ramsbotham et al. (Ibid), posit that, especially in asymmetrical conflicts, or those conflicts that favour others at the expense of others in terms of positions of power and access to resources, but might end up in violence, tend to result in attitudes of bitterness, hatred, fear, anger, arrogance and

intolerance, amongst others, which might be further grouped into the emotive (feeling), cognitive (belief) and conative (desire, will) elements.

The aforementioned elements are not causes, but results, especially in cases where the strained relationship is asymmetrical. That might mean that all modes of how individuals and groups express themselves are non-existent or manipulated by the more powerful elements. Red flags pointing to the impending violence are usually observable in transparent systems, with institutions, such as the media, playing a significant role. When people's needs and wants appear not to be addressed, it might result in violence, which is behaviour. It is unfortunate that society's response to impending chaos is slow, especially if there are no bodies to count.

2.2.2 Behaviour

Figure 2.1, which is also derived from Galtung's model, also focuses on human behaviours. It is with this in mind that most systems and organisations would wait until a certain behavioural stance shows amongst individuals and groups. Violence can be premeditated, in as much as it is impulsive, but, whichever route it takes, this is the worst stage of any given conflict, and it is observable, as well as being unobservable. As noted below, violence can be direct or indirect.

2.2.3 Direct violence

The most obvious of all forms of violence are acts that lead to physical harm to other people (Jeong, 2000: 19). Killings, beatings, violent demonstrations, raping and maiming, among other observable acts, can happen in war situations and in interpersonal situations, and they all depict direct violence at work. The intentions of violence are to try and harm and vanquish the opponent quickly, so protractions are not intended at all. Jeong (Ibid, 19-20), postulates that while inter-personal violence might be perpetrated during a robbery, in revenge missions or honour attacks, these use organised violence to gain foreign policy goals, for example. The latter position might also be seen in revolutionary acts and acts of and mass violence, usually perpetrated at national levels. Whatever the case, all of this leads to injuries and to death of people. Illegitimate violent acts are usually perpetrated by military forces,

militia, prison systems and concentration camps, with modern-day proto-types being the mass killings of the Jews in Nazi Germany, mass killings of Indonesians and Cambodians in the 1960s and 1970s (Ibid).

While the ABC conflict triangle-model remained essential to my study in elaborating the homeless street children attitudes, behaviours and living conditions, the intended results of re-integration were found in the concept of conflict transformation (CT). Lederach (2003: 14) asserts that conflict transformation, "is the envisioning and response to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and responding to real-life problems in human relationships." Lederach's definition points to the fact that, at the centre of all conflicts is human relationships, yet conflicts can lead to better understanding of oneself, as well as others. The definition also postulates that conflicts are processes, whose solutions are also processes that create better vision for the betterment of relationships, hence with this lens, conflict transformation looks at the root cause of a conflict, how it can be solved, and how it can lead to better relationships. This is vital since this study sought to facilitate the reconnection and connection of the homeless street children, where possible, with their immediate families or with other institutions, such as foster homes, transit centres, education processes, and social amenities, among others.

2.2.4 Indirect or structural violence

It appears a difficult task to understand the dynamics and consequences of indirect violence. It has to be mentioned here that indirect violence, which can also be termed 'structural violence,' can be a stepping stone to direct violence. For instance, this can be seen operating in cases where the structures are perceived to be violating certain individual and group rights, either in the political, social or economic realms.

To begin with, the vindictiveness of structures against certain groups, say, along tribal, racial, religious, gender or other lines, can boil down to perceptions. Yet in certain cases abuse of rights is quite apparent. As a result, structural violence is a highly contended area between the perpetrators and the victims or survivors. Ramsbotham et al. (2011: 11), mention an example where children become victims of circumstance and die due to poverty, as an

example of structural violence. Cases where structural violence used to show its ugly head included the political and socio-economic system found all over colonial Africa. The case of apartheid South African quickly springs to mind. The same could be said of post-colonial Africa leading to the fairly recent civil strife in the likes of Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Mozambique, and Angola, on an endless list of certain groups having problems with sitting governments.

Sitting administrators will normally argue against the existence of structural violence. In his assessment of the reasons for ethno-political conflicts, Gurr (1996: 63), while arguing that cultural identities based on common descent, language and belief are more enduring and stronger than all other collective identities and provide the basis for political mobilisation, clearly shows that structures usually cause relative deprivation. While such a position makes it easier for leading elements to mobilise discontenting groups, unjust deprivation so often acts as a motivating factor in most countries that have faced political and socio-economic crises. Situations might worsen and deteriorate into total chaos in cases where draconian methods or systems are used to try to silence the protest of those who are being discriminated against.

While some of the street children have faced direct violence, in most cases, both, at parental homes, as well as in the streets, it has to be understood that the structures or context in which they function are fluid and in some cases, difficult to control or alter. Consequently, and whichever way one looks at it, there were several cases where the street children felt more at ease being in the street, than in an abusive home. This is not to understate the challenges that they face in the streets, and in several cases, the street itself is being more perilous than the home environment, given the rape cases, drug abuse, perennial running battles they have to encounter and the unfriendly weather they have to deal with. This is also not to water down some of the challenges that act as pushing factors from the children's homes, such as those who have parents that are abusive and abuse illicit drugs. As I discovered during my study, the street is a wide field, where survival of the fittest is the game, and where it is difficult to address the concerns of the young people, who at the end of the day, find themselves back in the same volatile streets of Harare. As a result, by end of the football sessions and discussions, the majority of the street children would relapse, as a result of the evolving, and abusive street life. It was with this in mind that discussions around foster and transit homes cropped up, especially in those cases where it was felt they could not be taken back into their

natural homes. Without a holistic approach to the challenges faced by the street children, it will always be difficult to understand and address the structural violence that is faced by the street children of Harare.

2.3 Individual versus societal needs

As already discovered in the cases where children end up in the streets of the majority of the major cities, those found in Harare are not peculiar. Most of the societal rules and regulations or societal norms are shaped and implemented at immediate or extended family level and these, despite the fact that at times they are collectively determined, and are never written down. These are passed from one generation to the other and if someone violates these, they become an outcast and might end up in the streets. Burton examines the volatile nature of societal norms, as basic individual needs are often at loggerheads with societal needs. He implies that over so many centuries, there was an assumption that societal needs should be more relevant than individual needs, with the society attempting to attend to such needs coercively, resulting in deviant behaviour that in time has destructive consequences for society (Burton, 1990: 34-56). In other words, Burton suggests that there should be symmetrical relations between societal or communal needs and individual needs for the furthering of social stability. Structural norms, in which value systems are part of the nuance, have been discovered also to violate individual human values. It is within these complex premises that the world-wide street children phenomenon has been found in earlier and recent times.

Situations that push children into the street are varied and complex, and as already discovered, deviant behaviour is not a challenge found among the children only. Parents who are susceptible to political and economic hardships and drunken behaviour have also been found to push their children into the street. In addition and through socialisation, society, which could be in the form of the immediate family, would have accepted and tolerated such behaviour of a parent. Worse still, culturally, a child cannot easily challenge a parent. The unfortunate part about attempts at reconciliation and re-integration is that some situations, or contexts or contradictions are difficult to transform and address, which makes the exercise a futile one. Consequently, children opt to stay in the street, rather than get back into a volatile situation. Overall, I discovered that it is easier to work towards transforming behaviours and

attitudes of the street children, but the same cannot be said of the situation that would have pushed them from home in the first place. It is with this in mind that some of the children were apprehensive of going back to the places of birth, since they argued that there would be no alterations to their relationships with their immediate family members, whose behaviour and attitude towards them might not have improved. As a result, some of the children would opt to permanently stay in the streets or temporarily go home.

2.4 Approaches to conflict

With differing results, Miall et al. (1999: 5-8), opine that human response to conflict situations is the result of concern for-self vis-à-vis concern for others. Consequently, yielding, compromising, withdrawing, contending and problem-solving, are positions that human beings take impulsively or by pre-meditation (Ibid). It is not always a given that an individual or society takes one rigid position, because there are circumstances, for instance, when these different approaches are used by one individual or a group at different times. As a result, such individuals and groups might opt or are forced to withdraw or yield, before arming or rearming, only to get back into the trenches to contend or to fight it out at any given opportunity.

It might be argued that during a conflict, yielding might portray a low concern for self, at the expense of other parties (lose-win); withdrawal usually shows ill concern for self and others or for relationships (lose-lose); contending or fighting it out projects selfish victories and the expense of other parties (win-lose). Let me hasten to say that contending usually leaves wounds amongst so called losers, even at the negotiating table. This might present an opportunity for the future hurting-generations to rearm and fight it out against the so-called 'winners.' Compromising is more-or-less like a divorce situation, whereby, the estate is shared amongst the interested parties. The resultant outcome is a win-some, lose-some. Each of these approaches to conflicts had those that tended to defend them. For instance and naturally, the neo-Marxists might have thought that there were no alternatives to unshackle colonialism and capitalism without contending against the white regimes.

Alternatives to the aforementioned approaches to conflict is problem-solving, in which concepts, such as 'corroboration,' 'conflict resolution,' 'conflict management' 'conflict

transformation,' and 'peacebuilding,' among others, are embedded. This is what contributes to the final and fifth approach discussed below.

2.4.1 Problem-solving

Prior to the First World War or during the period when monarchical administrations were entrenched, especially from the time of the 1789 French Revolution, it seemed as if contending was the best language understood by the oppressive regimes. All of a sudden, the Third-Estate or the group that comprised the downtrodden peasantry class saw contending as the best option that they had against sitting monarchs. As a result, such groups, alongside a growing number or merchants and mushrooming urban dwellers, saw a window of opportunity to contend for political, civil and socio-economic liberties.

One could argue that the period soon after the First World War saw social and political compromises that had dire consequences, especially in the 1990s, as different ethnic groups that had been bunched together out of the efforts of the League of Nations (LN), forming countries, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, crumbled. The resultant power vacuums created spaces for the growth of rampantly brutal and demagogic regimes, such as Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR), which subsequently caused the Second World War. Problem-solving appears only to have gathered momentum well after the 1945 period, as society attempted to prevent violent conflicts.

As already mentioned, it is the problem-solving stage where terms, such as 'conflict prevention,' 'conflict management,' 'conflict resolution' 'corroboration' and 'transcendence' apply. However individuals have attempted to define these, they are signs and symptoms that individuals and groups of societies are seeking for collective solutions to their political and socio-economic challenges. There are some who have argued that peace practitioners play around with semantics hence such a myriad of definitions are all referring to the same issues. It is not the intentions of this study to join the deep debates concerning such definitions.

What is apparent though is the fact that there has been a lot of apprehension with regards to the use of certain terms, such as 'conflict management,' which gives the impression that human beings and their experiences can be ordered in such a way that they can be

manipulatively managed. 'Conflict-prevention,' has also been taken to task in recent times, as it suggests that all conflict can and should be prevented, yet what it should call for is the prevention of destructive kinds of conflicts (Ramsbotham et al., 2011: 8).

The conflict resolution subject became topical during the 1950s and 1960s, or at the height of the Cold War, when the development of nuclear weapons appeared as a threat to human survival and Ramsbotham et al. (Ibid, 4), suggest that the pioneers of the concept were from different disciplines, such as those that had to do with international relations, industrial relations, domestic relations, communal relations, family relations and even individual relations. It is apparent that, despite having fought on the same side, or as Allied Forces, during the Second World War, the superpowers, especially as represented in the policies of the Soviet Union (SU) and United States of America (USA), or the communist and capitalist fundamentals that they represented, respectively, had come to a life-threatening confrontation. Apparently, the field mutated and rapidly grew, and at that time a number of countries set up peace studies' research groups.

2.5 Towards a genesis of conflict transformation

With the catastrophic historical punctuations of the First and Second World Wars, society always perceived conflict as negative, and there were inevitably a lot of misgivings expressed towards the early peace protagonists who might have used terms and phrases, such as 'conflict management,' 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict prevention,' among others. It has recently been argued that these terms have had their short-falls in their attempt to address all kinds of conflicts.

While Burton (1990: 48-55) has defined 'conflict' as deeper struggles that result from unsatisfied human needs, the term itself has been defined differently and the controversy has been wide-spread. For instance, there are those who have viewed and used 'conflict' to refer to 'consensual' conflicts over interests or those conflicts where disputants want the same thing, as opposed to 'dissensual' conflicts over values, or a case whereby disputants do not want the same thing (Ramsbotham et al., 2011: 9). It is apparent, though, that parties involved in conflict would be faced with mutually incompatible goals, highly different from, for example, conflicts found in economic and sporting competitions, which are regulated

through some rules. It is with this in mind that Ramsbotham et al. (Ibid) suggest that conflict transformation might have to be understood as the deepest level of conflict resolution, rather than a departure from traditional conflict resolution.

Semantic alterations have been suggested by Lederach et al. (www.beyondintractability.org- Accessed on 14/05/15), who apparently found themselves sandwiched between 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict transformation,' with the latter still having its theory at the developing stage. For some time, individuals and groups had got used to the former and there was hesitancy when the latter was introduced. What appears to bond Lederach et al. to a pro-conflict transformation stance was its nature, which included positive perception towards conflict and potential towards positive change, promotion of interaction in human relationships, creation of opportunity to grow and increase comprehension of self and others, potential to move away from destructive, to constructive processes, yet using the same energy and zeal, reduction of violence and increase of justice, and the promotion of human relationships. What appears to be the concern of Lederach et al. is the fact that the concept of conflict resolution is now-looking, as individuals and groups seek for immediate solutions to end an undesired situation, as well as content-centeredness, and short-sightedness, as compared to the long-term goals intended by conflict transformation, which has at its core, promotion of human relationships. According to Ramsbotham et al. (Ibid, 31-32), conflict transformation might have to be viewed as a step beyond conflict resolution, since it represents the deepest level of conflict resolution in the attempt to transform institutions, as well as conflicting parties and their relationships, while such efforts correspond with underlying tasks of cultural and structural peace-building.

This being the case, it might be argued that conflict resolution is a stepping stone towards conflict transformation, which so often results in a win-win situation for all the involved parties, and Table 2.1 below shows that while related, conflict resolution's focus on content, is complemented by conflict transformation's focus on human relationships. That might mean that content on its own or outside relationships might not be the way to go.

As also reflected in Table 2.1, merely ending the negatives, as suggested by conflict resolution, show how limited the concept can be hence the suggestion for conflict transformation, which calls for the end to destructive tendencies, as well as for seeking to collectively build something that is desirable. The positives found in conflict transformation,

(in comparison to other methods of attempts to find solutions to challenging positions, such as conflict resolution), include its attempt to promote constructive change, a focus on symptoms (root causes) of challenges and the search for durable solutions (See Table 2.1 below). In addition, where conflict resolution provides for short term solutions to conflicts, conflict transformation tends to provide for an attempt to address the root causes of the impasse. This has the tendency to lead to long term relationships between individual and communities.

Figure 2.1 also emphasises on the fact that, while the conflict resolution perspective focuses on the destructive nature of disputes and conflicts, conflict transformation positively emphasises on how conflicts can lead to pursuit for positive change and positive relationships. Overall, Lederach et al. (Table 2.1) do not argue for the irrelevance of conflict resolution, but for the fact that on its own, it would be limited hence the suggestion for conflict transformation, which is more embracing.

	Conflict resolution perspective	Conflict transformation perspective
The key question	How do we end something not desired?	How to end something destructive and build something desired?
The focus	It is content-centred	It is relationship centred
The purpose	To achieve an agreement and solution to the presenting problem creating the crisis	To promote constructive change processes, inclusive of, but not limited to, immediate solutions
The development of the process	It is embedded and built around the immediacy of the relationship where the presenting problems appear	It is concerned with responding to symptoms and engaging the systems within which relationships are embedded
Time frame	The horizontal is short-term	The horizontal is mid-to long range
View of conflict	It envisions the need to de-escalate conflict processes	It envisions conflict as a dynamic of ebb (conflict de-escalation to pursue constructive change) and flow (conflict escalation to pursue constructive change)

Table 2.1: Comparison of conflict resolution and conflict transformation-Adopted from Lederach et al. (www.beyondintractability.org-Accessed on 14/05/15)

In addition, there has always been a temptation to import solutions, in the form of ideas and resources to indigenous conflicts, which might in the long run prove a negation to people's creativity. It is with this in mind that Lederach, quoted in Miall (www.edoc.vifapol.de-Accessed on 06/04/15), postulates that conflict transformation must envision and include respect, promote cultural and human resources from a given setting. At the same time, there is the suggestion that this is very possible without seeing people and the setting as the problem and the outsider as the answer, but understanding that the long-term goal of transformation is building on people and resources within the setting. Such a suggestion goes hand-in-glove with the principles that shape action research, which point to solutions having to come from within the participants or the existing systems and cultures.

In the case of my study, it was imperative from the beginning that working with the street children, former footballers, organisations that look after them, and so forth, would ultimately lead to creative ways on how their lives could turn around for the better after using football as the point of entry, and vehicle for social change.

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the view that there is evidence that conflict is inevitable, and with proper management, most conflicts provide pertinent lessons for participants, and for current and later generations. Galtung's triangle, which focused on the context or environment, attitudes and behaviours has withstood the test of time, and remains applicable in the majority of situations in the contemporary world. The author's presupposition that certain contexts result in certain attitudes and behaviours, whether perceived negatively or positively, applies to the situation of the homeless street children also, but it is the assertion that conflict can lead to growth through the understanding of self and other people that is most critical.

It is from the notion that positives can be derived from well-managed conflict that conflict transformation is premised. Whether it is a matter of semantics or otherwise, in comparison to other terms that have been used, such a 'conflict resolution,' 'conflict management,' or 'conflict prevention,' conflict transformation is a reality in that is seeks to or better still, gives leverage for the rebuilding of relationships, because of its long sightedness, its inclusivity and focus on addressing the root causes of the conflicts.

The situation of the homeless street children is not an exception in terms of how so many positives can be derived by the children or those in the business of attempting to resolve their issues, as well as other parties, such as the state and paternal and maternal families, so long as their issues and concerns are addressed correctly, and seek to preclude all forms of direct and indirect violence that are a threat to all forms of relationships.

CHAPTER THREE: HOMELESS CHILDREN

3.1 Introduction

The literature review stage in this study looks into the homeless street children phenomenon, and tries to examine its nature or what characterises the life of a street child, extent or the magnitudes of the experiences of the child, the causes of homelessness among children that end up in the streets of Harare, and the consequences or impact of such a life on the child. Alongside these, I will also examine some of the existing and developing theories on homelessness.

3.2 Nature of homelessness

As already alluded to, there are different kinds of street children, with some of them not necessarily lacking accommodation, but resources, such as fees, food and so forth. The generating factor for such children is poverty, and a number of them could even be seen accompanied by elderly persons. These street children are usually referred to as being 'on the street,' since they are looking for resources in the form of money and food during the day and return for home in the evening (See Marima et al., 1995: 1).

A difficult group related to children 'on the street' is the one that only appears or thrives during the national events, or when large crowds gather for national functions. Often these are children who sleep, both, on the street and at home. Whether it is children 'on the street' or 'of the street,' cases that involve children are complex and it is apparent that their challenges and problems might need to be addressed nationally, and, possibly, internationally.

Then there is a very distinct group of young people, usually referred to as street children 'of the street,' since they are permanently stationed in the urban streets (Basnet, 2001: 17). This group naturally presents the most challenges to citizens, city fathers, local authorities and the police and it includes the majority of street children around the world.

The genesis of the argument around the position of a child in society seems to be of an early date. Rousseau, who is widely credited for pioneering how the modern world views

childhood, according to Archard (1993: 22), criticized those who sought for a man in a child hence he argued that, a child is a morally innocent being, who needed liberty of expression. It is without doubt that during the 17th and 18th centuries, when there was much contention between religions and between religions and political and socio-economic strata, the position of the child became topical. For example, the Puritans argued that a child is born with original sin emanating from the one committed by Adam and Eve, therefore, should be disciplined (Ibid, 37-38). This study does not seek to take sides on the definition of a child, nor its innocence or lack of innocence. Overall, this study is of the view that society has the responsibility of taking care of the child at all levels. In doing so, the study might be perceived as running parallel to other protagonists, such as the United Nations and authorities, such as Holt (1975) and Farson (1974). Unfortunately, most of the calls for the protection of the child were drowned out by other contending issues, such as the societal position of women, among others.

From what has been found from the literature so far, there is a general consensus that the numbers of homeless street children is on the rise in a globalising world. It appears that a number of the world's non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and national governments have tried to curb the problem, but with little success, mainly due to antagonistic relations, between the NGO and national governments, and at times, due to lack or misuse of resources, or mere misunderstanding of how to deal with the phenomenon. This has also made it difficult, if not impossible, to attend to the causes of the phenomenon. Unfortunately, as has been noted so far, most of the homestead challenges that would fuel homelessness among the children are a mirror of the political and socio-economic challenges and complexities found at national level.

To an extent, some modern children have found enough fostering individuals and organisations that can partly play the role of parents. For example, warmth for the underprivileged can be found in positive school experiences, churches and other socially oriented organisations. Unfortunately, the opposite may also be true, as some children may also face serious challenges in these same organisations. The same can be said of children who fail to portray resilience at home, but in the street. For instance, out of Aptekar's (1990: 97) findings in Cali, most homeless street children's behaviours are productive, appropriate and show psychological resilience, yet they may have failed to cope at home.

Research has shown that there are overlapping themes as a child grows up. It is in this light that the focal theory, which is concerned with how the young people cope with changes to their lives, was developed by Coleman. His study on 11, 13, 15 and 17-year old boys and girls, focused on a number of relational themes, such as self-image, being alone, sexual relationships, parental relationships, friendships, and large group situations (cited in Stein, 2006: 426). The findings showed that attitudes to the aforementioned themes could change according to age. For example, conflict with parents would reach peak at 17 years, and sexual anxiety would reach peak at 11 years (Ibid). Overall, the theory assumes that certain relationship patterns come into focus. Coleman's theory is different from developmental stage theory in its flexibility hence it does not attempt to come up with fixed boundaries.

Developmental theory might have shot itself in the foot by coming up with a hierarchical structure in trying to understand a child's development. The concept would, for instance, legitimise youth violence, because it is a stage at which a child is expected to be violent. Homeless children have been found to have unstable childhood development, thus have been found to have development delays, are withdrawn and insecure, and have learning difficulties (Anooshian, 2005: 139). What appears to be a challenge is the later stage of child development, when it becomes difficult to tie children to one particular stage.

It is thus increasingly difficult to block children into William's child development hierarchy. William, cited in Anooshian (Ibid: 67-70), states that a child goes through the following stages, pre-moral behaviour, expediency authoritarian, intuitive morality, conformity judgments and altruistic morality. Overall, the stages look into the child's responses, practically and emotionally, according to the environment of nurturing. Despite its anomalies, the structure may be useful in broadly explaining the experiences that a child goes through in a given society.

While the effects and impact of war on children is covered in the later chapters of this study, it has to be mentioned here that Apfel et al. (1996: 37) assessed the developmental approach in the relationship between children and adults. Accordingly, they examined the Eriksonian stages of child development, which include the infancy stage (birth to 18 months), toddler stage (18 to 36 months), pre-school stage (3 to 5 and half years) and the elementary school stage (5 and half years to 12 years). It is important to note that, unlike most authorities who look into child development thesis, they suggest that a child's life should not be pre-

determined since each child has the potential to fluidly become many different kinds of child (Ibid, 38). In addition, there is the suggestion that, caring adults can do much to nurture and contribute towards what a child will become in future. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that the authors were suggesting that children should not always be portrayed as innocent souls. For instance, and as to be suggested in the later chapters, the innocence of children, especially in war situations, is contentious. The same can also be noted when it comes to the case of street children in general.

The classic strain theory was developed by Merton (1938; 1957) and Cohen (1955) Cloward and Ohlin (1960) (cited in Yalmaz et al., 2015: 168-169). The theory argues that crime occurs due to failure to reach monetary gains through legal avenues. Merton cited in Yalmaz et al. (Ibid), suggested that accessibility to legitimate opportunities to achieve a goal is limited by the social class differences found in society. Indirectly, he suggested that those in the lower classes do not only experience strain manifested as frustration, but individuals from this part of the social strata are likely to seek alternative means to achieve goals. These means include illicit ones. The assumption has often been associated with the lack of confidence and self-esteem (Wood et al., 2010: 104). This perspective has been challenged by those who suggest that a gang's self-esteem might rise with successes through delinquent and anti-social activities (Ibid). One problem with the strain theory, despite its efficacy in explaining why some young people join gangs, is that it does not explain why most lower-class young people abide by laws of the land, and not seek to offend. Out of recent findings, 33 per cent of youths, who live in deprived communities and have never offended, would have suffered traumas, which include parental divorce and family estrangement (Ibid). According to Wood et al. (Ibid), it appears most gang members' attitudes and behaviours are determined by their current situation, than about the hegemonic future socio-economic strata blocked by social inequalities.

One prominent characteristic of street life is intertwined with survival or economic issues. This is the basis forming most of the 'push' factors amongst the majority of the street children, whether they are there temporarily or permanently. Street life for most of the homeless street children is based on control and survival of the fittest. As Marima et al. (1994: 17-19) discovered amongst the Harare street children, most of those under-18, are depended on chores that might be deemed 'legal,' some to the extent of entering into contracts of one form or the other, for instance, carrying bags, looking after vehicles,

hawking, selling of fruits and sweets and selling roses. While the flip side of Marima et al. (Ibid, 19-20) findings might have been a result of boys bragging about their escapades, there are always elements involved in illicit business, such as selling drugs and stealing from unsuspecting citizens, as well as from foreigners. Given that the majority of them usually live on hand-to-mouth, the majority of the homeless street children do not have a stable income.

One undeniable characteristic of the majority of the street children is drug abuse. While some children are not involved in drug trafficking, it is apparent that the majority smoke and use drugs of different kinds and this is probably for different reasons. Out of the finding of UNICEF (www.unicef.org-Accessed on 15/11/15), the majority of Zimbabwe's children 'of the street' are susceptible to the use of drugs and other intoxicants, as well as diseases, such as HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STIs).

3.3 Extent of homelessness among children

There has always been a challenge in the counting of the homeless street children mainly due to the fact that most of them are continually on the move and have no relevant papers, such as birth certificates. By the year 2002 it was estimated that there were about 100 million street children worldwide, with half of them in Latin America alone (Volpi, 2002: 4-5). These figures are and will always be disputed for some of the aforementioned reasons, yet it might be concluded that homelessness among children is a global challenge that might call for global remedies, as well as for focus on flows instead of stocks. Apparently, homelessness among children is fairly low in the USA and Western Europe, but the numbers might have risen after the drastic collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in the 1990s. Yet, the majority of these children are 'of the street' or what Volpi (Ibid, 5) calls 'hanging around' youth and 'street gangs.' Such suggestions are not exceptions, as they also apply to the Zimbabwe or to Harare in the case of my study.

The extent of the homelessness amongst children also has to do with gender. Overall, it might be argued that there are more male than female homeless children in the global streets, which might explain why Marima et al. (1995: 4-5) only managed to work with homeless boys in their research. As to be discovered later in my data analysis, this might not mean the

Harare streets only have boys, but a result of the girls having their bases on the outskirts of the city, from where they play the role of wives and mothers, and would rarely get into town. So often, some of the girls might opt to get into prostitution, rather than get through the challenges that their boy counterparts have to deal with, such as washing cars, stealing and robbing, selling roses, sweets, newspapers and begging. As Bourdillon (1994: 518-519) also discovered, it was estimated that Zimbabwe's main urban centres had around 5 per cent of the street children being girls, which might have been attributed to families' apprehension in letting their girls onto the streets. This might have also included cases where the girls might run away from home, to which families might have responded by contacting personnel who work with organisations that deal with homeless street children, so as to try and locate the girls. Current trends and ratios might not be very different from those of 1994, because girls have remained largely fewer than boys on the urban streets. During the 1994 period the homeless street children were making enough money to earn a reasonable life out of street chores (Ibid, 18), a position, which might have altered with the passage of time.

In one case in Ghana, the Kumasi Street Children Project (www.adamfoghana.com-Accessed on 11/01/16) has been dealing with and counselling young sex-working girls at the racecourse market, some of whom are as young as 12 years. The project has been dealing with a group of young people who are participating in prostitution to cover areas that include self-defence, rape, education and HIV/AIDS (Ibid). Positively, the project offers opportunities to those willing to leave prostitution and to get into school and vocational training, with all these processes being part of the re-integration process.

3.4 Causes of homelessness of children

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                    │   Children 'on the street'    │
                    │   Children 'of the street'    │
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   ┌─────────────────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────────────────┐
   │ Push factors:               │      │ Pull factors:               │
   │ (Socio-economic &           │      │ (Socio-economic &           │
   │ political-direct &          │ ───► │ political-direct &          │
   │ indirect)                   │      │ indirect)                   │
   │   ✓ Loss of guardian(s)     │      │                             │
   │       • Limited or no       │ Inter-│  ✓ Peer pressure           │
   │         education           │related│  ✓ Lures of city life      │
   │       • Poverty             │Factors│  ✓ Economic independence   │
   │   ✓ Abuse                   │ ◄─── │                             │
   │   ✓ Political unrest        │      │                             │
   │   ✓ Lack of education       │      │                             │
   │   ✓ Committed offence       │      │                             │
   │   ✓ Income earning for      │      │                             │
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Figure 3.1: Pushing and pulling factors that lead to homelessness among children (Also see Basnet, 2001: 37)

While it might be asserted that different communities have a myriad of reasons and experiences that end up witnessing many young people in urban streets, there are so many similar pushing and pulling factors across cities and towns of the world, as summarised in the above diagram (Figure 3.1). Accordingly, the most prominent push factors that lead to homelessness amongst young people are related to the socio-economic status and politics of the day. Under these and as shown in Figure 3.1, are the loss of guardianship, which leads to limited or no access to education, abuse, political unrest, committed offences and limited family earnings.

These push factors, which result in children 'of' and 'on' the street, are interrelated to the pull factors, and Figure 3.1 show that the pull factors are also a result of the macro and micro social, economic and political status, and in this case they also include peer pressure, lures of city life and economic independence. To an extent, a child might need to have a connection with street life, with those on the streets or have some knowledge of the streets before they strive for street life.

Related to efforts to curb children's push for street life and to their credit, Wood et al. (2010: 105) emphasised that parental supervision and constructive punishment, at the expense of corporal punishment, could limit youth delinquency. It is in this vein, that they support the view that homes with criminal parents are unlikely to take cognisance of their children's criminal behaviour. In addition, single parents have also been found failing to adequately monitor a child's behaviour, leading to wild behaviour on the part of the children.

Apparently, and in most cases, homeless street children blame someone for their plight. The attribution theory asserts that such children may act aggressively as they at times erroneously think that other individuals harbour malevolent ideas against them. This paranoid perspective can be, both, imagined and real. According to Anooshian (2005: 139), homeless students are often ostracised by peers, are stereotyped, feel ashamed and embarrassed hence they will attempt to hide their identities, especially in public places and public institutions.

The poverty theory, like the attribution theory, attempts to explain the cause of homelessness among young people. There are authors who have connected anti-social behaviours in society to poverty and these contend that poor national and family economic status may lead to child delinquency. Annoshian (Ibid, 141) connects extreme deprivation, delinquency, and violence to crime. The author argues that human strength and resilience only witnesses the resilience of some, but without diminishing the importance of the link between social exclusion and violence. In their research in Latin America, Rizzini et al. (1995) had similar results. The question is whether or not economic pressure will lead to despondency in developing countries resulting in urban migration (Swart-Kruger et al., 1997: 958). While marrying poverty with low education, Matchinda (1999: 251) is even more radical by suggesting that large families on low incomes, compounded by the influence of authoritarian and violent parents, can be a recipe for child delinquency.

It should not always be assumed that poverty on its own explains the homeless phenomenon among children. For instance, Reffaelli et al. (2000: 1432-1433) study in Brazil show that poverty can be a peripheral cause of child homelessness, by falling behind other reasons, such as conflict, abuse and freedom, with poverty ultimately becoming a consequence for some of the children who find themselves on the street. It also has to be argued that there are some traditional communities, more-so in Africa that might still associate large families with wealth, which in turn leaves some of the children vulnerable at some given moment in their lives. These theories show that there is need for theory-knitting, which refers to the integration of existing ideas into a new framework (See Wood and Alleyne, 2010: 107). It involves the identification of common ideas that are unique in existing theories, so as to avoid the loss of positive ideas. Unfortunately, there is still little that is known about what transpires in the life of street children in Africa.

In her research of the Nepalese children and as already partly highlighted, Basnet (2001: 18-21) identified some of the prominent macro and micro reasons that act as pushing and pulling factors for the creation of street children, such as economic challenges and poverty, family discords leading to lack of parental guidance or some abuse, inadequate education, search for liberty, lures of the urban centres, peer influences and political conflicts.

The Ugandan case, along with other civil wars that have haunted independent African states, such as Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, left behind a trail of child abuse, as the state governments and the belligerents used child soldiers in equal measure. Such family fragmentation also led to the creation of millions of homeless children. The sad Ugandan problem started in 1986, when Yoweri Kaguta Museveni assumed power, yet it took a short period of time for his administration to be challenged by the likes of Alice Lekwena and her Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), The Ugandan People's Democratic Army (UPDA) and Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistant Army (LRA), leading to civil strife that has decimated Ugandan ever since, especially in the Northern parts of the country (Weber, 2013: 1). For a country facing civil war, such as post-1986 Uganda, where disorder and lack of state control are experienced, HIV/AIDS and other terminal diseases become rampant, and lead to high percentages of vulnerable children and orphans. Consequently, it was estimated that by 2006, Uganda had about 6.5 million, mostly in the Northern parts of the country, women and children living with effects of conflict, while around 2.2 percent of the children were said to be orphans under the age of 15 (Ibid, 5). It has been under such prevailing

conditions that Ugandans have had to do something in order to try and address the challenges that the country still faces. It was with this in mind that the Ugandan government started to take a critical look into homelessness among the country's youths.

The Ugandan Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development (MGLSD) maintains that poverty is one of major contributing factors that led to homelessness among children, with its devastating effects felt in communities and families, whilst it also impacted negatively on the physiological well-being of the concerned (Jacob et al., 2004: 3-4). It appears that many of the negative effects leave a trail of miscalculations among the rural folk, who perceive the city hubs as better alternatives, and the same could be said of other causes, such as war, boredom, loss of parental control, lack of the very basic education, among others (Ibid, 4). One odd contributing factor observed by Jacob et al. (Ibid) comes as result of charitable organisations and individuals, who entice children to come onto the streets. This phenomenon can only be explained in terms of such organisations and individuals unwittingly creating hope in the young people by providing food handouts and other goodies. MGLSD attempted to curb such a challenge by banishing handouts, and if such handouts need to be distributed, then this be done as part-and-parcel of the learning and working experiences of the children (Ibid). The AIDS/HIV pandemic, as observed across the whole African continent, more-so, sub-Saharan Africa, was also discovered to be a major threat to most Ugandan families, and despite the fact that the disease's effects had ebbed by the early 2000s, it was projected that the figures of children getting on the street would not subside (Ibid). By 2005, it was estimated that Uganda had more than a million orphans who lost their parents due to the AIDS/HIV pandemic (Ibid, 4-6).

An area that has mostly been neglected by most authors, and may consequently call for further research has to do with the indoctrination of children through the media, which in turn, can feed into homelessness among the youths. While the African media fraternity is often biased where it exists, its influence on the young people is usually understated. Winn (1977: 99) is one of the limited numbers of those who comment on the negative effects of all forms of media on innocent and youthful children. The author's argument is that, "It is particularly hard for parents to buy the idea that television instigates aggressive behaviour when its function in the home is so different." Unfortunately, the influence of the media on the young and old is so subtle and latent that it is often underrated and understated, to such an extent that negative results are never attached nor assessed in terms of the media's influence.

The complex media terrain reflects that forms of media can be used as a double-edged sword, to pacify and perpetuate negativities in young people. Countering the former assumption could be the argument that some forms of media prevent children from becoming delinquents by keeping them occupied. At the same time, the opposite is also true, especially in cases where the media propagates propaganda.

Winn might have done a research in the American society, that by the late 1970s had alternative radio and television stations and newspapers, but the African media fraternity has proved polarized in the majority of countries, especially those under brutal, manipulative and demagogic political administrations. For instance, a number of countries, such as Zimbabwe, where this research took place, would have a single television station under state jurisdiction. Most such stations, in fact, are an inheritance from the period of colonialism. It is with this in mind that the direct and indirect impact of the media on the children leading to the 1994 Rwanda genocide may need revisiting.

What seems to cut across most visual media is the nostalgia for violence on the part of the audience, the bracket in which this becomes an item for concern is that of the under-aged. For instance, it is now generally estimated that more than 80 per cent movies, whether on television or in cinemas, use violence as a solution to underlying problems in the movie. This appears to run parallel to Winn's concern in America, when the author asserted that between 1951 and 1953, it had been discovered that there was a 15 per cent increase in violent incidents on the television screen (Ibid, 101). Between 1954 and 1961, the percentage of prime-time programming devoted films featuring violence went up from an average of 17 per cent to about 60 per cent (Ibid).

If such statistics were worrisome by the end of the 1970s, then they should be worse in modern times, because it is clear the market prefers violent programmes over more peaceful alternatives. Questions arise, as to how the media can influence people's decisions, in general, and children in particular. Particular attention should be given to those that end up in the street or on the warfront as child soldiers. What exacerbates the situation is the fact that young people now spend more time on all forms of media, such as television, radio, internet, and so-forth. The area of the influence of the audio and visual media may need further assessment, but their impact has been felt in the likes of Rwanda, before and during the 1994

genocide, as well as influencing people's decisions, whether for better or worse, in the likes of America, especially over responses to wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq.

3.5 Consequences of homelessness of children

A child's migration onto the street might be a personal decision, or a result of other independent variables embedded in the political and socio-economic status of the day. It is with this in mind that the majority of homeless street children are found in developing countries. Consistently, the overall nature or characteristics in the street show that there are more boys, than girls (Veale et al., 2003), use of intoxicating products, sex abuse is prevalent (Kudrati et al., 2008) and the relationships with the police and public in general are usually strained.

For a child to abandon home for the street there has to be a crisis somewhere, within, or outside the family system. What is also apparent is the fact that national problems tend to choke family systems. According to Miall (1999: 5-8) and as I have already highlighted in Chapter two, human beings respond differently when confronted with crisis that concerns themselves or others. Individuals and societies tend to yield, withdraw, contend, compromise, or problem-solve. In most of the findings so far, most children prefer to withdraw from situations they deem perilous, leading to some getting into street life. He adds that this behaviour will lead to a loss for self and loss for others (Ibid). In this case it could be the family, but even countries tend to lose in one way, or the other if the problem of homelessness is not curbed. Thereafter, the behaviour of the child is capricious, depending on the situation (Scharf et al., 1986: 273). For instance, out of the findings of Kaime-Atterhog et al. (2008: 13-15) in Nakuru, Kenya, most children would withdraw onto the street, and tend to fight it out, especially through gangs. The inconsistency is also revealed in Conticini's (2008: 423) study in Ethiopia, where children on the street protect each other against other peers and they can call each other 'parents and brothers.' Inconsistence does not only make the phenomenon difficult to understand, but also difficult to find the right therapy for the problem. One way out will be to contextualise the problem.

To an extent, Miall's assertion is similar to Anooshian's (2005: 138) social learning theories, which state that children observe and model aggression and violence. In cases where they are

faced with diverse stresses, especially those associated with being on the street, they are highly likely to adopt strategies reflecting their own observation of aggression and violence. She adds that one of the coping strategies would be to withdraw from situations so long as the child has observed a similar strategy being used (Ibid). The author further argues that aggressive behaviour can be perceived as an adaptive response of the children to an unsafe and stressful environment (Ibid). While this may be true, the concept should not be rigidly applied to all cases. For instance, it has been observed that siblings of homeless street children do not necessarily join street life (Young, 2004: 473).

This is probably why the resilience theory becomes applicable in some cases. Stein (2006: 427-428) defines resilience as that quality, which enables some young people to achieve and fulfil their dreams despite the adversities found within and without their households (Ibid). Werner et al. cited in Stein's (Ibid, 427) study of children in Hawaii greatly supports the resilience perspective, against various adverse conditions, such as malnutrition, parental mental illness, chronic illness and poverty. Against all odds, some children have been able to cope and recover from adversarial situations more than others. Stein (Ibid, 428) has concluded that for resilience to occur there should be pre-conditions. Therefore, he developed other theories embedded with resilience. For instance, through the 'triarchic' framework, ecological theory and structural organisational perspective, the risk and protection relating to children are linked to families and the wider society. It is added that the process is grounded in coherence and continuity, but at the same time the child may opt to make an individual sound, or unsound decision (Ibid).

The control or social bond theory developed as a direct response to the strain theory, and it examines why some young people do not offend. The theory posits that the breeding ground for delinquency is curbed by social bond, which operates as part of psychological constructs, for instance, an individual's conscience (Wood et al., 2010: 105). However, collapse of social harmony can lead young people to think and act according to natural inclinations and without emotional remorse. Wood et al. (Ibid) initially connected the theory to the justice system as a curbing measure to delinquency. The authors (Ibid) added that there is more to the justice veneer, in the form of other people's responses to the child's behaviour, which might explain the child's actions and thoughts. Consequently, so long the child loves and dreads his or her parents, he, or she is bound to appreciate their rules (Ibid).

A dynamic that all researchers are bound to find among the street children pertains the different age groups involved. The older the homeless street child gets, the more manipulative he or she becomes, at the expense of the younger ones, who are sent on errands. It is also clear that once a street child get older, the more difficult it becomes for him or her to continue begging on the streets hence notoriety for resorting to dependence on those who are new to the streets. The more one gets entrenched in street life, the more likely he or she is to resort to criminal activities, in addition to showing symptoms of emotional dysfunction (Basnet, 2001: 4). Bourdillon (1994) might have come across a group of *monyas*[1], which Marima et al. (1995: 4) failed to come across, yet hierarchy-abuse amongst the homeless street children of Harare cannot be said to be non-existent. Without taking anything away from the researchers, the capricious nature of the lives of the homeless street children might have led to this perspective (Also see Blanc, 1994: 331).

There is also evidence that early arrivals in the street might not only be abused, as they get initiated into street life, but this group is a lot easier to work with for the groups working for the children's re-integration into family or foster homes. In other words, the more the child stays on the street, the more radical he or she becomes and the more difficult to re-integrate him or her. It is with this in mind that most organisations that deal with homeless street children seek to get access to them soon after their arrival on the street. Bourdillon (1994: 526) highlights a profound story that points to the difficulties of taking street life out of those who would have spent some time on the streets, when he gives an example of Dr Edward Antonio, a former homeless street child, who, despite having evolved into a university lecturer, often thought of getting back onto the streets. Relapse is one huge problem for most homeless street children, especially those that would have stayed on the streets for long periods.

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter examined the extensive literature that has been written on the nature, extent, causes and consequences of homelessness among children. In addition, it also discussed some of the theories that focus on the phenomenon that has not spared many communities of the world. Homelessness among the children is a universal crisis and there is evidence that

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[1] *Monya* is a Shona word, which means someone big in stature.

the majority of the influencing factors that prompt a turning to the streets are premised on the national political and socio-economic vicissitudes, to which the homeless street children of Harare are not immune.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHILD SOLDIERING IN AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

In order to comprehend the ordeals and challenges that street children go through during their tenure on the street, as well as during their re-integration, there is need to assess some of the re-integration experiences of child soldiers. Most of the information that we have has to do with the re-integration of former soldiers, more than with that of the homeless street children, and this gave impetus to this chapter. The overlap also means that war itself is one of the main causes of homelessness among young people, pushing a number of them onto the streets.

4.2 Overview of concern for children in war situations

By the turn of the 21st century a number of realities concerning use of children in armed conflicts became apparent. Some of these were that the majority of armed conflicts involved child soldiers. Technological advancements of weaponry and proliferation of small arms lured more children into combat, since the weapons were easier to operate. Children were likely to join wars due to being separated from families. The majority of recruits were from poor families that had limited or no access to education systems. Others were orphans and refugees, and for those living in combat zones, both, boys and girls were vulnerable to recruitment, while most of the involved children were coerced into perpetrating violence against family members and neighbours (Lacina et al., 2004: 148-149). While involvement of children in wars is as old as human life, there had been few treaties that considered, or recognised the existence of child soldiers. This resulted in little or no concern for their welfare, which meant that, in the majority of the situations, they had no proper rehabilitation and re-integration possibilities.

Another reality was that use of children as combatant was most rampant in Africa, where the following figures of child soldiers were estimated to participate in combat by end of the 20th century or in the early years of the 21st century; Angola had 3 000, Chad 600, Congo-Brazzaville between 7 500 and 10 000, Liberia 15 000, Sudan 17 000, Sierra Leone 7 000 and Uganda 20 000 (Ibid, 159).

What became apparent about the consequences of the impact of the war situation on children has less to do with the negative effects of direct engagement, but more to do with the resultant indirect deaths of which at the centre are also children. In other words, participation in war indirectly affect society, since threats to government and pockets of society in general lead to heightened cases of poverty, diseases, pestilences, suicides and other negative phenomena that become difficult to control. Lacina et al. carried out a post-independence comparative study on battle deaths and war deaths in Sub-Saharan Africa and the results illustrated in Table 4.1 below, show that battle deaths are lower than deaths caused by results of conflicts,

Country	Years	Estimated total war deaths	Estimated battle-deaths	Battle deaths as a percentage of total war deaths
Sudan (Anya Nya rebellion	1963-1973	250 000-750 000	20 000	3-8%
Nigeria (Biafra rebellion)	1967-1970	500 000-2 million	75 000	4-15%
Angola	1957-2002	1.5 million	160,475	11%
Ethiopia (not including Eritrea insurgency	1976-1991	1-2 million	16 000	2%
Mozambique	1976-1992	500 000-1 million	145 400	15-29%
Somalia	1981-1996	250 000-350000	66 750	19-27%
Sudan	1983-2002	2 million	55 000	3%
Liberia	1989-1996	150 000-200 000	23 500	12-16%
Democratic Republic of Congo	1998-2001	2.5 million	145 000	6%

Table 4.1: Battle deaths as compared to total war deaths in some Sub-Saharan conflicts- (Lacina et al., 2004: 159)

The statistics in Table 4.1 highlight the negative impact of the civil implosions suffered by the mature and the young people in post-independent Africa's. The table show that civil war in countries, such as Sudan, Nigeria, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, Liberia and DRC suffered more deaths from the consequences of wars than war itself. While such statistics also include adults, children were also involved as perpetrators and victims or survivors.

It was with the above considerations that serious international concern and debate on children involved in direct violent or armed conflicts took off in 2000, after a six-year discussion between member governments. In January of the same year, there was an agreement on a new international treaty that prohibited use of children as combatants (Ibid). While the new protocol on children established that the minimum age be set at eighteen years, the convention critically asserted that while a child is anyone under the age of eighteen, in armed conflict situations the age was lowered to fifteen years (Lacina et al. (2004) (www.un.int/usa/sres1261.htm-Accessed on 15/04/15).

What culminated into the *UN Security Council Resolution 1460* was a result of debate that was generated by the Secretary-General's eye-opening report on children that were involved in armed conflicts (Ibid). The call was for an era of pragmatic application of international standards and norms, so as to protect children that were caught in the middle of armed conflicts; for parties involved in the recruitment of child soldiers to immediately curb the exercise; for support to the Secretary-General's intentions to enter into dialogues with parties involved in armed conflicts, yet recruited children into their ranks; for the post-conflict peace processes, agreements, recovery and reconstruction settlements to consider child rights and for the integration of their well-being and for serious consideration of *UN's resolution 1379 of 2001*, which called for the end of recruitment of children into armed conflicts (Ibid). According to Cahn (2006: 414), the problem has not been the lack of a legal instrument to protect the children, and promotion of their civil rights, but the lackadaisical implementation of the rights that would protect the children, at the same time holding them accountable for their actions.

4.2.1 The African terrain

Historically and for centuries, the involvement of children in wars could have been part of acceptable norms, especially in most traditional civilisations that mush-roomed the world over. The same trends could be discovered in the military structures of the Zulu people among other traditional African civilisations of pre-colonial Africa. The disintegration of these ancient states only furthered the kind of states found in modern-day Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana and Malawi. It cannot be disputed that other ancient civilisations that showed up in the Americas, Asia, Europe and Australia had similar acceptable norms within their structures.

In more recent time and during the 1939 to 1945 Second World War, concern was raised pertaining to how the likes of Hitler's and Mussolini's administrations recruited and indoctrinated the under-aged into military ranks (Vautravers, 2009: 79). The Hitler Jugend (Hitler Youth) consisted of young boys, who received quasi-military training as part and parcel of structured political programmes that sought to maintain and further the Nazi indoctrinations. Most of these boys later got involved on the war-front, especially as the Second World War became unmanageable for Hitler's regime (Ibid, 99).

On the other front and during the wars of independences in Africa, there are signs that children left schools for the war front in the likes of Mozambique, Algeria, Zimbabwe and Angola. Without much supervision, despite the efforts of continental and international organisations, such as the Organisation of African Union (OAU) and the United Nations, respectively, to monitor what was going on, it appears it also became acceptable in the warring parties, such as the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the *Movimento Nacional de Libertacao de Angola* (MPLA), that school children could join their ranks. These school children might have been of varied ages, although most of them would re-join school later in their lives.

One area that also remains contentious and may need further research has been the role of the youth leagues that were found in most African political organisations during the struggle for independence and after the attainment of independence, and, in more recent times, in African civil wars.

Post-colonial Africa was optimistic that the post-independence period would witness unprecedented political and socio-economic development, and those who were perceived to perpetrate seeds of disorder through pessimism against the new order were taken to task. In any case the likes of Kwame Nkrumah had argued that political liberty would compel all the other pieces of the puzzle to come into line. It was also in this context of joy-riding and ululations, that little was put in place towards the re-integration of former guerrilla or freedom fighters, among other groups that might have called for re-integration into societal life, in countries that sent sons and daughters into the bushes to fight for independence. Whether or not all this was a result of inexperience or sheer arrogance or a mixture of both on the part of the new administrators may need further research. It was in this political and socio-economic euphoria that most issues, including how to attend to the street children phenomenon came undone.

The aforementioned euphoria did not end there, since soon rather-than later, independence celebrations had to come to an end, whether these celebrations had been within national budget, or not (Badsha, 2002: 18). For instance, despite sitting on rich mineral deposits and great agricultural potential, in 1980, Sierra Leone is alleged to have incurred huge debts by hosting a meeting of the OAU, and in the process was unable to repay its national debt (Ibid). The country soon ran out of rice and fuel. Additionally, there were electricity black-outs and there was rising unemployment among the young people. This created a niche which culminated in a civil war. Lavish celebrations, including birthdays of national leaders, among other behaviour of the new administrators left most national budgets so thin that Africa was soon sitting on a time-bomb. The fact that some of the new administrators inherited ballooning colonial debts mostly to the Bretton-woods international institutions only exacerbated the situation. Therefore, political and socio-economic implosions became inevitable and with varied consequences, such as being out of school and not participating in productive and developmental chores, being deprived of health care, among other social amenities, yet acting as, both, perpetrators and victims. By 2004, it was estimated that there were more than 42 raging wars and armed conflicts mostly in the developing countries of the globe, with 80 per cent of those involved on the war front considered to be children (Schauer et al., 2010, 312-314). Unfortunately, the majority of these children, especially given that the majority of victims are naturally civilians, are left with limited options, since remaining a civilian would not curb victimisation. As a result, carrying a gun sounded a better option.

4.3 The causes and nature of child soldering

For one to understand most of the challenges faced in the attempt to re-integrate children, whether they have a background of being street children or were involved in civil war situations, there is need to look into how these children could have ended up being involved in these kind of wars in the first place.

Beginning in West Africa, where most Francophone and Anglophone countries started to gain independence in the early 1960s, it needed approximately 10 to 15 years of independence euphoria, for reality to sink in. Civilians took to the streets in anger and in the worst situations the military would put stop-gap measures in place by taking over the running of the countries. Civil strife was experienced in African countries, such as Nigeria, Ghana and Algeria. It appears that in such circumstances the participation of children was minimal or no-one bothered to keep an eye on the participation of children. By the mid-1980s the use of child soldiers by government forces and belligerent forces had reached alarming levels in countries, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mozambique and Uganda, among others. This was also at a time when governments proved they could not provide all forms of security nor offer delivery services to civilians, hence communities had to take care of themselves and along the way, there was no-one accountable for any misdemeanours. The capricious nature of the African borders, in addition to how the borders had been structured during colonial periods, only meant most challenges had to be viewed regionally. Easy access to small arms, especially after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, took the challenge to new levels. Consequently, it was estimated that there were approximately 300 000 child soldiers worldwide by 2010, with about 8 000 in the Eastern DRC alone (Pauletto et al., 2010: 36).

In this chaos, child soldiers, most of whom would have been left behind by escaping families, became easy targets for both incumbent governments and rebelling groups. With few alternatives, most of the under-aged boys and girls took up arms, but with little understanding of what they fought for or against and with little protection from anyone. Overall, it was soon apparent that children were equally innocent and guilty in war situations. Singer (2010: 79) gives frightening statistics of the involvement of children in wars, as he argues that one of the challenges faced by the world today is that generals, terrorists, warlords and rebel groups alike, are finding that conflicts and wars are easier to start and harder to end. He further

asserts that by the turn of the 21st century under-18year old soldiers formed some 10 per cent of all global combatants, serving in 40 per cent of the world's armed forces, terrorist organisations and rebel groups and fighting in some 75 per cent of the world's conflicts (Ibid). What is more shocking is the fact that some of the youngest child soldiers have been found on the African continent, with the youngest recorded being a 5-year-old boy involved in the Ugandan civil war (Ibid). It is clear that almost every continent has had its own share of the use of child soldiers. In most cases where children have been involved, they have been on the defensive and offensive, especially as they would seek to revenge loses of family members. One area that is not part of this research and which may need further research is the role of children in the Islamic jihads that have become a concern in modern times, more-so, after the September 11, 2001 plane bombings in the United States of America (USA).

Honwana has done an extensive research on the involvement of child soldiers in civil wars that took place in the former Portuguese states of Mozambique and Angola with horrendous discoveries. The difficulties in rigidly defining a child have been discussed in previous chapters, so such grey areas will not be discussed here. In the Angolan civil war, Honwana (2005: 37-51) discovered that the MPLA government and the *Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola* (UNITA), among other African organisations that battled for liberty from the Portuguese, recruited child soldiers to their ranks in the belief that conscripting those still in the maturation process would lead to easier susceptibility to ideological conditioning. This systematic inclusion of children is usually based on the assumption that children are easier to manipulate and indoctrinate, and on their part, the children will have little or no regrets about their actions. It has also been argued that abductors and mentors of child soldiers would believe that they possess excessive energy and, once trained, they carry out their duties and attacks with more vigorous enthusiasm and brutality when compared to their more mature counterparts (Ibid, 38).

Reasons for the use of child soldiers may vary from one crisis to the next hence the perils of using sweeping statements. The argument highlighted by Bennett (1998: 27), that shortage of adult manpower due to war, poverty, disease and general exhaustion lead to the abusive use of child in combat is contentious. Yet it appears the different levels of civil wars would witness the involvement of child soldiers for all the varied reasons. In other words, it has been discovered it would take a number of years into the civil war to have involvement of child soldiers, which would partially exonerate Bennett's assumption. According to Honwana

(Ibid, 38-39), it was discovered that in Mozambique and Angola there were calculated and intended moves to recruit children into military ranks. There are traces of children being crudely and brutally abducted from their families and coerced into joining military ranks of all camps involved in the civil war (Ibid).

Singer (2010) has done an exceptional job in his assessment of the involvement of children in war, especially in civil implosions. He lists five points into which some of the case studies may fall, in relation to the consequences and reasons for the involvement of child soldiers. According to this author, children make more effective soldiers, particularly when infused with religious or political fervour or when under influence of narcotics; they also present a paralysing dilemma for the opposition since it is not easy to shoot an armed child; they are easy fodder for the opposition parties and can be used to identify enemy and landmine positions and, lastly, they can be used anywhere and by anyone (Ibid, 84-85). Most of these consequences and reasons have proved true in the Ugandan, Congolese, Liberian, Sierra Leonean, Sudanese, Guinean and Ivorian civil wars.

There is also evidence of young people joining different sides in civil wars on a voluntary basis. Some of them might join for ideological reasons and are aware of the aims and objectives of the war being waged, but this may not apply to all volunteers. Studies that took place in Central Africa showed that about two-thirds of child soldiers involved in combat around year-2000 had been recruited voluntarily (Cahn, 2006: 419). In addition, there is also evidence of children being indirectly forced into wars. Honwana (Ibid, 41) cites some of the coercive methods used to coax and coerce young people to join war. These could be intimidation, promise of physical protection, social pressure, access to food and shelter and assurances of leverage for exercising revenge. All in all, the dividing line between voluntary and coerced involvement is rather blurred, which makes accountability difficult during the rehabilitation and re-integration periods.

Abandonment of children and boredom in war-times leave children with little alternatives, but to join different warring elements. In such a political and socio-economic vacuum, it is apparent that the power of the gun becomes a symbol of power and security, especially if the state fails to provide any sort of aid.

There is no question that most of the child soldiers are usually ill-trained and terribly equipped for war, therefore, they are prone to death on the war-front. Even if there is little consideration for most child soldiers, it seems there is a lot of indoctrination and psychological manipulation to prepare them for war and for subordination to existing bureaucracy. These exercises have only made their rehabilitation and re-integration the more difficult. As indicated by Robinson (2012: 49), there is clear evidence to show that many conflicts last the whole of childhood, culminating in cases where involved children experience a number of cumulative assaults. Indoctrination exercises have also varied according to different contexts.

Manipulation of firearms and use of narcotics are part of the early exercises carried out by the newly-recruited children. Most of these children, who would not have been provided with any form of security by their families, or by the state, all of a sudden see new hope of invincibility under some haloed leader. Osama bin Laden, Charles Taylor, Foday Sankoh, Alfonse Dhlakama and Jonas Savimbi spring to mind as examples of such a leader. Early physical training, in fact, is meant to prepare and condition the child for psychological indoctrination. According to Honwana (Ibid, 41), the child should be helped learn to dehumanise fellow human-beings and make them into targets, as well as to cut himself or herself off from all forms of feelings or caring and connectedness to the community. Especially in the former Portuguese states of Angola and Mozambique, there are signs that the belligerent forces attempted to cut-off the new child recruit from society in the form of family, friends and community at large. They would go through phases that included having to endure long periods in the darkness, severe beatings and deliberate instilling of terror and the belief that there was no retreat from their new life. This continuous indoctrination would later on usually prove difficult to reverse in rehabilitation and re-integration attempts in both countries. On most occasions, the young soldiers would be coerced by RENAMO and UNITA to watch renegade colleagues and captured government troops being executed as a way of remoulding their identities (Ibid).

While most of these children would be coerced and coaxed into carrying out raids in unfamiliar territories, there could have been times when they would be sent into areas from whence they came for the sake of making sure they would not dream of ever going back there. All early chapters of their connections to those places would be cut-off when they would terrorise, and in the worst situations, they be forced to kill relatives and friends. The

majority of them are thoroughly brainwashed, while morality is totally lost, till what is apparently negative is perceived as good. One 12 year-old child in the Columbian civil war was quoted as saying "If you join the paramilitaries, your first duty is to kill. They tell you, 'Here you are to kill.' From the very beginning, they teach you how to kill. I mean when you arrive at the camp, the first thing they do is kill a guy, and if you are a recruit they call you over to prick at him, to chop off his hands and arms" (Tiefenbrun, 2007: 424).

Most of these children would also be forced into altering their names. Honwana (Ibid, 42) reports that horrible deeds and combative morale were enhanced by abuse of *marijuana* and gun powder by the young people. The power of music would usually witness the new recruits singing specific and propagandist songs, usually the whole night, also as a way of getting rid of their memory altogether. In the worst situations, and this might not have been the case in all situations where child soldiers have been directly involved in war, they would be forced into drinking human blood, especially that of their early killings (Ibid). In most, if not all the African civil wars, there is the use of local herbal medicaments and *Inyangas* or witchdoctors to create the impression of invincibility, fearlessness and to protect the combatants. Overall, belligerent organisations, such as UNITA and RENAMO appropriated and manipulated languages and symbols that resonated deeply when it came to local systems and this was part of their objectives and aims.

Children naturally become easy prey when their society shuns them for one reason or the other, leading some of them to join belligerent forces. Consequences of poverty, poor harvests, unemployment and so forth, make children, among other vulnerable groups, scapegoats. Cahn (Ibid, 414) suggests that while traditionally, women and girls were accused of witchcraft, due to economic and social disruptions that were experienced in post-independent Africa, there has been a new trend, whereby girls and boys have had to bear the brunt together. In other words, the cropping up of religious groups has also resulted in accusations and counter-accusations in a desperate African society, and at the centre, are children who are accused of sorcery. For instance, in the first decade after the turn of the 20th century, Congo, Kinshasa, had about 100 000 street children, with approximately half of the figure being girls and boys accused of witchcraft (Ibid). While Cahn posits that this is a result of poverty in general, there is evidence that in most African societies, such situations create a safe haven for desperate elements, which end up recruiting young girls and boys.

Each civil strife situation is unique, and reasons for the participation and involvement of children also vary. Technological advancement and the proliferation of military hardware, especially the small arms, such as hand grenades, machine guns, rifles and pistols have only accelerated the recruitment of young people. In addition, easy access to the small arms also results in protracted wars. The situation is also fertile for abuse, especially in those situations where the state would have failed to provide adequate security to the citizens. The implications are that small arms are now being used if not abused for defence and attack purposes. Another dimension is the regionalised movement of these small arms and personnel, for instance in Central Africa.

Tiefenbrun (Ibid, 428-429) raises a number of reasons for the recruitment of children into armed combat, including pervasive alterations to family structures as a result of devaluation of children in most societies. She argues that children are perceived as being beyond hope, and as expendable, yet the numbers of the young people have been burgeoning, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, Sub-Saharan Africa has the world's largest youthful population, with over forty-six countries thought to have around 70 per cent of their population under 30 years, yet these young people have been perceived as a threat to the contemporary African society (Sommers, 2011: 293). It is with this in mind that Sommers asserts that Liberia, for instance, ended up sitting on a time bomb, since the 1980s and 1990s political administrators mistrusted the national youth to the extent of socially and economically side-lining them. Therefore, the estimated rate of the unemployed youth in the country was at 88 per cent by the turn of the 21st century (Ibid). In the majority of post-independent Africa, the aforementioned trends have been apparent, yet these might have run parallel to the globalisation phenomenon, which might have left a trail of socio-economic dislocations. This might have resulted in uneducated young people, who in turn were and are coerced into illicit trade, such as the trafficking of humans, drugs and weapons. In other words, young people who are now limited professionally have found a safe haven in illegal business, and they become susceptible to recruitment war situations.

Terminal diseases, such as the HIV/AIDS scourge have also left behind abandoned children and orphans and this position is likely to expose vulnerable children to the lure of soldiering (See Vautravers, 2009: 103). In the attempt to fend for families and in their own defence, it is highly likely that children are now at the mercy of the belligerent groups and governments that might be interested in recruiting them.

A history of Uganda is punctuated by coups and countercoups since the country's attainment of independence in 1962, most of which had ethnic overtones, especially between the Acholi, Lango and the Buganda (Leibig, 2005: 3). Until the assumption of political power by Obote's supporter, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni in 1986, the country witnessed a political see-saw between Obote, Idi Amin Dada and Tito Okello. On the political front, Joseph Kony, who leads Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), came up as a representative of the Acholi people, and has attacked Museveni's administration from 1987, with emphasis on the northern parts of the country. While there are no questions about LRA's use of children in its ranks, the numbers of children involved remain guess work. By the middle of the first decade after the turn of the century, it was estimated that the group had abducted around 20 000 children since its founding in 1987, with about 4 500 taken aboard in 2002 alone (Ibid, 6).

Some of the reasons for fighting in Africa omit use of children as combatants. While some cases are clearer than others, the Ugandan case presents an odd example. The LRA primary goal is non-existent or misunderstood. The closest that the Kony and his military wing have come to being open about their motives has been their claim to fight until they establish a government that is based on the Ten Commandments (Ehrenreich, 1998: 80).

Yet there is evidence though that the LRA recruits children at times as young as under the age of 10 years to carry their loot, and get some of them into combat soon after. One of the youngest children interviewed went on to say:

> They beat us, then they made me carry some radios and carry the
> commander's gun. It was heavy and at first I was afraid it would
> shoot off in my arms, but it was not filled with ammunition (sic).
> We joined a big group and we walked very far, and my feet were very
> swollen. If you said that you were hurting they would say, "Shall
> we give this young boy a rest?" But by a "rest" they meant they would
> kill you, so that if you did not wish to die you had to say you did
> not need a rest (Ehrenreich, 1998: 92).

Apparently, the Ugandan civil war has witnessed the recruitment of children when most of them are physically unsuited for the loads and burdens that they have to carry on their young shoulders. The permeable nature of the African borders only means that the Ugandan children find themselves fighting in neighbouring countries such as the Central African Republic

(CAR) and Sudan. This also means that on most occasions, the challenge becomes regional and not necessarily national or domestic.

4.4 Involvement of girls in African civil strife

The implications, some of which might appear to do the girl-child, including the one on the street, a great favour, might require that I also examine their position in the African society and war situations. To begin with, there is evidence that African women of different ages played their part on the war-front during the struggle for independence, especially in the 1960s and 1970s in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Kenya, among others. Fanon (cited in White, 2007: 2-20) has written extensively on such a role in the Algerian war of independence. While Fanon promoted the inclusion of women, and resisted patriarchal tendencies in post-independent Algeria, he also pushed for the recognition of the sexual role of the sex workers as political actors (Ibid). Unfortunately, Fanon, who asserted that while they were involved in the struggle for national independence, women were also struggling for their own emancipation, passed away on the eve of independence and was never to witness the resistance of the patriarchal system.

The majority of African wars of independence involved young girls, some of whom were abducted from schools, while others joined willingly. A number of these went on to raise their voices against structural and all sorts of violations that were perpetrated against them during these wars (Ibid, 12-20). It seems that the abuse of women and girls and their vulnerability is embedded in combat situations, and the same could be said of their experiences during the African revolutionary wars, (Ibid, 18) yet there is little documentation of this. Yet the same women and girls were also involved in killing the 'enemy,' at times to please authorities. The implications might have also led to sexual abuses of civilian and militant women and girls in warring situations, especially in pre-independent and post-independent Africa, and some of these will call for further research due to distorted and selective histories.

The sad history of the involvement of child soldiers is not independent of the use of girls for military and social reasons. Tiefenbrun (Ibid, 424) suggests that 40 per cent of those involved in armed combat in some countries by the turn of the 21st century were girls, with

countries such as Ethiopia, El Salvador and Uganda having almost a third in their battalions being comprised of young females. Most of these girls are usually recruited for a double chore, for the war-front and as 'wives' for the military commanders. In the majority of cases, the young girls are raped as part of their initiation, are enslaved, leaving the majority of them exposed to an assortment of diseases and pregnancy, with Park (2009: 160) asserting that almost all the girls who are abducted into fighting forces are raped and turned into 'bush wives.' For instance, statistics point to approximately 800 children being born to the LRA's 'wives' that were based at Jabelein camp, southern Sudan in the 1990s (Tiefenbrun, Ibid, 424). At the height of the civil war, Sierra Leone also witnessed the abuse of numerous young girls, with literally every one of them having to endure repeated rape and sexual servitude, which culminated in such associations being referred to as 'AK-47 marriages' (Cahn, Ibid, 421). In the case of Sierra Leone, between 215 000 and 275 000 women and girls found themselves at the end of horrendous systematic sexual violence, which mostly resulted in unwanted pregnancies, trauma, abortions, miscarriages and contracting of deadly diseases (Park, Ibid, 159).

Whether there was and there has been more misery for the girls in combat, as compared to their boy-child soldier counter-part is open to debate. At the same time, it seems girls would have more chores, including giving in to sexual advances of the participating forces (Honwana, Ibid: 30-40 and 45). With the aid of the NGOs, access to the girls who participated in the Angolan and Mozambican civil wars was made possible and it was found out that girls were recruited for different purposes by the participating forces.

While Honwana (2005) did not look into attempt to rehabilitate and re-integrate the Liberian girl-child, during and after the civil war of the 1990s, the author does justice by looking into the experiences of the girls during the war. Positively, in Honwana's research, the girls tell their stories, complementing Nordstrom's (1997) assertion that the girl who has been involved in war should tell her own story, independent of anyone telling the story on her behalf. Given that the Liberian civil war lasted more than 5 years, it might explain why perpetual reference to 'girl' became difficult for Honwana hence to interchangeably use the terms, 'girls' and 'young women.' In addition, this also means that, the longer the civil war, the more complex it becomes to tie down such girls to having played one role in the war. The Liberian civil war is well documented, but typical of war situations, statistics usually get distorted along the way.

The Liberian civil war commenced in 1989 when a small group of men under the authority of Prince Johnson entered the eastern town of Butuo on Christmas Eve. This group later became known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) (Sendabo, 2004: 29).

Within a few weeks the Libyan trained, but ill-equipped group, had split into two, with the NPFL led by Charles Taylor, while Johnson led the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). What had started as a revolution of the Nimba County people soon turned into a war that involved young people fighting against each other and this was the beginning of the involvement of the under-aged in the civil war. The protracted war enticed young people, who got involved either voluntarily or coercively, or a combination of both.

Soon the Liberian civil war has arguably displaced between 2.2 and 2.5 million people, which is a group usually referred to as 'Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)' (Honwana, Ibid: 55). For a while, the world would perceive women as victims and survivors of war situations, while their male counterparts would take all the brunt of being perpetrators of war. This notion has recently been dismissed by a number of authors, such as Elshatain (1987) and Turshen (cited in Twagiramariya, 1998). The authors argue that women are as equally capable of wreaking as much havoc as their male counterparts, in addition to playing different roles in war situations. It has to be mentioned that most of the time their role may not be as clear-cut as the role played by men. It is with this in mind that the role of the girls in the Liberian civil war became topical. From what Honwana (2005) discovered in Liberia, young women could have been victims of the war to a larger extent, as they were raped, tortured and forced to work. For their survival, they would be tossed from one group to the other and from one commander to the other. Yet, there were several highlights in which the girls, usually with little alternative, became part and parcel of combat fighting for both the INPFL and the NPFL, mostly with little or no training at all. Usually, this would only occur with the blessings of the men in charge, whom Honwana (Ibid, 72-78) refers to as 'boyfriends,' meaning that, what would have been immoral in normal times all of sudden became acceptable and the norm. It was in this context that the role of the girls in African civil wars becomes complex and convoluted.

Leibig's (2005) assessment of the Ugandan case challenges the protocols and conventions that appear to suggest protection of children in general and not the girl-child, specifically. According to the author, girls comprise between 20 to 30 per cent of the children that have

been abducted and recruited in Northern Uganda (Ibid, 6). As in the majority of the cases where girls have been involved, the LRA abducts girls for the war-front and for sexual servitude, with Kony himself having an estimated thirty 'wives' (Ibid, 7). Sexual favours might be used as protection tools for the abused and tools of instilling fear among the civilians. While Leibig raised concern against the implementation of the international conventions, she also appears to suggest an equal blame on the abusive Ugandan patriarchal system, but without giving a clear direction that may be followed to protect the girls from the jaws of the civil war.

At the time of my study, more than 200 girls had been abducted by Boko Haram in Chibok, Nigeria, resulting in an international outcry for their return (BBC, April 2014). Those that the Nigerian national army managed to rescue at a later stage were found to be heavily pregnant and psychologically abused (Independent, May 2016).

4.5 Disarmament, demobilisation and re-integration of child soldiers

While there are similarities in terms of what is involved and the experiences during the re-integration of child soldiers and street children, on this part of the chapter I also have to include other preceding processes that are relevant before the actual re-integration of the child soldiers. The lessons learnt from the African context might also be relevant in the re-integration of the street children. These are vital if there is going to successful re-integration.

Over the past few decades, disarmament, demobilisation and re-integration (DDR) have become prominent peacebuilding practices, with those aimed at helping former combatants to transition from combatants to civil status in African countries, such as Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Rwanda and Angola. Most of such efforts seek to help the ex-combatants come to terms with the realities of the anticipated individual, societal and structural challenges they are to face in the aftermath of violent conflict.

According to Dyck (2011: 398), DDR has three distinct, but overlapping characteristics, which are, firstly, the notion that disarmament attempts to get rid of an array of weapons that might have been used in combat engagement. At the same time, there would be the attempt to achieve peace through breaking chains of command, as well as controlling non-state armed groups, thus making it difficult to relapse back into armed violence (Ibid).

Secondly, demobilisation is essential in its attempt to downsize or completely disarm and disband militant groups, but with support systems to help with the re-inserting of the ex-combatant back into community life (Ibid).

Thirdly, is re-integration, which includes the transitioning of militant groups or individuals into civilian life, but with an addition of these, playing an active role in their respective communities' social and economic well-being (Ibid). Let me hasten to say that DDR is simple on paper, but not always in practice, since it has always proved controversial, with the UN-led re-integration processes in the likes of Mozambique and Liberia having proved that failure in the exercise can lead to instability and insecurity. Apparently, each case is unique, with some taking longer than the others. In addition, all attempt at DDR should be clearly planned and seriously considered, including being ready for lengthy processes.

The Sierra Leone case is a painful one to perceive when it comes to how children and the youth got involved in the 11-year civil war in various capacities, with the country having the world's worst record in the recruitment of children into combat between 1992 and 1996 (Awodola, 2009:5). There were no exceptions as they got involved on both the government and belligerent sides, with more than 6 000 having gone through the DDR, of which an estimated 80 per cent of these being between the ages of seven and fourteen (Dyck, Ibid: 399). When child combatants go through war, the aftermath still produces a number of challenges, such as structural violence, psychological effects, fear and anxiety, among other after-effects.

In most cases, the organisers have to deal with social stigmas against the former child soldiers, whose position is further compounded by drug addictions. These are the challenges that post-civil war Sierra Leone came face-to-face with by the turn of the 21st century. Most of the young people had participated, as already noted, on behalf of the government, as well as the rebel groups, such as the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), Sierra Leone/Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (SLA/AFRC), among other similar groups (Ibid, 401). Apparently, the majority of the children who were involved in the Sierra Leonean civil war showed signs of malnutrition, war trauma, skin infections and sexually transmitted diseases (Zack-Williams, 2006: 125). Given that the post-civil strife camps were full of tension as already mentioned, one can only appreciate the intervention of football, as an alternative to the efforts of the UN and other relief players.

While generally stigmatised, it appears women and girls are mostly affected during the re-integration processes, which might explain why the Sierra Leonean DDR programme witnessed only 513, out of an estimated 48 000 girls who had participated in the civil war, go through the process (Park, 2009: 160). Consequently, surviving women and girls become further victims of stigma from society in general, and families in particular, with one girl from Sierra Leone quoted as saying:

> I was in the bush; I can't go back with a baby. It's extra load baggage for me, how can I take care of the baby and myself? What will I explain to my father? What will I explain to my friends? What will I tell the baby? Where's the father? The father was a rebel who used to kill people, amputate arms… That was some of the reasons that the [girls] drowned [their] babies (Ibid, 159-160).

Of all the post-violent conflicts, the most difficult task is re-integration, especially given that the re-orientation and re-adjusting of children would involve countering characters whose perceptions are now shaped by atrocities and crime (Awodola, 2009: 1). While re-integration also entails reconnection to the family, there have been examples in Africa, where the families cannot be traced, as they would have perished in the conflict. For instance, hundreds of Liberian child ex-combatants found themselves in the streets due to the disintegration of families (Ibid, 7).

Nevertheless, re-integration counters re-recruitment of the youth, and international bodies, such as the UN have been involved in a number of such efforts, with child re-integration being made a huge priority and the most extensive in the history of the UN, alongside demobilisation, in Angola between 1995 and 1997 (Ibid, 3).

While other countries that went through violent conflict, such as Rwanda, took it as a learning curve, the Liberian 1997 re-integration process had several omissions, such as failure to take cognisance of the presence of the girl combatants (Also see Gislesen, 2006: 14). Failure to empower communities by providing resources and by putting child ex-combatants in the same categories with the elderly ones were some of the distinct mistakes (Awodola, 2009: 6). This resulted in girls failing to open up on the sexual abuses that had occurred during the war, while their male counterparts were reluctant to come to the demobilisation

centres fearing retribution. Consequently, out of the estimated 21 000 former child soldiers in Liberia, only 10 000 went through DDR (Gislesen, 2006: 14-15).

In the African context, multifaceted re-integration processes of former child soldiers also proved vital. Several countries that included the likes of Mozambique, Angola and Uganda systematically utilised Western methods, alongside the traditional methods, to address the psycho-social challenges faced by the former child soldiers. In the case of Mozambique, traditional religious leaders and the *curandeiro* or traditional healers, took it upon themselves to put in place purification ceremonies, which also acted as processes of community forgiveness of the former child soldiers, as well as for the mature former soldiers (Ibid, 4). The mixed methods used in the aforementioned countries were well received at a time when there were concerns about the Eurocentric re-integration processes, which tended to push aside the African methods. The African beliefs were premised within the context of considering the role of the dead or the ancestors in the day-to-day activities of the living, which meant that perpetrators of violence or those who killed would have been cursed by the dead, would need cleansing if they were to live peacefully and were to be reconciled to society (Zack-Williams, Ibid: 126). In addition, there was concern that the Western post-war trauma processes are too individualistic, while the African ones are more communal (Also see Wessells et al., 2006: 126).

One hopes that, as a result of the afore-assessed African cases that involved the DDR processes for the former child soldiers, but where the process left a lot to be desired, there are no remnant elements that might consider taking up arms once more. Otherwise, DDR calls for creative initiatives as well as consultative leadership, lest other methods that might give a hand might be taken for granted at the expense of stability and all other related nuances.

4.6 Rehabilitating and re-integrating former child soldiers: lessons learnt

While it might sound simple to take a child to the war front, rehabilitating and re-integrating a former child soldier is easier said than done. What this study will not do is to dwell much on the clinical and psycho-social therapies that would have to take place in post-war situations, but to attend to the interface experiences and challenges encountered during some attempts to prepare former child soldiers for re-integration. It also has to be added that there

cannot be a blueprint of what should be done and not done in the process of re-integration, since each case is unique and would have to be understood in its own context, and as shaped by societal norms, values and beliefs. Where possible though it would make sense to try and mix and synchronise working models, keeping in mind and, especially given that there would have been a loss of trust between the different parties involved in the conflict. Factors that might determine the success or failure of rehabilitation and the re-integration processes could include timing, rebuilding of trust, the right therapy and the right amount of therapy, change of context, attitudes and behaviours. As was discovered during attempts to get the Sierra Leonean parties to the negotiating table by the turn of the 21st century, challenges were entangled with the fact that there had been enormous human casualties inflicted on civilians by the various government and belligerent armies and factions, since the early 1990s, until the Lome Peace Accord of 1999.

Lack of accountability, structures and resources are renowned in post-war situations. These factors are so clear in the African context, where conflicts tend to display regional characteristics. With the help of the United Nations (UN), Mozambique has acted as an example of how re-integration cannot only work, but also involve a complex mixture of local Western models. As observed by Lakeberg Dridi (2004: 123), the devastations of war do not end when a ceasefire officially takes effect, but as observed in most cases, the violence significantly subside only after a number of years after the official end of the conflict. In other words, if wars are processes, so are the rehabilitation efforts. End of violence is marked by stable peace and with all combatants being demobilised and given effective means to change their lifestyles, before re-integration into a peaceful society. While putting rehabilitation and re-integration efforts together, Lakeberg Dridi (Ibid, 125) argues that for there to be effectiveness of the two, there will be need for former child soldiers and youthful combatants to be exposed to, and go through social re-orientation, psycho-social counselling, basic health-care services, skills training (technical, micro-enterprise and vocational), loans and grants, resettlement packages and where possible, social and economic re-integration. While these efforts may provide direction, as already asserted, they are not absolute. The same author terms these notions 'antidotes,' which are relevant when it comes to child-soldiers and other children affected by war. According to the author's definition, antidotes would entail remedial efforts to counteract the effects of poison, and in this case, poison in the form of war (Ibid). Lakeberg Dridi (Ibid, 127-128), has highlighted the perils of ignoring and moving slowly when attending to the traumatised former combatants. He also argues

that neglected war traumatized youthful ex-combatants are susceptible to readily taking up arms again when conditions around them seem ripe or their perceived needs are neglected.

Lakeberg Dridi came up with an idea that might work in the re-integration of former child soldiers. Among their suggested key elements were the incorporation of traditional practices, values and beliefs and the providing of treatment in home settings rather than in institutions, and providing contextual amnesties to the perpetrators of violence (Ibid, 133-137). It is unfortunate that the likes of Lakeberg Dridi provided the ideal situation for rehabilitation and re-integration, but with less emphasis on the successful and failed situations, especially in the post-civil war African states. Probably such efforts should be perceived as work-in-progress. Another challenge has been that other countries referred to are still in civil strife of different magnitudes as is the case of Uganda, where the involved parties, more-so Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), have been accused of adducting children, especially girls, and using them on the war front. Lakeberg Dridi (2004: 128) appears to fall into the trap of suggesting the ideal situation for positive rehabilitation and re-integration, but with less tangible evidence of the actual experience and challenges faced so far.

At the same time, Lakeberg Dridi (Ibid, 138-139), highlights on the fact that efforts have been made to rehabilitate and re-integrate former child combatants in the likes of Sierra Leone, where the Sierra Leone Opportunities Industrialization Centre (SLOIC), a local NGO teamed up with the United States-based non-profit organisation, Opportunities Industrialisation Centres International (OICI), to help thousands of socially and economically disadvantaged youth, women, and other community members through vocational and technical skills training. What appears to have done SLOIC a great favour was the fact that it was more of a developmental, rather than a relief kind of organisation. Given that it was founded well before the 1991 civil war, there is evidence of the organisation adapting its work-levels after the outbreak of the civil war, meaning that from about 1991 it might have also become involved in relief work in and around the capital city, Freetown.

Re-integration seeks to curb circles of direct and indirect violence. Peace practitioners would, in such circumstances, seek to get to the causes of the conflict. Causes of African civil wars border on politics and socio-economics, but the pitfalls include cases where all these are entangled and mixed up. This means each of these civil wars is unique, but the catch comes in that most of these wars would have turned regional, meaning there is a need to

apply regional therapies. For instance, Sendabo (2004: 40) claims that the Liberian civil war was caused by poverty, but given that the war went on to point where Sierra Leone, which had a different history and its own challenges that led to civil wars, also became part of what bedevilled Liberia, also meant that by the end of day the two countries were almost inseparable.

Illiteracy and a low level of awareness appear to have provided breeding ground and feeder into African civil wars, as discovered in Liberia (Ibid, 33). This means that lack of education could have been one cause of the use of child soldiers in the country. Countering illiteracy, then, becomes part of the re-integration exercises for the former child soldiers in Liberia and other regional countries that have suffered from protracted civil wars. The Liberian civil war was punctuated by quasi-ceasefires, but in the first instance, the elders forgot to attend to former child soldiers. Therefore, there was no rehabilitation, which needed to take place before they could be reconnected and re-integrated into their families. Sendabo (Ibid, 112-114) discovered that, with reference to former Liberian child soldiers, by the early 21st century 11 per cent were employed, 20 per cent were attending school and critically, 69 per cent were doing nothing. These perilous statistics would not look promising, not only for Liberia, but also for the region and Africa, because rehabilitation and social re-integration is the only way to reduce existing social stigma experienced by former child soldiers. Of those interviewed, 75 per cent pointed out that they had not been rehabilitated (Ibid).

Lack of resources and willingness on the part of the government, civil society, corporate world and international organisations to participate in some post-civil war situations will always be a handicap. Most former child soldiers find themselves in worse situations in that war is expensive and destructive to human relationships and infrastructure and, in the case of Liberia, these children sat on unfulfilled promises and could not get back into the same families they haunted during the civil war, which might explain the uneasiness they had with the democratically-elected Taylor administration. Reciprocally, Taylor's administration continued to mistrust the efforts of the churches, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and NGOs, such as Save the Children Sweden, Christian Health Association of Liberia (CHAL) and Don Bosco Homes, among others (Ibid, 70-91). Unfortunately, Sendabo does not give a clearer picture of the successes and failures of these efforts. One area that may also need further research in the Liberian case study is the post-Taylor period, since the rehabilitative and re-integrative trends might have changed.

While most authorities have attempted to provide a stencil for the ideals that would facilitate the demobilisation, dis-armament and re-integration of child soldiers, it appears that most of the such suggestions still have to be put to test in real situations, and where these have been pragmatically attempted, there has not been much joy reported in the majority of the African case studies.

The lessons, including the challenges that have been learnt when dealing with former child soldiers, are similar to the ones that I noticed when dealing with the homeless street children. These include failure for the responsible authorities to introduce well-co-ordinated programmes, lack of resources, mistrust between all involved parties, the unpredictable attitudes and behaviours of the children, the societal stigmatisation and the resultant refusal of the children to be re-integrated back into families and communities, and lack of rehabilitation before the re-integration of children. All these have meant that the ultimate re-integration of former child soldiers and street children do not only face similar challenges, but the same challenges can also be resolved in similar ways. For instance, as found out in the case of Mozambique and a few others that involved the successful re-integration of former child soldiers, the rehabilitation and re-integration processes are dependent on the concepts working hand-in-glove. In addition, the same situations also showed that the western and African rehabilitation processes could harmoniously work together. During the course of my study, especially in the data analysis chapters, and in the evaluation of the intervention of my study in Chapter eleven, I also made similar discoveries.

4.7 Re-integration of homeless children

All types of re-integration face similar potentials and challenges and the same can be said of those faced in the re-integration of child soldiers and street children, and my study took cognisance of this. Typical of most concepts in the social sciences, the term 're-integration' triggers a lot of different meaning for individuals and groups, and other terms, such as 'repatriation' have been used as alternatives. Faith to Action Initiative (www.faithtoaction.org-Accessed on 11/01/16) have suggested that re-integration of street children should include kinship care, as well as parental care, and often includes the return of the child to his or her community of origin, and this process might commence the moment the child is separated from parents or family, and lasts until the child is returned to his or her

community. It might be argued that the ideal situation is one that witnesses the homeless street children getting back into their paternal and maternal homes or, in other circumstances, into foster homes, from which they would get back into school, get access to medical and health care and so forth. While this is appropriate on any given day, it is easier said than done for one reason or the other. One of the humongous challenges is the expense involved in preparing the children and their biological families. In the short-run, it would make little sense not to try and address the root causes that would have led the child into the street in the first place, which might call for the organisers of the whole exercise to attend to issues that naturally involve finances, lest the children find themselves back on the streets sooner than anticipated.

Rwanda has provided some of the most profound lessons vis-à-vis the attempt at addressing the issue of street children. In the post-1994 genocide period, the country came up with a government-led framework that sought the help the country's more than 15 000 orphans that had been left to fend for their families, because of the civil war (www.migeprof.gov.rw-Accessed on 11/01/16). While the Rwandese set standard that might not apply to all cases, it is critical to note some positives that have gone on to help one of the country's vulnerable groups. The approach, which is three-pronged, since it involves long-term institutional care approaches, re-integration approaches and preventive approaches, seeks to return the child back to his or her family or a substitute family (Ibid, 11). Through government-funded processes, Rwanda showed the possibilities of preparing the country's homeless street children for re-integration via education. The cheap education method adopted by Rwanda calls for the government representatives to teach from the street, which means funds are used in the actual re-integration, rather than the education processes (Ibid). It has to be mentioned that this method has its own drawbacks, which include losing children's attention and challenges, such as the children being rounded-up by the police. A transit centre, where a child stays for a fairly short period might address the challenges found in teaching in the street. One of the disadvantages of the transit centre is that if the place proves warm and good enough for the child, he or she might want to linger for a while, instead of going home, where the situation might not be as comfortable (Ibid, 12).

One of the biggest challenges for organisations that deal with street children, especially in cases where the children know that their situation at home is so dire, is their usual reluctance to get back into families. This puts pressure on the organisations to also try and address the

root and causes of homelessness for particular children. These challenges, like the homelessness phenomenon itself, are so similar in so many countries and they become more pronounced in countries where the government does not provide support towards re-integration, either in kind, training or cash (Ibid, 12-13). The Rwandan case shows that issues of homelessness among children cannot be painted with one brush, as each case is unique and should always be addressed with that in mind, yet strengthening organisations that deal with street children appears to be the way to go for the governments.

Despite the fact that meeting on the street with the street children for organisation's representatives has its own loopholes, the Kumasi Street Children Project has proved its great potential in Ghana, where it was estimated that the country had about 10 000 street children in 2002 (www.adamfoghana.com-Accessed on 11/01/16). The Kumasi Catholic Archdiocese project support homeless street children through rehabilitation programmes that include skills training and basic education, which includes awareness programmes in sexually-transmitted diseases, sexual abuse, perils of street life, healthy living habits, child rights and so forth, with those seeking further classes going to the drop-in centres (Ibid). The rehabilitation intervention methods have their own positives in preparation in that they prepare the street child for the actual re-integration by providing them with somewhere to start from, as well as attempting to eliminate the street habits from the children.

Of all the models that have been implemented on the African continent in the attempt to address the street children challenge, the Ugandan Educational Change Model has been one of the most lauded. Figure 4.1, below, succinctly illustrates how in 2002, the state embarked on an ambitious programme that also included the Kampala City Council (KCC), some NGOs, the Ministry of Justice and the Solicitor General, Ministry of Education and Sports, Ministry of Health, Ministry, so as to address homelessness among the children found in the Kampala streets (Ibid, 6). The Ugandan model can go a long way in sub-Saharan African in the attempt to minimise the number of children found the streets of the big cities. What is heartening about the Ugandan case study is the fact that the police were mandated to treat the street children with caution and not to perceive them negatively, not to treat them as criminals, but with kindness and respect (Ibid). This is relevant in a society that has treated street children with contempt and with almost no regards. In the Ugandan case, the state sought to protect the children and give them hope, and with the majority of them finding their way into the Kampiringisa National Rehabilitation Centre, before caregiving and re-

socialisation was provided by social workers (Ibid). Ultimately, the state provided funds towards primary education and vocational trade, from which the homeless street children learnt the skills in different trades (Ibid). In cases where the homeless street children cannot get back with their families, the orphanages need to be provided with the basic legal survival skills. It is also heartening to discover that the government would not try to force the children back into their natural homes, if such prospects would lead to more harm.

Accordingly, the results of Uganda's Model for Orphan Resettlement and Education (MORE) show many positives, with all the Kampala streets having practically no street child at one stage (Ibid, 9). What remains pertinent in cases that involve homeless street children is consistency and creating situations where behaviour and attitude change can be measured. This is more vital if homeless street children are going to be viewed as citizens who can, one day, contribute to their own well-being, and to that of their families, as well ultimately contributing to the national *fiscus*. At the same time, I cannot use a sweeping statement of how successful it was, given that other NGOs mandated by the state to help in the re-integration of the homeless street children faced challenges that included refusal of families to take them back, while in other circumstances children would re-abandon their families, especially the country-based ones (Ibid, 10).
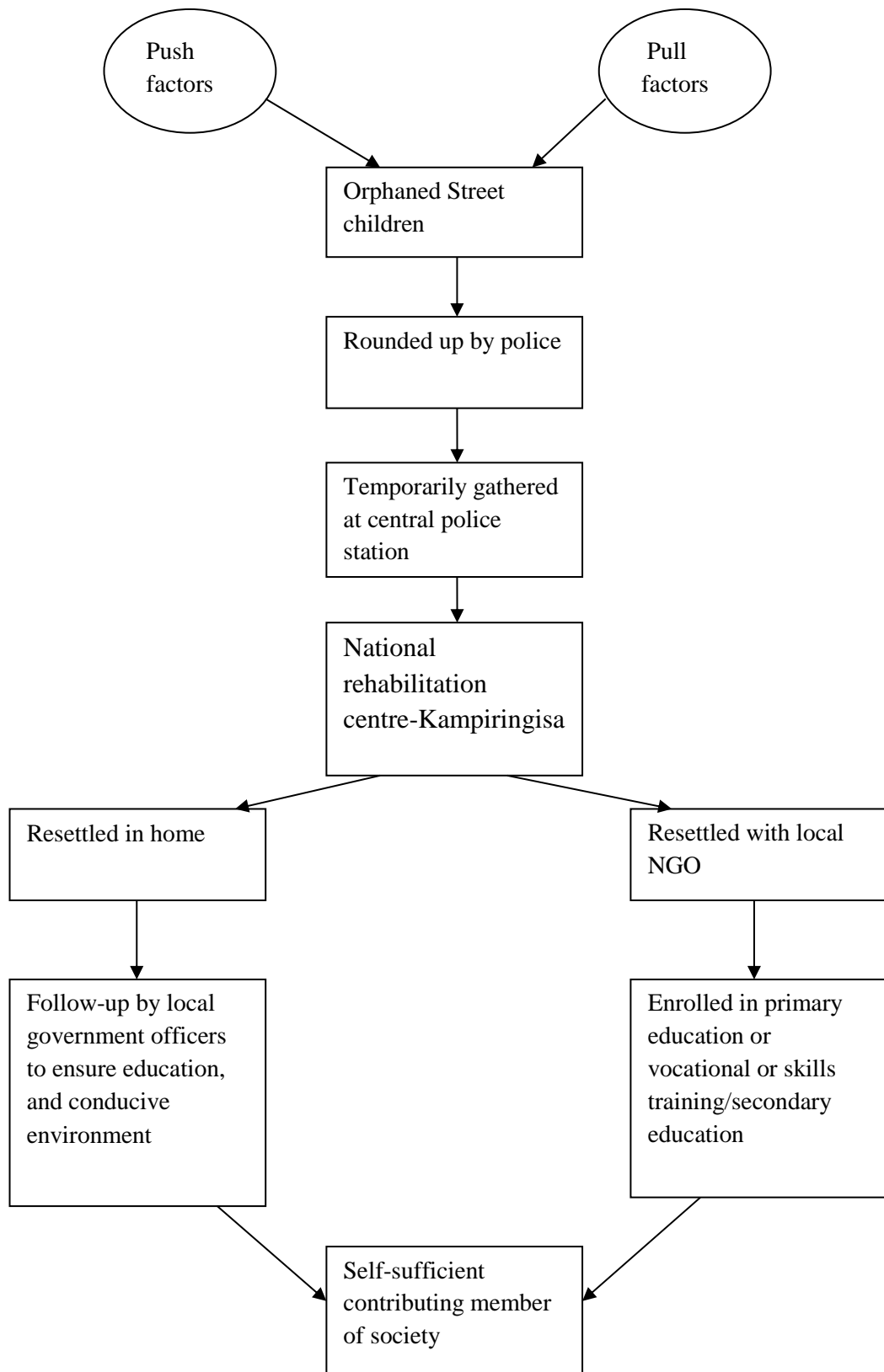
Figure 4.1: Uganda's Model for Orphan Resettlement and Education (MORE)-adopted from Jacob et al. (2004: 5)

The Ugandan MORE programme was introduced to a number of other major cities, such as Gulu, yet the project faced similar challenges as the ones in the capital, Kampala. While it might be commended that the Gulu municipality, alongside the state, invested a lot of energy and zeal towards the re-integration of homeless street children via counselling, psycho-social support, feeding, health check-ups and recreational activities, lack of funding proved to be the undoing of the project, along with failure to meet basic needs, stigma, peer pressure and other inherent perils faced by the children (Weber, 2013: 34-42). Despite such efforts, the majority of non-governmental organisations involved in the rehabilitation and re-integration of homeless street children face perennial challenges, most of which lead to inconsistences in their dealings, which mitigates against all efforts towards the well-being of the young people, and by 2013, the Gulu project had witnessed an estimated 37.7 per cent drop-out from the vocational skills training programme (Ibid, 43).

4.8 Re-integration of street children in Zimbabwe

Before examining some of the re-integration efforts that have been put in place, especially by NGOs in Harare, it might be beneficial to have an overview of the situation of the street children in the Zimbabwean capital. Generally, homeless street children retire for rest and 'work' in strategic areas. They usually participate in activities collectively, and food outlets, as well as city centres are the most popular for them. That also means that the places they call 'homes' or where they rest by taking a nap should be easily accessible to where they get resources. In the case of Harare, which will be found in the data analysis, most of those I interviewed and related with in my study stayed close to, or in the city centre areas, and at places, such as the OK shop in Julius Nyerere, Harare Gardens, Avenues and Fife Avenue shops, while those who stay out of the city centre would stay in the Mukuvisi River area, close to the National Sports Stadium and Avondale shops (see Figure 4.2 below). A number of these children spend most of their evenings at the pubs and other busy areas, where they look after the vehicles of the patrons for a charge. This, in turn, translates into most of them taking a few hours' rest during the course of the day.
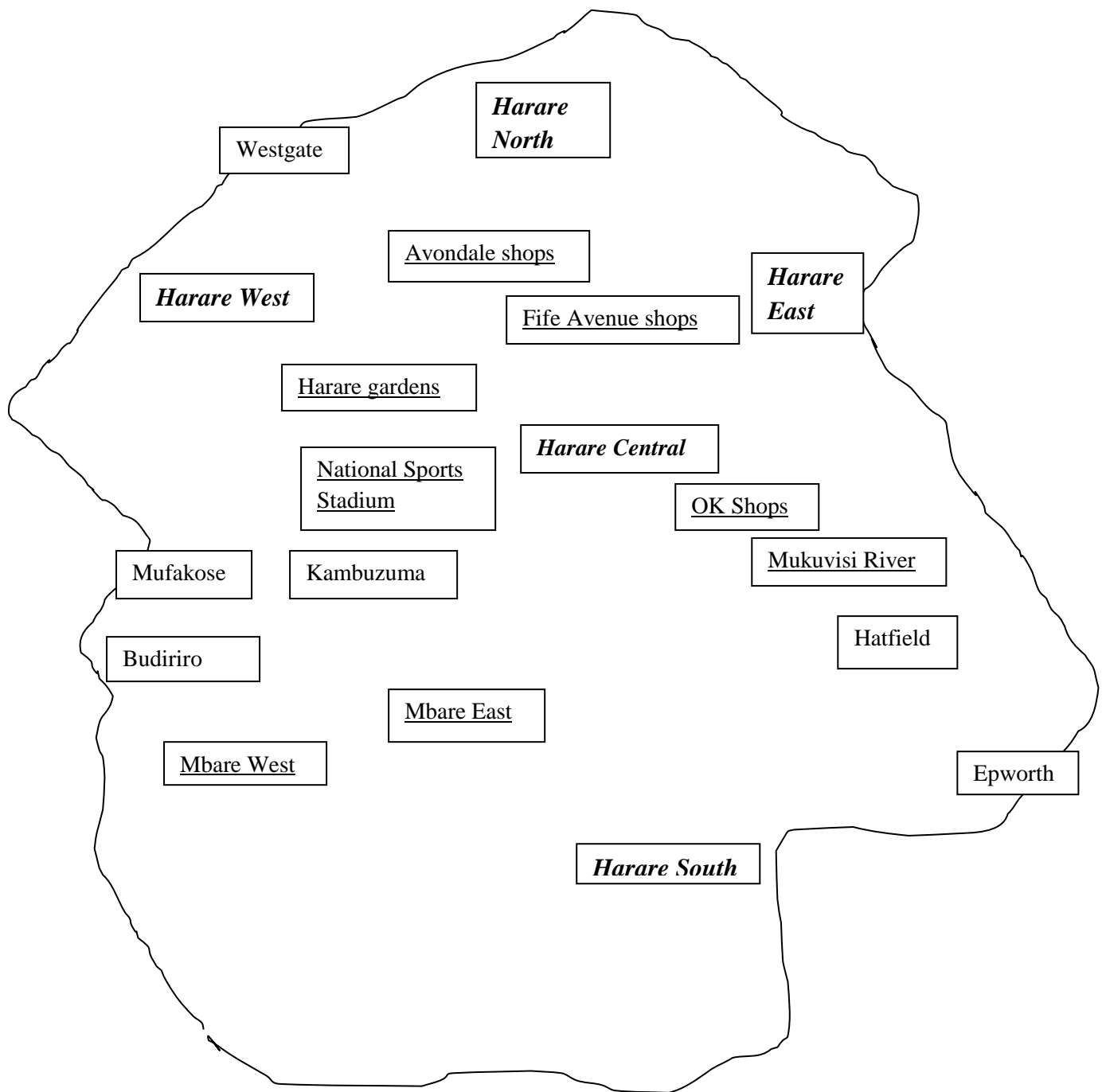
Figure 4.2: General map of Harare (underlined are areas where some of the biggest bases of the homeless street children are located)

As already highlighted, most homeless street girls usually stay in some secluded places, at least as I discovered in Harare, where most of them might be living as wives to homeless street boys, as well as to the older street fellows. What these girls mainly gain out of such association is protection from all forms of harm and peril. The number of girls, their routines and challenge appear to vary from city to city and from country to country.

In the case of the Harare homeless street children and what I discovered during my study, there are perennial strained relationship between them and the authorities, as usually represented by the police. As already discovered, at certain national events, which usually, in-turn, provide brisk business for the young people, the police are mandated to clear the urban streets of the homeless. Bourdillon (1994: 521-522) refers the usual struggle for space between the Harare homeless street children, police and the city authorities. In the capital, this is usually a result of the fact that most homeless street children arrive from the peripheral areas into the city centre for better 'business' during the course of the day. Beside other misdemeanours that include use of glue and causing congestion, the youths would act as both perpetrators and protectors for motorists. For instance, they could guard, in as much as they could scratch the vehicles that belong to motorists who are reluctant to pay them for having looked after their cars (Ibid, 521). Given their aggressive nature, by the end of day, the street children, who are usually high on drugs and other intoxicates, are loathed by the general citizens, police and local authorities. A number of them have been sent to the notorious juvenile prison in Kadoma, a town 140 kilometres from Harare (Ibid, 525), or are deliberately left in the middle of no-where by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP).

Use of glue and general promiscuity among the homeless street children means they are susceptible to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other contagious diseases. With limited entertainment, gambling, sniffing of glue, which is easily obtained from shoe repairers, *marijuana* and alcohol, define a day's activity for the majority of the homeless street children (Ibid, 522). While Bourdillon (Ibid) asserts that hard drugs were not a problem in 1994, I discovered that trends have been changing for the worse in Harare. Substance-abuse was and still is connected to hunger. In other words, the hungrier the child, the more they feel like taking them (Ibid). Associated to all this are homosexual relationships that usually result within and without the groups of the homeless (Ibid, 523). Lack of information and statistics pertaining HIV/AIDS risks faced by the homeless street children has not helped most of the researches that have taken place.

Thinking that the relations between the police and the street children is all negative might be wrong, since Bourdillon (Ibid, 523) gives an example, where the police used a homeless street-gang leader to prevent crime and apprehend car thieves in the territory under his jurisdiction. In a similar context, it also appears there are certain times when the homeless

would visit the police to report on one another, and in some circumstances, the police are accused of being paid for protection by some of the homeless children (Ibid, 525).

In the case of Zimbabwe, Bourdillon (Ibid, 519) was very careful to contextualise his research, especially with regard to the number of children having their roots in Mozambique, from which they had escaped, because from civil strife. Most of these children would have escaped from the refugee camps that the Zimbabwean government had set up around the country for those in flight from the civil war. A significant number of the homeless street children in Harare were escaping from their families for reasons, such as their parents having re-married, abuse at school, while others were just present for the 'fun' part of it (Ibid, 520-521).

As a result of some of the aforementioned challenges, authors have suggested different issues that would need to be addressed before re-integration. Muchini (1993: 58-59), who has extensively studied the homeless street children in Zimbabwe, has called for the involved parties to consider information needs, accurate assessment of the needs and the minimisation of the risk factors. While looking into the case of the Mozambican children who ended up in the streets of Zimbabwe's major cities due to civil strife from the mid-1970s, to the early 1990s, Muchini had clear concern about the government of Zimbabwe's lack of clear policy for the children, which resulted in few being assessed for refugee status (Ibid, 58). What was, and is still obtaining to this day, has been the tendency of the state or its representatives to round-up children found in the streets, before they are sent to existing centres, which at the time included Kadoma Training Institution, as well as schools, such as Mount Selinda and Saint Patrick in Nyanyadzi, in the east of the country (Ibid). What is also apparent is the disinterest in diarising and lack of will power to determine the number of children found on the country's streets. This has resulted in the lack of putting in place appropriate needs assessments for the children. As a result, they are often all put in the same bracket, leading to the exacerbation of an already complex situation. It is with this in mind that Muchini (Ibid, 59) suggested a holistic itinerary that would consider child assessment and placement into foster care, outcomes, as well as child intervention programmes.

Another challenge of the period, which might still be of major concern in the 21st century Zimbabwe, is the lack of follow-ups of the foster homes, from where children continue to face other challenges, some of which push them back onto the streets. If the idea of foster

homes is to address psycho-social and physical needs of the children, then the country has been failing to cope with such challenges (Ibid).

The majority of the authors suggest that multi-faceted rehabilitation must be one of the first areas that would need to be addressed by the involved parties, including the government and councils, foster and other organisations that deal with street children. It appears the suggestion is premised with the assumption that there is need to address some of the contributing factors that would have coerced the children onto the streets, be they economic, social or political.

Most countries lack economic muscles, and possibly, the political will, to adequately address homelessness amongst its citizens, including those who are considered to be 'children.' In most cases the duty is left in the hands of the NGOs to attend to the needs of the children, with little or no complement of the government. Zimbabwe has had a number of rehabilitative and re-integration-oriented organisations in the past few years; some still functional, while others became defunct.

Some of those that dealt with homeless street children are listed in Table 4.2 below,

What they do/did for children	Name of organisation	City of base	Grouping
Bathing, washing, feeding, counselling, skills training, family re-unification, family support	CESVI/Volunteers of Vulnerable Children	Harare	Italian NGO
Bathing, washing, counselling, skills training, family re-unification, family support	Oasis	Harare	
Bathing, washing, counselling, skills training, family re-unification, family support	Thuthuka Street Children's Project	Bulawayo	Scripture Union
Shelter, schooling, skills training	Khayelihle Children's Village	Bulawayo	Church of Christ
Shelter, schooling	Emthunzini Wethemba	Bulawayo	Various churches, Social Welfare & Individuals
Bathing, washing, counselling, skills training, family re-unification, family support	Simukai	Mutare	Scripture Union, FACT-Mutare
	Streetsahead	Harare	
Shelter, bathing, washing clothes, family re-unification	Harare Street Children's Organisation	Harare	
Bathing, washing clothes, schooling, feeding & material assistance	St. Joseph's Community Home Care	Mutare	Catholic Health Services Mutare Diocese
Schooling, shelter, skills training, counselling	Northcot Children's Remand and Training Centre	Harare	Department of Social Welfare
Schooling, shelter, skills training, counselling	Kadoma Children's Remand and Training Centre	Kadoma	Department of Social Welfare

Table 4.2: Some of the organisations (past and present) rehabilitating and re-integrating homeless street children in Zimbabwe-Adopted from UNICEF (www.unicef.org-Accessed on 15/12/15)

Table 4.2 show that the majority of the NGOs that were involved in dealing with street children in Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare, provided similar services in the form of bathing, feeding, counselling, skills training, schooling and family reunification or re-integration. The challenges and successes of these organisations in dealing with street children might have varied from one organisation to the other.

Despite the fact that most Zimbabwean NGOs have been dependent on foreign funding prior to 2009, when the country adopted use of multicurrency, especially the United States (US) dollar, the South African (SA) rand and the Botswana pula, funding remained a constant challenge, which in turn, had an adverse effect on the rehabilitation and re-integration of homeless street children.

On stringent budgets, individual and organisations attempted to participate in the rehabilitation of homeless street children. The Harare-based, Oasis, was such an organisation that played a significant role in basics, including counselling, skills- training and family re-integration. The organisation set up a number of centres from the time the country was going through socio-economic and political difficulties, with the Kambuzuma rehabilitation centre, which was set-up in 2008 to help the homeless street children, leading the way in helping them acquire skills, such as tailoring, agriculture, computer skills and carpentry (*The Herald*, April 2008). It was in the same vein that the organisation also successfully established the Tanaka project, which endeavoured to help former street girls through psychological-support and self-help skills (Ibid).

At the height of Zimbabwe's economic meltdown, Cont Mhlanga's, Amakhosi Cultural Centre, attempted to rehabilitate homeless street children through acting and training them in music instruments under the project named 'Young Blood' (*The Standard*, November 2007).

Typical of most projects meant to benefit homeless street children, consistency and sustenance are greatly dependent on funding. Consequently, the economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe after the turn of the 21st century did not help the objectives of the majority of the organisations that were in the business of helping the homeless children.

The pragmatic nature of my action research, to some extent, is influenced by the study of Ferguson et al. (2006: 28). Using church or religion as tool for transforming feelings, skills,

knowledge, environment, status, behaviours and attitudes, in Mumbai, Nairobi and Los Angeles, the authors found out that young people from the street can be examined for changes. It is possible to measure and observe changes in attitudes and knowledge, and similar outcome-approaches are also suggested by Ferguson et al. (Ibid, 1516).

Volpi (2000: 23-28) suggests a comprehensive rehabilitation and re-integration programme that would include trained professionals, an integrative development programme, which will include family re-integration, school re-integration, integration into the labour market, reaching children at the point they are found, tailor-making individual services for them, catering for their participation, providing for their physical and mental health care, involving community and family by all means possible, lobbying for their consideration in national laws, working together and networking of institutions (do no harm), and making sure all peace-making attempts are coordinated.

Volpi's suggestions bear similarity to those of Miall et al. (1999: 17-18) for an approach to peacebuilding in which the top political leadership (Track I or elite), middle leadership (Track II) and community leadership (Track III or society) put greater emphasis on integrating the different levels of society towards peacebuilding and conflict resolution from a bottom-up perspective (Also see the ex-combatant social re-integration pyramid or Figure 11.1 in Chapter eleven). In addition, the authors are of the firm belief that well-structured high level negotiations, problem-solving negotiations and local peace initiatives will go a long way towards resolving community disputes (Ibid 18).

4.9 Chapter summary

The closest group to that of the homeless street children in terms of experiences and re-integration expectation is that composed of former child soldiers. This chapter assessed the literature that looked into a number of cases that involved the re-integration of former child soldiers, with special emphasis on their experiences and challenges that are usually faced during their re-integration process, and whose similarities are very close to those faced by the homeless street children.

A comparison and reflection of the experiences of dealing with former child soldiers also resulted in a focus on some of the re-integration of homeless street children in Africa in general and in Zimbabwe, specifically. Universally, the experiences and challenges faced by the re-integration process of the homeless are very similar, but this does not mean that there are panaceas and antidotes for all similar situations.

CHAPTER FIVE: SPORT AND SOCIETY

5.1 Introduction

The area of sport has often been taken for granted due to two traps. The first is that sport is often regarded as a mere recreation. The second is that, where sport has been taken seriously, there has been a tendency to focus on the attraction to the brutality of contact sports, which is true when one looks into the tensions found in club games between the likes of Barcelona and Real Madrid in Spain, Glasgow Celtics and Glasgow Rangers in Scotland, Kaiser Chiefs and Orlando Pirates in South Africa, between Dynamos and Highlanders in Zimbabwe, or in national team matches between Brazil and Argentina in South America. Consequently, sport's pacifying role has been taken lightly until recently, therefore, it can safely be said that such a theory of sport is still work-in-progress. In the later parts of this chapter, I will emphasise examples where sport, especially football, at national and community levels could have been relied on to bring peace between warring parties. Examples are in such countries as Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, where such potential existed at national level, and in the face of failings of political negotiations, while the later part of the chapter clearly shows that community football has had so much potential to lead to peace among communities. In addition, and unfortunately, there has not been much research on how sport could be harnessed as part and parcel of the peace processes of re-integrating homeless street children. Given its simplicity and the homeless street children's passion for football, it became imperative that I, alongside a few other interested parties and the children themselves, harness the game's activities towards their social change.

5.2 A brief history of the sport revolution

Tranter a few other authors of sport emphasised on how the different games developed, especially in England, since the English became the first people to formalise and regularise the different sporting activities over a long passage of time hence their bias is with some justification.

Since the time man came to dominate and manipulate the world though, there are signs of the need for some form of sport or physical recreation. It also has to be highlighted that the satisfaction of this longing varied from place to place and from time to time.

By the time of the First World War between 1914 and 1918, sport appears to have been regulated in a number of stable societies, especially in Britain, where there are signs that even some of those sports that were deemed brutal and violent, such as boxing, had become less so through the use of gloves (Tranter, 1998: 1). Another development of the same period was the accruement of participants, either as players or as spectators, which called for a wide range of extensive institutionalisations, codifications and commercialisation of most of the sporting disciplines. There are also signs that sport was no longer a monopoly of the locals, as it went international.

It appears man's move from subsistence agriculture to industrialisation, partly led to serious urbanisation throughout the universe and at varied times, and this also induced serious commercialisation of sport by the early 1900s. It is upon this basis that Tranter's writing is founded. Tranter, unfortunately, seems to suggest that without industrialisation, there could have been less participation and less commercialisation of sport. There are suggestions that participation of the British citizens was not always guaranteed, since there were challenges that also came into effect, such as lack of land, time and religious beliefs. Perceived as 'worldly pleasures,' a number of protestant denominations, such as the Evangelicals, Methodists and Sabbath-keepers began to challenge the morality and ethics of sports in general (Also see Tranter, 1998: 3-4). Decline in the participation in of sport in the late 18th century and early 19th century, in fact, might only have been confined to those sporting disciplines understood to be too violent, such as those involving animals.

There are signs and symptoms that the different sporting disciplines attracted people according to social classes. For instance, there were disciplines that were considered a preserve of the 'gentlemen,' such as horseracing, cricket and curling, while those, such as football were considered for the less privileged. Unfortunately, football was considered as one of the most violent sporting recreations of the time, especially the notorious street football, which was prominent amongst the unskilled and semi-skilled labouring English population. This led to the unsuccessful attempts to banish football and bull-running by the metropolitan police force in Stamford, Twickenham and Surrey between the 1830s and 1860s

(Ibid, 9). Lack of development of sporting activities in the early periods of sport might also be explained in terms of the limited existence of national and international regulations to govern most sports including football. Further, there is little empirical statistics on the demographic alterations of participants that might have occurred by the mid-1800s.

Interest in sport also took root in English schools and universities, but without this suggesting that the majority of the players took sport seriously after school or into adulthood.

Most sports historians tentatively agree that there was little growth in generations participating in sport, especially amongst players, during the period sandwiched between the mid-1800s and the commencement of the First World War, but a few of them understood the reasons for the phenomenon. Accordingly, on the eve of the war, no more than one person in twenty participated in football, of all males aged between 15 years and 39 years (Ibid, 13). Generally, the same could be said of all the other sporting activities, such as golf, cycling, tennis and bowling. Without exaggerating on the numbers, new trends also started to show in participation in sporting activities, including prize-fighting, gambling, paid performers and profit-seeking promoters (Ibid, 14-15).

Given that most of the English football clubs were founded in the 1880s and 1890s, it seems there were selective codification of the rules and regulations of the game and in different associations. On the assumption that the working class contributed a chunk of players, who came from different places, but resided in one area, usually the site they worked at, the mine associations and other industries devised regulations that governed their teams. At least in the English context, there was an unprecedented growth in interest for sport by the turn of the 20th century, as the fraternity became more organised, modernised and commercialised (Ibid, 16).

While much of Tranter's assessment of sport concerns the amusement side of the different sporting activities offered, mostly as organized and played by the British, there are a number of relevant themes embedded in the author's writing.

For a while, most sporting authors believed that sport would lure and divert men from the entrapments of drinking crime and political agitations, but in time, this social stability notion was disputed. In some later writings there were, in-fact, arguments that sport was more likely

to increase and not decrease levels of drunkenness, crime and other social ills, while in addition, creating social classes. To this effect, Tranter (Ibid, 38) offers the example of when in the 1870s the sporting gatherings in Stirling were condemned for their corrupting impact on society, due to the effects of alcohol. While it cannot be disputed that drunkenness has punctuated a lot of sporting activities, with the spectators and in worse situations, the players themselves, being drunk, especially before the turn of the 20th century, it would be a misnomer to sweepingly conclude that only sport drives people to such social ills. Today, most sporting activities are under microscopic administration that abhors, and checks on such ills, such as violent behaviour, betting syndicates, cheating, racism and so-forth.

Another theme that comes out of Tranter's work and many others pertains to the motive of introducing sport. Such a theme may need further research, given how vast the period and the range of sporting activities under the microscope is (Tranter, Ibid, 52). Despite this, the earlier sports provided sheer enjoyment, a position that was so-often overlooked by the early writers of the subject. Later research showed that people of all social classes would get attracted by the pleasure that sports bring. It appears this was well established during the formative years of sport, when it was still played without any monitory gains for the participants. It is unfortunate that such pleasure has always meant that one celebrates at the loss of the other, and this appears to have been a standard challenge found in sport, mostly so, in modern times, when there are financial rewards at stake. It is in this vein, that Tranter argues that with time, sport attracted gambling to such an extent that cricket was the only sport, which was spared in the second half of the 19th century (Ibid, 53).

Alongside the aforementioned trappings of sport, was man's natural craving for competition, personal glory and a measure of independence from the monotonies found in homes and work places. A number of authors have fallen into the trap of defending such an assumption, while at the same time condemning sport for detracting from family time. This might be a genuine reflection of how different societies or pockets of society have perceived the role on sport (Also see Tranter, Ibid, 54).

The role of sport in uniting people is also the same that entraps it, especially where tribal nationalism is well entrenched. Tranter notes that early British sport faced similar challenges, especially as then exemplified by the nationalistic sprit of the English, the Scots, the Irish and the Welsh (Ibid, 55-56). Such negations as found in British sport are well

documented, especially in football, whether at macro or micro level. Tensions have for some time been the order of the day when derby matches between the likes of Tottenham Hotspur and Arsenal, in the English League, or between Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers, in Scotland. Fundamentally, such tensions have also been felt when the national teams play against each other, for example, between Argentina and Uruguay and between Argentina and Brazil. This might typify what usually occurs when sport is played at a national and international level and more-so when the spirit of 'nationalism' is present.

The notion that sport may be played as an antidote to the problem of poor health failed to take account of the highly polluted atmosphere created by industrial factory emissions in the cities presenting major sporting events. Tranter zeroes in on such notions, since a number of societies believed that sport contributed towards men's physical and mental qualities necessary on the battlefield, as well as for governing the Empire (Ibid, 58). It appears that it was with this in mind that the Germans argued that playing sport could be equated to military conscription, hence the argument that sportsmen were to be exempted from military conscription. The assertion was that such sportsmen would have developed enough of opposition, spirit of pluck, competition and never-say-die spirit, to render military participation null and void (Ibid). It was following this line of thinking, in addition to his argument of being a Muslim, that the then world heavyweight champion boxer, Muhammad Ali, might have refused to participate in the Vietnamese war in the 1960s (See Smith, 2009).

Another angle of Tranter's main thrusts points to the economic side of sport and, probably, how this position added to the pros and cons of the whole fraternity of sport. The author seems to suggest that as sport developed, there were few options, but to accept that the fraternity was gradually involving exchanges of money, especially at a time when professionalism, sign-on, investments, bonuses and shareholding became the order of the day. It is apparent that the founding of associations, which guided and proposed rules and regulations for clubs and teams, only gave impetus to the creation of this kind of exchange. By the turn of the 20th century, as Tranter (Ibid, 61) observes, most of the other sporting activities, save for football, involved the exchange of a lot of money. His assertion is well corroborated by other authors, who have written on the economic side of sport. The lack of much involvement of the exchange of money in football may be due to the fact that the game was at that stage more depended on gate-takings than shareholding. Another explanation might be found embedded in the origins of football and its administration thereafter. This

might also explain why football director were not paid (Ibid, 72). There are signs that the game had been founded by and for the working class, but there is evidence of limited resources, which militated against running sports at professional levels. In its simplicity, football was not dependent on the weather, as compared to other sporting activities, such as cricket (Also see Manungo, 2003).

5.3 Women and sport: the early involvement of women in Britain

From the beginning of my study and as to be found in my later chapters, I intended to have the girl-child as part of the football processes that we got involved in, but for the challenges that I highlighted later, this proved difficult. Yet it is important to have a look at the involvement of women in sport, especially at its infancy levels, more-so, in England.

It is with in mind that another vital theme that Tranter puts forward pertains to the role of women in the British the sport. The theme has also held water over a period of time. It appears that the original role of women was on the stand or as supporters of the different sporting activities and not at all or very much less so as players. Because of the scattered and imprecise evidence of their roles in sport, their participation cannot be exactly quantified. Tranter (Ibid, 78) paints a bleak picture of the role they could have originally played by asserting:

> Apart from women's continued involvement in street
> games during childhood, a moderate and variable level
> of attendance at regattas and Highland Games gatherings
> and a possible increase in their numbers at horse race
> meetings, by the beginning of the Victorian period
> working-class females had largely disappeared from
> the crowds at sporting events, particularly from those
> of a more violent kind like prize-fighting.

While a number of writer's are of the same opinion, there is nothing written on the impact of play at those lower levels, yet such activities might have been competitive, but punctuated with less violent conduct. This research, whose main thrust was community or grassroots sport, for street children, whether male or female, sought to promote such lower level activities, since they might be punctuated with less violent conduct, and promote harmonious relations that promote positive behaviours and attitudes.

The peripheral participation in sport of British women among the working classes was negligible by the third quarter of the 19th century, but in the later stages of the century there are signs that at lower-levels females had started to be involved in a playing capacity. This might have been stimulated by a growing concern for labour productivity and national well-being, racial regeneration and moral promotion. It was thought that sport promoted these efficacies hence one finds out that from the 1870s, gymnastic exercises for girls were introduced as part of the curricular in elementary schools (Ibid, 79). In a similar vein, the roles played by the likes of the National Association of Working Girls' Clubs (NAWGC), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Girl Guides (GG), in promoting sports, such as hockey, swimming and athletics, should not be underestimated. Tranter claims that such organisations laid the foundation for women to up their participation in sport, so that by the Edwardian Era (1901-1910), they had founded their stand-alone associations, for activities, such as cricket (Ibid). While Tranter paints a picture of the girl-child being empowered, the role of women might still have remained dicey, given the pressures, which might have been faced by the middle-class women, who supposedly participated in sports as players. Such a perspective might have been as a result of the home chores that appeared neglected. In other words, and as a consequence, it is highly likely that the participation of women in British sport remained unprofessional and inconsistent for some time. At least in the British Empire, there are signs that women struggled, due to lack of support, to set up associations for the sporting activities that they, at least, participated in, such as rounders and netball (Ibid, 82).

Another trend that Tranter (Ibid, 82-83) projects in his work is that most women could not sustain their participation in sport into adulthood, and it is apparent that such trends are showing today, probably as a result of their chores, as full-time employees and having to fend for the family at home. In modern times, such a position has pushed, even professional female players, to rethink their social positions, hence a number of them have had to either, postpone marriage or quit sport all-together. For instance, tennis players, such as Gabriella Sabatini, who, arguably, have had to quit the sport at their prime due to burnout and for social reasons at a tender age of 26 (www.theguardian.com-Accessed on 26/06/16). It has to be appreciated though, that the role and participation of women in sport has been and remains an essential cog to daily societal peace-building efforts, despite the existing and impending challenges that still exist.

It was with this in mind that this study was not exclusively for the boy street-child, but sought to also involve the so-often neglected girl-child.

5.3.1 Football and the girl-child in general

It is gradually becoming apparent that the world is opening up for the involvement of the girl-child in football. Otherwise, for a while it was assumed that girls would not or should not be involved in sport, in general, and football, in particular. It seems the fact that football is a contact sport only helped to feed into the misperception. In recent times though, young women have been involved in team and individual sporting activities at all levels, especially in the post-Second World War period. It is with this in mind that some countries have done exceptionally well in football, with women's teams from the United State of America, Brazil, China and Germany doing exceptionally well at the Women's Football World Cup. In similar vein, individual sporting activities, such as tennis have seen the likes of Martina Hingis, Martina Navratilova, Monica Seles, and the William sisters, Venus and Serena, leaving a mark on the discipline. While accepting more could be done, especially on the African continent, there are signs and symptoms of challenges against gender imbalances across all sporting activities. It is unfortunate that national and international interest in women's sport still leaves a lot to be desired when it comes to media coverage and sponsorship.

The media has also been seen to perceive women football players as sex symbols, and this was typified at the 1999 Women World Cup, when the American footballer, Chastain, after ripping off her playing shirt as she celebrated her penalty goal that won the game against China in the penalty shootout, denoted what the media and male supporters had been calling for (Caudwell, 2011: 335-336). The implications were that the supporters, who constituted almost half of those in the stadium, were dreaming to have a day they would see the female players naked, hence they were commonly heard singing 'get your tits out' (Ibid, 336).

Another unfortunate perception has been that participation in sport by women, especially football, meant rejecting their femininity (Clark et al., 2007: 261). Consequently, girls and women have been excluded from sport and physical activity under the notion of being frail and inherently weak. While Clark et al. have done a commendable analysis of the

involvement of the girl-child in the English setting, and clearly showing that community sport can break down ethnic and cultural barriers, as exemplified at Benjamin Laurence Primary School in England, they also point to one challenge, which pertains them being expected to wear, and not to wear certain attire, to the extent of being excluded from certain sporting activities as a result (Ibid, 262-263).

Justification of the lack of girls' and women's participation in football as players or supporters cuts across most society. Alternatives have included having girls and women play on their own, but the consequence has been lack of support from males and male-dominated associations, and as found at Holly Bank School in England, girls could not participate in football, due to fear of the abrasive nature of their male counterparts (Ibid, 265). At the same time, socialisation and social positioning cannot be taken for granted when it comes to sport. Social constraints on posture and movement were observed to haunt the young girls who played football, resulting in their reluctance to be offensive, but defensive on the football pitch (Ibid, 267). As a result of social positioning and what is informed by the patriarchal society, most of the girls involved in the research were observed to cluster together in defensive positions and in most cases, they would just kick the ball without thinking much about controlling or moving up afield with it, actions which the author attributes to the mental box to which the girl would have been fixed (Ibid). Probably, what is unfortunate about this research is the fact that even when they played on their own, the girls would still face similar challenges to the ones they came across when they played in mixed teams (Ibid).

The question whether or not, men and women could play football together has been ongoing for a while. Mixing the different genders might appear to benefit girls and women in that they will be included in the mainstream, as opposed to being put in a separate bracket where they will continue to be ostracised. There have been examples where teams and parents have been to the courts in the attempt to have the girl-child and women play football with males. For instance, at the end of 2004, Maribel Dominguez, a female Mexican footballer got a contract to play with males in a second division professional football club, Celaya, only for the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) to hold an emergency meeting to deal with the case (Caudwell, 2011: 335). The verdict, which called for the separation between male and female football, appears to have put to rest all attempts by girls and women to play in mixed teams from which it appeared there were going to be more benefits for them, as compared to being involved in sport separately.

Another dimension to girls' participation in football points to them making a statement against gender-bias and patriarchy by being merely on the field, even in cases where they would appear passive and just stand and kick the ball back to the other side of the field of play (Clark, Ibid: 272). It seems it is in the same spirit that the English Football Association (EFA) has seen a rise in the number of girls participating from approximately, 1 000 players in 1993, to about 130 000 in the first decade of the 20th century (Jeanes, 2011: 402). It might also be concluded that the participation of girls and women in sport in general, and football, in particular, is not a mere event, but an ongoing process. At the same time, it might also be argued that the Western nations are doing much better than their African counterparts in terms of promoting girl-participation in football. This is more pronounced, especially in those countries that are struggling to even promote the game for their male football national teams and this is to the detriment of promoting women's football. Otherwise, on the African continent, the few countries that have been consistently attempting to promote women football are South Africa, Ghana and Cameroon, while for the majority it has been a case of making on and off attempts.

While there might have been a great leap forwards in the girl-child's participation in sports, there has still been concern about the discrimination towards female sports journalists, especially on the international front. Mozisek (2015: 18) suggests that discrimination of women in sport is deep-seated in men's fantasies and fabrications, which border on using biological differences to determine where one belongs or does not belong, and consequently, men seek to overpower their counterparts by establishing authority. While discrimination against female reporters in the press-boxes and locker rooms might have been more pronounced in the 1960s and 1970s and might not be as topical due to global winds of change that have been calling for non-discrimination in sports, further research in this area is necessary. Otherwise, Mozisek does not provide a remedy for areas where women might still be ostracized on gender-basis.

From the commencement of my study I noted lack of girls in those who come to the House of Smiles, which is manned by CESVI. It was only on the very first day when I informally paid a visit to the centre that I took notice of a few girls who came for a bath. Thereafter, and in my next few visits I did not see any girls, which might also explain the reason why no girls got to be considered for this study as participants despite the fact that there was room for their

involvement. It was only during my visit in April 2016 that one of the girls showed an interest in being part of the team as supporter, but the unfavourable response from one of the boys standing within earshot seemed to dull her enthusiasm.

On a positive note, one of my assistants in this research was a woman, Margret Phiri, who played the game at national level with the Zimbabwean Women's National Team, nicknamed the 'Mighty Warriors.' Her involvement showed that women still have a contribution that they can make in football and Margret's knowledge of the game made a huge statement towards female involvement in the discipline.

5.4 The relationship between sport and politics

Langley's (1989: 42) synopsis shows that sport and politics, especially at higher levels, are married, by examining the hijacking of the 1936 Olympic Games by the Hitler regime. This study is not going to struggle to separate sport from the politics of the day. Nevertheless, is has to be argued that politicians often seek to associate themselves with sport, more-so, football, in the case of Africa, not because of its weakness, but because of its strength. While accepting the impact that sport can play, Rigby (http://assetssportanddev.org-Accessed on 10/12/17) has serious concerns about its relationship with politics, especially when played at national level. His view is that, "Dictators over the century have used sporting occasions and sports programs (sic.) to divert critical attention away from the regime as part of their strategy for holding onto power." Beashel et al. (1996: 296) are of the view that sport cannot be divorced from what is taking place in the world at the time.

In this view, changes and all that occurs in the world would show that sport, politics, social and economic issues are always entangled. The authors conclude by giving their argument a structural framework with a Marxist perspective. The approach, which is structural in nature, is based on the view that society affects individuals and group behaviour, rather than how individuals and groups create society (Ibid, 297). Against the backdrop, the Marxist theory puts the stress on conflict more than agreement within a given society. Beashel et al. attempted to approach sport through the use of scientific lenses, a position this study is not going to pursue to any significant extent. It has to be appreciated that the more sport

becomes professional and is played at national level, the more likely its manipulation by politicians.

It is also noticeable that the more sport emphasises on winning, extrinsic rewards, such as money, power and prestige, and bureaucratisation, such as management, it can breed ground enough for havoc, within and outside the field of play. According to Crone's (1999: 321) exchange theory findings, the more the aforementioned independent reward variables are taken to heart, the more negative sport turns to be. Such an environment can lead to a lot of on and off field cheating and violence. This perspective supports Merton's anomie theory, which argues that deviant methods can be used in order to gain a cultural goal when some people cannot attain the goal legally (Ibid). Use of drugs by the likes of the Argentinian, Diego Maradona (football), and Americans, Marion Jones and Ben Johnson (athletics) and Armstrong (Cycling), quickly spring to mind. Corroborating Crone's exchange theory, especially on the role of the media the economics, Odhiambo (www.wits.ac.za/wiser-Accessed on 10/12/17), expresses the view that sport, especially football, can no longer be taken for granted, given the involvement of big investment by multinational companies. He cites the case of South Africa (SA), which hosted the 2010 World Cup (WC), and attracted substantial funding from organisations, such as Coca Cola, Barclays, SA Breweries, Vodacom and Toyota. The same companies have also invested heavily in the different sporting disciplines in the country. Given the serious monetary investment in sport, there cannot be questions on the consequence that come with such investments pertaining national pride. National pride usually emerges during national team matches and international matches involving clubs from different countries, and it is without doubt that the World Cup can present an arena for the exercise of serious national feelings, some of which can be negative.

It is against the background of such national tensions that Paulo (1999: 59) asserts that international sport is taking advantage of children to the extent of abusing them, which might explain why the majority feel relieved by merely participating, and not necessarily when they perform well for their country. Consequently, Paulo (Ibid, 57-81) is of the opinion that modern sports have side effects on children that include ill consideration for their bodies, a psychological effects, eating disorders, burnout syndrome, promoting of a cycle of violence by promoters and coaches, drug abuse, as well as promoting of the enslaving interdependency. Paulo's assertion suggests that children are being compelled to participate

in sport at an age they should still be developing, and the more the expectations of the families, coaches and nations, the more are the chances of doping scandals, avoidable fatalities and life-changing injuries to the children (Also see Attali, 2011).

Paulo's concern against the abuse of young sports persons goes hand-in-glove with Marasescu's assessment of athletes' aggression and violence, especially in competitive hockey in the Western countries. Marasescu (2013: 184) postulates that aggressive and violent behaviour among young athletes might be a result of the pressure exerted by parents and spectators on the players. In other words, their passion to win at all cost can result in violent, deviant and aggressive behaviour amongst the sportsmen and sportswomen. Consequently, opposing players will seek to subjugate the rival or opposing team by legal and illegal means. Yet, to make matters worse in hockey, umpires or referees in the professional league are not allowed to intervene when only two players get involved in a fight (Ibid, 185). As a result, certain sporting disciplines are perceived to condone violence and aggression to certain levels, which might be taken as unethical and immoral in other circles.

Orwell's assessment of the role of sport in society can easily be dismissed as hyperbole. Given the context and period when he wrote his article, one might feel obliged to forgive him, especially given that some of his ideas were valid and applicable. Orwell (1958: 160) appears to have had a problem with international sport. He claimed that whenever the question of prestige arises, games cease to be played for fun and exercise. Giving an example of the match played between Moscow Dynamos of Russia and Arsenal of Britain at the end of the Second World War in 1945, he claims that at an international level, sport is a mimic of warfare, in which savage combative instincts are aroused. Suffice to say, he points to the fact that most of the time the positive intentions of the players are usually over-ridden by the demands of the spectators for violent action (Ibid). Orwell had the worst perceptions of boxing, which was so abrasive in the early 20th century such that women were not permitted to attend (Ibid). It is unfortunate that this formed the substructure of Orwell's analysis of the role of sport to the extent that he had nothing positive to say about the sporting fraternity. It is also with this in mind that the nationalist role built by sport during the period of the struggle for independence, here, in Africa, may need further research. Overall, it is without doubt that sport can easily be used as a tool of separating as well as pacifying communities, depending on the issues at hand and perceptions of the parties.

The apartheid South African case is one that also points to how difficult it is to separate national sport from politics of the day, since segregation and discrimination was also found on the sporting front, notwithstanding efforts to try and save the fraternity by authorities. Sport became one area that Africans and other discriminated groups targeted as a way of flexing their muscles without being at the receiving end of a repressive and oppressive political, social and economic system. Of all those that led the struggle against apartheid through sport, the most topical figure might have to be Sam Ramsammy, who was executive chairperson of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) between 1976 and 1991 (Keech, 2000: 42). The 1962-founded body pressured for the non-recognition of the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC), since it was not representative of South Africa, but of a minority white group that contravened the very first rule of the Olympic Charter, which highlighted that there should be no discrimination of any form among its member states (Ibid). It might be false to claim that he was the only anti-apartheid figure who used sport as a tool; at the same time the impact of those in sport should not be over-exaggerated, yet a call from the sport front marked the beginnings of the move away from social segregation (See Ndlovu, 2011: 144-145). Starting with the protest-withdrawal of the Japanese Olympic in 1964, the 1970s witnessed the expulsion of the apartheid-Republic of South Africa (RSA) from a number sporting activities, including football in 1976, when FIFA flexed its muscles (Keech, Ibid, 45). While political and social discrimination in SA sport continued at local level, on the international front it was apparent there was a great leap forward for the lobbyists. Until the early 1990s, SA sport was in isolation on the international front, and it can be concluded that there is a very thin line between sport and politics of the day.

It is also proper to say that SA had to hunt for political solutions in the aftermath of the apartheid, despite challenges. In addition, it might be argued that reconciliation using sport at national level might be a façade. There is no other country that has attempted to reconcile through sport more than South Africa, since the demise of apartheid in 1994. Hoglund et al. (2008) in their symbolic theory do not bring out the core issues and concerns that South Africans may still have over the use of sport for reconciliation purposes. Symbolic gestures by Nelson Mandela wearing rugby and football teams' jerseys, or hoisting the African Football Cup of Nations (AFCON), and Rugby World Cup (RWC) after 1994, may only hide tensions still found in other sporting disciplines. Without disputing the role of sport in the post-apartheid 'rainbow nation,' its transformative role should not be overstated. It is with

this in mind that the Soccer World Cup (SWC) in SA might be more concerned about economic benefits than reconciliation. It is not surprising that Keim (http://www.toolkitsportdevelopment.org-Accessed on 10/12/17) says, "I am not the only observer to comment that government initiatives like the bid for the Soccer World Cup in 2010…remain driven by economic desires and neglect the tremendous social transformative capacity inherent to [in] them." Hoglund et al. (2008: 811) have to be commended though, for asserting that communal and grassroots reconciliation through sport is possible. According to the authors, while giving examples of the role of community basketball and football, '…participation in sport can serve to break down stereotypes, transform negative attitudes about 'the others,' and empower communities to create a more homogeneous and less conflict-prone society.'

The demands of sport and politics for time and space need further study. What is apparent is that personalities of certain sporting disciplines become more popular than political figures (See Armstrong, 2002). Liberia may serve as an example, where George Weah, a football icon who played for overseas clubs, such as Paris St. Germain (France), AC Milan (Italy) and Chelsea (England), became so popular that he won the preliminary national elections, before losing in the second round to incumbent President, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (Ibid, 9). At the same time, Weah might have shown double standards by being involved in shoddy deals involving a number of Liberian players and clubs, but that he had more influence than most politicians is without a doubt (Armstrong, 2007).

The achievement goal theory was developed by Dweck et al. (1988: 92), who assert that sport experience is about motivational orientation. Nicholls, cited in Dweck et al. (Ibid, 94), says motivational goals can be split into task and ego. If sportspersons emphasize the task there is less pressure on them as they focus on skill-learning and self-improvement. This is as opposed to sportspersons who emphasise ego. Egocentrism will see them seeking to outperform opponents and demonstrate superior ability. The goal-perspective theory shares similar concerns with the achievement goal theory. The former states that individualism that constitutes threats to self-interest would lead to exploitation and manipulation of others through control, power and denigration.

Out of the findings of Tomlison et al. (2006: 1), there was always going to be a spectacle in sport in relation to its association with geo-political exploitation, economic ramifications and

globalisation. Accordingly, sporting events, as represented by the Olympic Games, which were meant to celebrate the body and the physical cultures of individuals or societies they represented, got entangled in the political, as well as the ideological motives, from the time of the Greek and Roman civilisations. From the periods of these civilisations, it appears the Olympic Games have been used as a source of global inclusion and exclusion. One notices that, while the Olympics have been used to bring the sporting world together, there have been cases where a number of countries have been coerced to withdraw from the games altogether, so often for political reasons. Countries, such as apartheid-South Africa that I covered earlier in this chapter and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)-governed Southern Rhodesia (modern-day Zimbabwe), are examples of such exclusion, amongst a lot of others.

At the same time, there has been a tendency of countries to withdraw from global tournaments on political grounds. In 1980, and at the height of the Cold War, the United States of America (USA) boycotted the Olympic Games simply because they were hosted by communist-Soviet Union (SU), while the Soviet Union reciprocated by boycotting the Olympic Games that were hosted in Los Angeles, America, in 1984 (Ibid, 9). There is evidence that, despite attempts to separate sport from politics at the behest of some ideology, political or otherwise, so long as the games are played at national level, it will always be difficult to succeed in doing so. Tension is a process and by the time teams are singing their national anthems, such tension reaches fever pitch among the involved players and supporters. The majority of such national anthems exacerbate the situation, given that the majority of them are patriotic compositions that heighten national pride in the involved teams.

It seems most attempts to separate sport from politics have so often been futile exercises in a globalising world. Staging world events such as the Soccer World Cup and the Olympic Games have usually represented some form of political prize, and those that spring to mind were the Nazi-hijacked Olympic Games of 1936 and Italy's hosting and winning the 1934 Soccer World Cup, which they defended in Paris, four year later (Ibid, 7). Such major events had a tendency to coincide with major political events, such as Italy's imperial war in Abyssinia (modern Ethiopia), its involvement in the Spanish Civil War, while the Nazi party was on the political ascendancy in Germany. The gravity of Italian football was compounded by the fact that the Fascist regime of Benito Mussolini had renamed the 'Stadio Flaminio' to 'Fascist National Party Stadium' towards the football World Cup tournament (Ibid, 41). That

Mussolini would go on to order the withdrawal of the Italian team from contesting in the 1936 Tour de France and the 1937 football match in France, because he loathed Leon Blum's administration, should be viewed as a portrayal of sport's power, rather than as its weakness (Ibid, 43).

The German case has already been referred to in the previous paragraphs, but there is proof that national sport was at the mercy of being entangled in the political and socio-economics status of the day, but it might be argued that radical politicians of the day attempted to hijack the popularity that came with the hosting of such worldly events. There has always been controversy on whether or not the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games were more of Hitler's triumph, or that of the black athlete, Jesse Owens and other competing black athletes. Hitler's administration was accused of reneging on its early promise to include athletes of Jewish descent in the Olympic Games team by intentionally excluding a world-class high-jumper, Gretel Bergmann, but it was the refusal of the German administration and the media to recognize Owen's astonishing athleticism, as he broke the world 100 metres, 200 metres, long jump and 400 metre relay records that caught the eye (Ibid, 68-72). In the end, and typical of most controversial sport versus politics cases, it cannot be refuted that the Berlin Olympics case of 1936 clearly showed a triumph of sport over the Nazi party politics.

In its endeavour to dominate and be a world power in the middle of the 19th century, Britain pushed for utmost importance by trying to consolidate herself through political and military means, as well through the transfer of cultural systems. According to Harif et al. (2003: 41), sport was one of the vehicles through which the British attempted to transmit their culture to the subjugated societies. Much of such a drive was led by a system that did not only try and offer limited formal education to the native groups, but also through a number of individuals and groups intertwined with the system, such as merchants, students, military and missionaries. What the British and other imperial forces did not envisioned was the fact that in their push to avoid boredom through promotion of sports alongside and or against the local groups only gave a chance to such disadvantaged groups to seek revenge on the playing field, as well as to gain insight into the life of the colonisers. Harif et al. (2003) examined how the Zionist Jews were presented with such a chance amongst the British during their occupation of Palestine between 1918 and 1948.

Accordingly, the Jews, who had no economic and social autonomy, nor political sovereignty, had their pride and patriotism evoked on the playing field, especially through football. The Zionist movement, which witnessed the influx of Jews into Palestine mostly from East Europe, led to the establishment of football associations and football clubs, such as Maccabi Sports Federation (MSF) and Fliers, respectively. Political overtones were always part of football, which the British had introduced, and one Jewish football administrator was head asserting that exercising in the open air played an important role in the renewal of the nation, as the same youth who played as a goalkeeper, could be trusted, because the game readied him to defend people's honour (Ibid, 45). The fact that football in Palestine involved personnel from the security sector only helped to fuel tension in the game.

While the British thought football could lead to peace and harmony, which they tried to promote through multiracial and multi-ethnic team, such as one that went to play in Egypt in 1930, that comprised six Jewish and nine British players. Losses by such teams exacerbated relations between the Jews and the colonisers (Ibid, 46). The team lost its three games, with the former asserting that the team was not wearing the blue and white of Israel thus was not representing the Jews (Ibid).

Most of the football matches played in Palestine during the time could not be completed, as national honour dominated. In one of the matches, which was described as 'wild,' the Jewish players argued that, though they lost, they showed the British who were refusing to make concessions that they had power and gave them what they deserved (Ibid). Apparently, in most cases the matches would present those who thought themselves oppressed with a chance to unyoke themselves from colonial bondage, which might also explain why the Jews usually lobbied for more football matches than the British authorities did (Ibid).

In addition, there is proof that political tension did not only involve the Jews and the British, since the Palestinians also became part of the equation. The Palestinian Arabs perceived, both, the British and Jews as invaders, who were working in cahoots on all fronts, and football was not spared the brunt. While the British sought the involvement of the Arabs in the matches in which they also included the Jews, there is evidence that politics was always at play, especially in the period between 1936 and 1939, when the Arabs rose against the British and Jewish institutions, until their subjugation at the beginning of the Second World War (Ibid, 48). Harif et al. (Ibid, 51) point to one incident, where the British and the Jews

came face-to-face with the Arabs, after the only Arab in a select side that included six Jews, three English and one Greek, a Palestinian goalkeeper, was substituted for letting in eight goals in the first half against a visiting British team, Wonders. The mere fact that the select side did not concede any goals in the second half, but scored three, might have exonerated those who substituted the goalkeeper, but the gesture did not go down well with the Arabs (Ibid). The commencement of the Second World War did not only bring to an end attempts at using football as a unifying force or subjugation vehicle by the British, but was also an example of how sport was hand-in-glove in the British colonies across the world.

In more recent times, there have been cases where 'football wars' have become a concern. The 1969 El Salvador versus Honduras matches, which were meant to be qualifying matches for the 1970 World Cup hosted by Mexico, degenerated into a four-day political war that killed an estimated 3 000 people (Giulianotti, 2012: 288). The same can be said of the Yugoslav civil war of the 1990s, which was preceded by rioting of the supporters, police and players from Red Star Belgrade and Zagreb, with a lot of the fans subsequently providing paratrooper units during the civil war (Ibid). Apparently, sport, especially at national level, provides a recipe for military aggression, and can prepare individuals and societies physically, emotionally and psychologically for armed conflict. A number of authors maintain that sport plays a significant role in how states relate. Murray (2012: 576) suggests that such dynamics have been witnessed in the American boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, with Russians following suite by boycotting the Los Angeles Games four year later, while the 2002 Soccer World Cup brought Japan and South Korea together.

Additionally, there have been a number of failed attempts at using football as vehicle for unity and peace, with the Indonesian case springing to mind. The government tried to promote national unity by creating a national league (Galatama) in 1979, only to discover that regionalism and loyalty to separatism was more entrenched, enduring and more powerful than anticipated (Ibid, 778). The Indonesian case is not isolated as there have been similar cases, for instance, Northern Ireland struggled to use football as a pacifier, despite the 1998 peace agreement (Ibid).

There have been a number of authors who have asserted that, despite the development and peace outcomes that might be derived from use of football as a vehicle there is still need for the decolonisation of sport. The main proponents, Darnell et al. (2011: 187), argue that the

majority of the post-colonial sports policies lobbied by the likes of the International Platform on Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) are still bound and constrained by the dominance and constructed along Gramscian and Marxist hegemonic relations, therefore, would need to be decolonised. It seems that the authors are concerned by the fact that there are still nuances of colonialism coming from the organisations that run and lobby for the involvement of sport in development in the developing countries. Accordingly, the administration of the sport, such as the Olympics, which is run by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and football, which is run by the Western-based, FIFA, pursue foreign policy objectives, and the same can be said of the so many NGOs that have been pushing for the marriage between sport and development (Ibid, 186-187). The possibilities of home-grown sporting activities, principles and policies that are independent of foreign funding and international influence may always be difficult, and this is at a time when sport is growing in statue, due to the monies that are involved in the administration and marketing of the fraternity. Consequently, sport in general, especially at national and international levels, has become entangled in the global market and political forces, some of which will be difficult to shake off in the near or distant future.

Another concern, which Darnell et al. (Ibid, 189) raised had to do with imposing football as a solution to the lack of development in the developing countries, especially in those areas where employment and other tangible and pragmatic economic needs are core. The authors imply that in such areas, football would be perceived as a luxury. To an extent, this notion holds water, especially in some, if not the majority, of communities in the developing world, including Africa. That is to say that the continent still has apprehension in promoting the youth in the areas of sport and other areas, such as music. This implies that, those who emphasise and participate in them are understood to have failed in other areas, such as education. Lack of funding in the promotion of such areas as football and music among others only feeds into this misperception.

Unfortunately, despite the challenges presented by Darnell et al., the authors did not present any alternatives to challenge the status quo. As a result, it is likely that more remedial solutions may still need to be proposed by the same or different authors.

There is ample evidence that football, among other sporting disciplines, was affected by the colour-bar in terms of where and against whom one would play, especially in the British

colonies, where divide-and-rule witnessed facilities utilised along racial lines. Colonial Zimbabwe was not an exception to this. In the study that I carried out on Southern Rhodesian football, there was proof of similarities with other Western colonies in terms of how football was administered in general. For instance, the African-led, National Football Association of Rhodesia (NFAR) and the European-led, Football Association of Rhodesia (FAR) were frequently at loggerheads, especially as they fought for space and international recognition, with the latter patronising sports clubs, such as Raylton, Alexandra, Callies and Italia (Manungo, 2003: 20).

Out of my findings, Rhodesian football could not be separated from the politics of the day, especially during the period of 1890 to 1980. Political overtones could be noted in the founding of the two biggest African clubs, Matabeleland Highlanders, which was established by Lobengula's two sons, Albert and Rhodes in 1936 (Ibid, 29), and Dynamos, which, co-incidentally, was founded in 1963, the same year ZANU-PF came into being (Ibid, 54). Nationalist input in Dynamos' affairs from the outset cannot be established, yet the club might have played a significant role during a time when nationalism was on the rise, and one of the founder members, Morrison Sifelani, posited that it was the pleasure of the Africans to 'punish' their European counterparts each time they played against each other (Ibid, 57). Apparently, while the likes of Highlanders went on to embrace multiracial football, Dynamos' history shows that only Africans and Coloured have played for the club, and in strange ways, football associations would save the team from relegation (Ibid, 58). If Dynamos was representing the Africans, then Salisbury Callies was European through and through, which led to the demise of the latter in 1976, after it was accused of practicing racism through providing Africans with substandard changing rooms (Ibid, 62). It is also in the same political breath that Rhodesia was suspended from international matches from 1973 to 1980 (Ibid, 60). Otherwise, post-1980 football in Zimbabwe has been mainly infested with ethnic tensions, as compared to racist tensions.

5.4.1 Football and ethnicity in Africa

A great number of the African populace has been impacted and influenced by football teams from their former colonial masters. Those of the latter that spring to mind are the likes of the Portuguese football teams, such as Oporto, Benfica, Braga and Sporting Lisbon, among

others, that have been religiously followed in Mozambique and Angola. The same can be said of the influence of the English football clubs, such as Manchester United, Manchester City, Liverpool, Everton and Chelsea, amongst many others, that have left a mark in former Anglophone countries, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Ghana, Nigeria, Botswana, South Africa and so forth.

The media, especially after the founding of Supersport, which is aired via digital television, has played a big role in influencing the African thought, while the recent movement of African players into foreign leagues has not helped the cause, with players, such as Austin 'Jay-Jay' Okocha and Nwanku Kanu (Nigeria), Peter Ndlovu and Moses Chunga (Zimbabwe), Roger Milla and Cyril Makanaky (Cameroon), Kalusha Bwalya, Kelvin Mutale and Eston Mulenga (Zambia), Mark Fish and Lucas Radebe (South Africa) becoming national icons, celebrities and idols of many from the African continent, while playing for foreign clubs.

As already observed, at national level, football became commercial and a symbol of national identity and it was often, brutal. By 2006, the effects of the English game was showing its ugly side in Nigeria, as supporters started labelling their streets after the clubs they supported, while in the likes of Lagos and Ibadan, cases of violence between supporters of different English clubs were reported (Majaro-Majesty, 2011: 202). While there might be the need for further research in the Nigerian case, growing tension between supporters of different clubs were apparent and there were fears that football was not necessarily uniting Nigerians, but dividing them along ethnic lines. Naturally, Nigerian ethnic groups are also based on religion, descent and language, especially amongst the Hausa-Fulani (North), the Yoruba (West) and the Igbo (East).

Ethnicity might be viewed as a presumed subjective identity which, psychologically, motivates individuals and groups to take certain stances (Ibid, 203). Ethnicity leads to solidarity, emotional feeling and bonding or attachment towards individuals and, or, groups, which share the same feelings, interests and so forth. Negatively, such a feeling can also lead to resentment and discrimination of individuals and groups that do not share similar views. It is with this in mind that people of a similar cultural and heritage background would represent an ethnic group rallying behind a certain club.

Zimbabwe has not been exceptional when it comes to perceptions of regional football teams representing ethnic groupings. The struggles and politicisation of Dynamos and Highlanders as clubs, and on the playing field are well-documented. Consequently, it becomes a taboo for each of the teams to lose to the other, or for players to transfer between the two clubs. The perception is that the clubs represent the two dominant tribes, the Shona and the Ndebele, respectively. The media also tends to fuel tribal tensions towards, during and after the matches between the two clubs, with the majority of them referring their matches as 'the battle of Zimbabwe.' Questions remain whether or not such ethnic tensions exist or are imagined. Strangely, after having failed to defeat Dynamos in a competitive match between 2006 and 2016, Highlanders finally defeated their counterparts at, and away from home in 2016, but attention was turned to a paper placard hoisted by one of the celebrating Highlanders supporters at Barbourfields with the inscription 'We believe in Akbay (Highlanders European Manager). Rest in peace Mashona! *Zinja (dogs)' (The Herald, September* 2016). While such a statement might have been a surprise, it was pregnant with meaning, and might be a reflection of the perceptions of certain elements among the supporters, who try and maximise on ethnic differences to settle their scores.

5.5 Sport and peacebuilding

Ramsbotham et al. (2011: 347) explored the role of culture, as well as artistic dimensions of conflict resolution, as expressed in the theatrical arts, music and sport. The authors claimed that these expressive and creative human activities usually provide a more powerful source of the peace-building effort, which is not always present in conventional and formalised political conflict resolutions. Their views share commonality with those of the UN, in terms of set values, behaviour and attitudes, which try to address violent issues by looking to tackle their root-causes, and to solve problems and conflicts through dialogue amongst individuals, groups and nations (Ibid). Creativity and imagination have become part and parcel of the modern world and intertwined with these, are the sophistications of a technologically-advanced universe in which young people can thrive with less restrictions.

The establishment of peace-culture and conflict-resolution, as part of development and the internationalisation of peace have become more pronounced recently. A number of countries, such as Japan, England and the Netherlands have been involved in the peace museum

movement which by 2008 had set up more than 100 centres world-wide (Ibid, 348). Peace museums attempt to inculcate the spirit of peace through art and other forms of media and these are presented through the setting-up of positive value systems, as exemplified in art and artefacts. Consequently, areas such as drama, literature, sculpture, photography are used in juxtaposition to the waste of war, with most of these being used to end war and promote peace.

It is in the same context that music has been used as a double-edged sword, for unity, with its different genres having been used to bring people together, and for division alike. Ramsbotham (Ibid, 349) renders an example of a 1999 music concert that was organised by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said, which has now become a permanent feature that brings Israelis and Palestinians together (Ibid). The orchestra musicians have managed to bring groups of different cultures together leading to the promotion of self-awareness, tolerance, healing and co-operation. The impact of music might be difficult to measure in terms of its negatives or positives, yet there are few arguments of how national anthems and other sources of music can and have left an indelible mark in people's hearts.

According to Ramsbotham et al. (Ibid, 351-352), sport has been basically used for three purposes, as an alternative to destructive conflict and violence, for commercial reasons, which might not necessarily augur well with peace-building efforts and for breeding competitive sentiments and nationalistic spirit. Despite some of the concerns found in the attempt to use sport as a vehicle for peace, there might not be dispute that the fraternity has on a number of occasions been used as bridge and tool of unity and cross-cultural understanding. It is with this in mind that participation in sport is enshrined in the 1989 convention on the rights of the child and the 1979 convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, as well as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and a wide range of other UN agencies (Ibid, 352).

While it has to be mentioned that research on the impact of the involvement of football clubs through social responsibilities is still a work-in-progress, there is evidence that the fraternity has been used, and in surprising ways, to support peace and conflict-resolution in recent times, and this is despite the fears associated with the game, especially at national level, where it has become so commercialised. An example is the role of the Catalunya-based, Barcelona, which partnered the Open University of Catalunya in a project that witnessed the

football club promoting peace and development education programmes for the university (Ibid, 354). Having been used as a symbol of resistance against Franco's oppression against the Catalunya, from 2006, Barcelona wore the UNICEF logo on its shirts, and paid an annual fund of 1.5 million Euros towards UN agency's activities (Ibid).

Sport has been closely associated with leisure and competition, and Majaro-Majesty's (Ibid, 204) assertion that it is a socially-acceptable recreation and non-profit oriented activity is an understatement to modern professional sport. In addition, the United Nations (UN) has modestly defined sport as all forms of physical activity, which will contribute towards physical fitness, social interaction and mental-wellbeing (Ibid, 205). The definition underscores the essence of sport in providing for confidence, leadership, discipline and skills, which, in turn, feed into attributes, such as co-operation, respect and tolerance. Giulianotti (2012: 280-281) also highlights some Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programmes that were successfully established to challenge poverty, and HIV, such as the Grassroots Soccer programme that was meant to promote HIV/AIDS awareness in Zimbabwe, the Segundo Tempo programme in Brazil, which was meant to provide youths with sports and free food resources, a football project run by Elena in Cameroon, which had the intention of promoting empowerment and domestic-abuse awareness and the UN Mission in Liberia's Sport for Peace initiative, which was established in 2007 and was meant to encourage young people to promote post-conflict development. Unfortunately, and typical of the majority of related programmes that are dotted around the globe, the impact of these projects or programmes is muted for one reason or the other, yet they look so promising on paper.

Ha et al. (2013: 121-122) point out that despite lack of empirical evidence on the positive impact of programmes that attempt to connect sport to development, which have mainly targeted people living with HIV/AIDS, refugees, people with disability, youths and women, recently, limited empirical evidence has shown that the relationship between sport and development can have a positive impact on the aforementioned target groups, especially those in Africa and Asia, through the acculturation processes. The processes refer to group and individual attitude and behaviour responses to cultural dynamics and alterations, especially as a result of getting into contact with new societies (Ibid, 125). Additionally, there is evidence that sport left a positive mark on an ethnically-divided Sri Lanka, where it established interpersonal friendships, created social identity inclusiveness, as well as 'moments of togetherness' for communities that had suffered from decades of deep-seated

ethnic differences (Ibid, 122). While Ha et al. assert that there might be a need for further study on the impact of sport on target group with strong immigration histories, findings from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 'Right to play' programme, which was set-up in Liberia revealed that about 84 per cent of the involved children could now amicably solve conflicts that were peer-related (Ibid). The same could be said of Pakistan, where peer-to-peer school violence was discovered to have decreased after the introduction of the 'Right to play' programme (Ibid).

According to Majaro-Majesty (Ibid, 204), sport can be used in character-building, especially as part of the process that seeks to promote equal rights, as well as to eliminate injustices, and this can even be done at the same level with other adopted peace-building efforts. That means there are possibilities for using sport as a transformation vehicle that can challenge stereotyping and the perceiving of former enemies as implacable foes, more-so, via the aforementioned attributes that include tolerance, leadership, confidence, co-operation, neutrality, inclusivity, and respect for rules and regulations. This might explain the recent efforts of the UN to use sport as an instrument to help individuals and countries to live in peaceful co-existence (Ibid).

In as much as it being the most followed sporting discipline, football can present a fair share of disadvantages, but the same disadvantages can also works to its favour. Added to this, it is a simple, naturally cheap and an all-weather sport. This might be the reason why it has been widely used to attract attention away from the forces of conflict or in conflict-prevention, as well as in post-conflict peace-building efforts around the world. In the same breath, it has proved effective in taking young people off the crime-infested streets in so many countries. In addition, Majaro-Majesty (Ibid, 206-10) maintains that in Nigeria, football has proved an effective communication tool, which has gradually eroded cultural and ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, as discovered in the research he carried out in Ibadan.

In recent memory, nothing beats peace-building efforts through football more than what was witnessed in the Ivory Coast in 2007, in a game in which, the host nation defeated Madagascar 5-0, in a match played in rebel-held Northern city of Bouake (Merrill, http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2007-Accessed on 13/10/15). What caught the world's attention was not the scoreboard, but the fact that, where five years of combat and peace negotiations had failed, the Didier Drogba-led Ivory Coast national team had succeeded in

ending the civil war, with belligerent forces and government representatives sitting in the same stadium. Ivory Coast was never going to be same again after the match in which the then Chelsea-based, Drogba, begged all parties in the conflict, as represented by Prime Minister, Soro, and President Gbagbo, to come to terms. The result was a 25 000 crowd that was composed of people who, in the recent past, were baying for each other's blood (Ibid). As a result of Drogba's effort, the country experienced a five-year ceasefire agreement (Ramsbotham et al., Ibid: 356).

During the national team's matches, the government, in collaboration with the United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI), utilised the opportunity to promote peace and tolerance through the wide screens that were strategically places across the country (Ibid, 355). Himself a Catholic, and his wife a Muslim from Mali, Drogba became an icon and peacemaker at a time his country of birth needed him. As a result, in 2010 the USA Time magazine listed him among the top 100 most influential people for the year, while sustainability of his efforts are in place through his Didier Drogba Foundation (Ibid, 356). In addition to having facilitated the 2007 peace accord in Ivory Coast, Drogba was essentially appointed the United Nations Development Programme's Goodwill Ambassador in Geneva, Switzerland the same year (Mathure, 2010: 22-23).

The Ivory Coast national team under that captainship of Drogba managed to connect the top political leadership and the communities at grassroots levels and lobbied for these to find one another for the sake of the nation. This was also at a time when there was a huge chasm between top leadership and the ordinary Ivorians. Prior to the 2006 German football World Cup, Drobga was quoted as begging and mobilising for peace through putting down weapons and organising for elections (Cwik, http://wiscomp.org/pubn-Accessed on 22/02/16). It was in this context that during a symbolic reconciliation match between ASEC Mimosas and Africa Sports in the belligerent-controlled North, the Prime Minister, Charles Konan Banny, who was in the company of the rebel leaders, Guillaume Soro, lauded the efforts through football when he said "Everything is possible through sport. We will unite around the ball, which is the same for everyone. A ball rolls in the same way for everyone and because of that it is a powerful symbol for reconciliation" (Ibid).

While the political and socio-economic consequences usually faced when football is played at national and international level are crystal clear, and there is evidence of the challenge faced

if one attempts to divorce the game from the politics of the day, there is also proof that peace initiatives through football at the highest level are also a reality.

Idleness is always a peril in ex-combatant camps, especially in areas where children are used in combat, yet sport and its role has always been a neglected fraternity in peace-building literature. There are a few examples when sport has been used with relative success in peace-building efforts, but with little writing to show for such efforts, and it might be a worthwhile to briefly look into how disarmament, demobilisation and re-integration (DDR) was used alongside football in peace-building processes.

While the involvement of children in Sierra Leone is looked into in later chapters, it might be appropriate to mention here that the 1999-Lome Peace Accord witnessed a total of 6 845 child soldiers being disarmed in different phases (Dyck, 2011: 400).

In the ensuing DDR processes in Sierra Leone, it was discovered that football resulted in a number of benefits for the ex-combatants, with interviews showing that such benefits included gradual reduction of violent behaviour among the youth, better interaction between the young people and the neighbouring communities, fostering of social networks among the youths, which could be later consolidated and nurtured in development attempts and distracting the youths from the stresses of psychological trauma (Ibid, 402).

Dyck (Ibid, 402) asserts that the early days of re-integration in Sierra Leone were tense and needed some outlet, which ended up being provided by football. While the early days of football were punctuated by apprehension and caricatures of the battle field, such as sloganeering and so-forth, administrators ended up using the sport for psycho-social assistance, as well as for addressing governance issues in the camps (Ibid, 403-404). Despite the positives about football in the Sierra Leone ex-combatant camps, one missed opportunity was the lack of involving the girls who had been involved in war in the sporting activities (Ibid, 408-409). Unfortunately, gender-based roles that had been part and parcel of the Sierra Leone civil war also showed in the way the girls were not involved in the DDR football efforts.

What is usually appropriate is to give a chance to all genders to be involved in peace-building efforts through football, instead of deliberately discriminating, against the female ex-combatants.

5.6 The potential role of community sport

As I have already highlighted, sport at national and international levels has had its own fair share of challenges, some of which include exploitation of young people, homeless street children included. It is in this vein that in most cases homelessness results from displacements for infrastructural and stadium development. Such dangers are well-documented throughout the history of sport. For instance, more than 700 000 people were displaced for the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, resulting in an increase in poverty and divided families, while the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games were accused of displacing more than 1 000 000 Chinese. The same was true of the Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games, which reportedly left 300 000 evicted from their homes (www.unicef-irc.org-Accessed on 15/02/16).

South Africa, on the eve, during and after the 2010 Soccer World Cup, faced a lot of similar negative accusations, with the tournament said to have led to exposing homeless street children to violence, possible HIV/AIDS infections and rape, by putting them in the Westville Prisons just before the 2007 FIFA preliminary draw, while the World Cup tournament itself witnessed some 600 street children relocated some 30 kilometres away from Cape Town, in a process, UNICEF called 'apartheid style relocation' (Ibid). Overall, most, if not all, host nations try by all means to get rid of the homeless during the bid and during the course of a sport tournament, in addition to such sporting activities chewing-up so much money from the national budget at the expense of development. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011: 403-410) asserts that the 2010 World Cup in SA, infested with so many vuvuzelas and symbols of national pride, such as the Bafana-Bafana T-shirts and national flags, might have been superficial and a cosmetic endeavour, which failed to cover the existing historic anomalies.

Out of the findings of Swart et al. (2011: 422-426), it was revealed that 89 per cent of the respondents in their research on the 2010 World Cup felt the global events left positives, though 74 per cent of these believed the tournament did not benefit households directly. It is

apparent that a stance pointed to infrastructural development, national and community pride that came as a result of the event, and not necessarily pertaining to employment creation, multi-racism, among other negative legacies. This also means that SA's hosting of the 2010 will always be controversial vis-à-vis whether or not the tournament was worth hosting financially.

While the above trends appear to be real, they should not water down the potential that community sport has towards addressing the challenge of homelessness among the youths. It was with this in mind, that I was an attendee at the Deloitte-funded Street Child World Championship, which was hosted by the Durban University of Technology (DUT) in March 2010. Unfortunately, and typical of such tournaments, not much has been documented pertaining to the impact of hosting such a tournament. At the tournament, I witnessed family spirit, discipline, gender-balance, harmony and so much potential of making a difference among the homeless of the world, as countries, such as Brazil, India, Nicaragua, Philippines, United Kingdom, Ghana, Tanzania and South Africa, among others, were represented, under the theme calling for the basic human-rights of the street children, and with David Beckham (former Manchester United, Real Madrid and England midfielder) asserting that "I know from personal experience just what power football can have to inspire and change young people's lives whatever their background or nationality. This is what Deloitte Street Child World Championship is all about and I give it my full support" (Deloitte street-child world championship programme, 2010). Despite the difficulties of whether to place the tournament under international status or grassroots status, another observable challenge is inconsistence of hosting such events, as well as making follow-ups, so that there is total transformation of the children's lives.

The Homeless World Cup (HWC), which was hosted by Cape Town, South Africa, in 2006, is one football tournament that has withstood the test of recent times. The event has been used to re-integrate the homeless into society, and it has been posited that about 77 per cent of those involved have had their lives changed for the better, with the matches themselves being used to draw societal attention towards structural causes of homelessness, while the homeless are transformed into advocates of social change (www.un.org-Accessed on 15/02/16). What is imperative is to make sure that the homeless own the projects that they are involved in, and in the case of the HWC, the facilitators wittingly strengthen their children's abilities and self-beliefs by helping them acquire passports and visas, in addition to the on-

field lessons, such as attending to difficult challenges and recovering from setbacks and losses (Ibid).

In similar fashion, efforts to utilise football have been put in place in Australia under the auspices of the community and welfare-oriented organisations, which set-up a four-year programme, from 2006 to 2009, which included the homeless and disadvantaged adults (Sherry et al., 2012: 495). The Australian programme was meant to tackle and try and address the social capital, which seeks to address complex social intervention accomplished through promotion of social inclusion, and it worked with a cohort group of males and females aged between 20 and 24 years, the majority of which were to form the backbone of the Australian Homeless World Cup team (Ibid, 497). The programme was targeted at the disadvantaged persons and communities, so as to deliberately address issues that revolve around re-integration, anti-social behaviour, and drug abuse, social cohesion and alcohol rehabilitation (Ibid). The programme was working in tandem with the recent lobby by the international community and NGO's to use sports as a vehicle for social change and social inclusion. The broadside flip of the same coin that reflects social exclusion, points to unequal access to political, educational, as well other areas, such as occupation. Social marginalisation might also be a reflection of lower socio-economic groups having less access to sporting opportunities, and are poor, unemployed, have no time structures, no income, and no skills and are low-esteemed, among other negatives (Ibid, 498).

The Australian action research focused on themes, such as social interaction, self-esteem, motivation, identity, and the results were astounding. With the participants regularly attending training sessions meant to boost their communication skills, self-confidence, and positive relationships, the informants in the Community Street Soccer Programme (CSSP) were exposed to cross-cultural participation and a benign environment (Ibid, 500). Most participants reported changes in mood and attitudes, with the majority asserting that for the first time they felt they could do something. Others felt they were suddenly role-models and positive timekeepers; a number reported that the environment was welcoming, respectful and tolerant, and diverted them from the temptation of alcohol and drug-abuse, as well as increased their self-reflection. One particular participant amongst the 70 per cent who confirmed they had the challenge of alcohol and drug abuse, pointed to how football filled in a void by them being completely sober, due to the sobriety that was promoted through street football sessions. A number of attendees professed to have reduced alcohol and drug intake

as a result of the programme (Ibid, 502). The CSSP programme also proved that well-planned football sessions can also contribute towards healthy diets and mental wellness, since the 40 per cent who had claimed to suffer from depression and other mental illnesses, contributed to the 67 per cent, who later confirmed that the football sessions had countered symptoms of mental illnesses (Ibid). Apparently, from the Australian programme there was evidence that, with proper planning, including funding, community football can contribute towards the wellness of participants.

Until about 2005, due to the influence of the UN, most of the traditional development agencies lacked conviction to take sport aboard as a catalyst for change at grassroots level. Since then, Levermore (2008: 185) points out, UNICEF and the World Health Organization (WHO), alongside other NGOs, have worked with the likes of the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA), football clubs, such as Manchester United, Barcelona and companies, such as British Petroleum (BP) and Deloitte, to promote community sport. It is in the same vein that the sports merchandising company, Nike, has sponsored development programmes, such as, 'Together for girls,' in refugee camps in East Africa (Ibid). It is with all this in mind that the UN General Assembly adopted a series of resolutions that sought to connect sport, development and peace, leading into the Resolution 61/10, which calls for the member states, organisations that deal with sports, the media, private sector and civil society to collaborate and promote awareness and action that foster development and peace through sport (www.un.org-Accessed on 15/02/16).

It was at the call of the UN that, in 2007 the African Union (AU) influenced by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), passed the Brazzaville Declaration, which proposed efforts to governments, the private sector and NGOs to create a sport-fund that would lead to the creation of peace initiatives (Ibid). While such calls are at a global and international level, where unprecedented tensions usually result, the deliberations might also herald new thoughts on how community sport can be harnessed and used as part and parcel of development and peace-building.

In fact, Levermore complains that traditional development intentions have been failing in theory and practice, especially in addressing the concerns of the world's marginalised and poorest, and the gap has paved a way for sport organisations and sport in general with a chance to be counted (Darnell et al., 2011: 367-368). In addition, Levermore also highlights

some of the initiatives where sport has been used in fighting poverty and conflicts. For example, the NGO 'Football4Peace,' (F4P) has sought to neutralise escalating tensions, between Arab and Jewish children in the Middle East and the organisation's work among children in Rwanda is renowned (Ibid). The observable danger of such projects is that their impact or results are not clear cut, either due to negligence, cultural differences, or recurrence of upheavals. An example of this was experienced by the British Council (BC)-funded F4P project in Israel, between 2002 and 2005. Challenges faced included the involvement of women and girls, either as instructors, or as players of football, because of cultural differences, between the organizers and the beneficiaries of the project (See Sugden, 2008). Worse still, was for women to put on sport regalia that included shorts and short skirts, and compete with men, which to the Israelis and Palestinians is 'un-cultural.' Despite the efforts of community sport, negative political influence as the Israel-Palestinian war escalated in 2006, and halted the F4P project (Ibid, 413-414).

The 'kicking for peace football project' was introduced in the Western Cape, South Africa, in 2005 by a number of universities, civil societies and local governments, that sought to use the game as a tool for social change. Positively, the project included boys and girls, between 9 and 14 years, with the sole aim to providing youth with alternatives to drugs, boredom and crime (Keim, 2008: 100). Despite the moral of the intended goals of the project being crystal clear, the impact-results of the project, just like those of the majority of others, have remained abstracted and unqualified.

Maybe the closest similar community study to this intended thesis was carried out by Peacock-Villada et al. (2007: 147-148) in Zambia and South Africa. The project run by Grassroots Soccer (GRS), a USA-based NGO examined the impact of using community football on the AIDS/HIV pandemic in the two countries. It was result-oriented and it succeeded in helping young boys and girls in Lusaka, Zambia and South Africa, to identify their strengths, find ways to improve their resilient attributes, how to come up with alternative backup plans when situations turn negative and to plan future goals (Ibid). The pre- to post-study findings, showed behaviour and attitude transformations, as the boys and girls portrayed unique strength and confidence in themselves at the end of the exercise, more-so the girls (Ibid, 149-153). The programme did not confine itself to football only, but a variety of other exercises that were of benefit to the youths, a stance also taken by my study.

Sporadic programmes that tried to harness and use football as a stepping stone toward development have been more pronounced in Africa in recent time, with some of the efforts not recorded or researched due to the size of some of them, especially those that occur in the rural settings. Mchombo (2006: 322) observes that most of the so-called small efforts are neglected in Malawi, since the Malawi National Council of Sports (MNCS) concentrates on football that concern clubs in the national league, and not those that are played at community levels. Consequently, most of the efforts to help the needy in communities become the responsibilities of individuals and not the corporate world. It is in this realm that Mchombo, a USA-based Malawian, a United States Soccer Federation (USSF) licensed referee, narrates how he got interested in 10-year old boys who were playing with a plastic ball by the edge of a corn field in Malawi, which culminated in nothing, since he had already purchased uniforms, boots and balls for youngsters in a different geographic area (Ibid). Mchombo's assertion that the corporate world might be focusing on the bigger picture of the role of football is very true. Positively, Mchombo used community football to heighten community-service in public health and HIV/AIDS awareness through the young people who were benefactors of his football project, and by 2000, he had lent a hand to four community football teams in Malawi (Ibid, 323-324).

Mchombo experience also led to one of the biggest questions against community-based sport in an area that lacks social amenities, such as electricity and running water (Ibid, 324). In most cases, this translates into a huge dilemma for sponsors, as any sort of funding towards community football by individuals and the corporate world will appear as if it is being misplaced. In a country that faced economic stagnation and growing concern over the HIV/AIDS cases, Mchambo anchored a community football project that promoted unique opportunities to young people through its objectives and goals that included promotion of awareness of the deadly disease and prevention measures. He utilized sport as a route to encourage education amongst the youth through, self-empowerment, physical and mental development, discipline and sense of responsibility (Ibid, 325).

Similar to the Malawi experience, in Kenya, The Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) led the way in an attempt to tackle the HIV/AIDS prevalence among the youth at community levels from 1987 (Delva et al., 2010: 1012). Concerted efforts from the NGOs witnessed HIV/AIDS prevalence drop from 10 per cent in the late 1990s, to under-7 per cent in 2003,

and this was attributed to community-based peer-mediated efforts led by the likes of MYSA, which worked in a community of approximately 180 000 people (Ibid).

While focusing on attitude, behaviour and environmental change through leadership training, and raising awareness via other community activities, MYSA critically observed that behaviour can only change when appropriate environmental models are put in place, and, to this end, the NGO integrated sport with life skills via peer-education, counselling, drama, music puppetry, games and recreational activities, among other life-changing programmes (Ibid, 1013). Similar to the findings I had for my research, whereby street children would still have to retire for the night in the street, behaviour was difficult to change in cases where the context or the environment was not changing. In other words, the environment is very critical, otherwise behaviour and attitude will be difficult to change. It was also critical in the MYSA programmes to discuss the areas of concern with the youths, with sport and games being used in a more direct way to convey awareness message through the use of a cross-sectional study design that involved an intervention and a control group (Ibid). With varied results, MYSA's results concurred with some of those found in the SA mining communities, which revealed that young women who belong to sports clubs were highly likely to use condoms, as compared to non-members, but with a lot of inconsistences, depending on the partners, amongst other variables (Ibid, 1017).

Across the globe, community sport has frequently been used to build bridges, for instance, the UK has used sport amongst refugees and asylum seekers, with positive results towards, social inclusion, self-confidence and self-esteem (www.un.org-Accessed on 12/02/16). Similar result have also been obtained in Chad, where the programme, Play's SportWorks Chad, has been carefully designed to contribute towards fair play, peace-building skills, teamwork, inclusion and integration, and has witnessed the participation of more than 7 000 children and youth, with most of them preferring to be involved in sport and getting back into education, rather than joining armed groups (Ibid).

Brink's (2001: 82) work should also be credited for positing that recreation is vital when dealing with street children, especially as a way of breaking down psychological barriers. In addition, it also enhances social, political and emotional development in young people through following rules, sharing, interacting with peers, and coping with conflict situations. It has to be suggested that recreation activities should be flexible, and they could take place in

the street, parks, vacant lots, or swimming pools. Without creativity and innovation, it is difficult to work with street children, whose attention span is short due to poor health induced by glue inhaling. In my study, there were times when circumstance forced me to communicate with the street children on the field of play, before, during and after the football drills.

Probably the main difference between using football as a catalyst at national level and at community level is that, at national level the peace can be temporary results that are experienced during, for example, a weekend. Comparatively speaking, at community level football can be used as a sustainable process, which if well-nurtured, can be used as a sustainable process, alongside other peace-oriented exercises, such as those that seek to address HIV/AIDS, education and re-integration. To paint sport with one brush and with the same paint will be a misrepresentation. Empirical evidence show that if implemented at community level, football can be used to prepare the homeless street children for re-integration.

Given that politics appears to be finding it difficult to attend to the challenge of homeless street children, it has, so far, been found that football can be used as a double-edged sword, to pacify and divide people. The latter is more apparent when the game is played at professional and at national level, hence the suggestion that community football is sustainable and can be used as a peace-building tool in communities, before the re-integration of homeless street children into their homesteads, foster homes and organisations, and into academic set-ups. It is unfortunate that most of the time, sport has easily been taken for granted, especially given that its genesis and history points to the fact that it was a past-time activity, yet it can be used as a social intervention methods, to which researchers could hook other activities. In other words, community sport can be used as an entry point, which draws young people's minds from negative behaviour and attitudes, and it can successfully be combined other re-integration methods.

5.7 Chapter summary

There is extensive literature that discusses the role of sport in society, and much of it reveals that the fraternity can be used to either divide or unite society. It was discovered that sport

has grown in leaps and bounds in terms of impact and financial investment, with most of its negativities more revealing at national level. Despite this, there have also been attempts or lack of effort to utilise the peace-building chances that usually present themselves at national level. There is evidence though, that, if properly managed, community sport, including football, can be used as an entry point and a vehicle for re-integration and peace.

Part III RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This part of the study comprises two chapters. Chapter six discusses and justifies the research design, while Chapter seven focuses on the research methods, which culminates in the data collection methods that I used in the study.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH DESIGN

6.1 Introduction

Research approach refers to the broad categories into which the research fits. Despite the inconsistences in the types of street children involved in my study, due to the nature of their lives, my study implemented a longitudinal development design, which works with a single group of people of a particular age. The research approach adopted in this study was first, exploratory, so as to discover the nature and causes of the problem. Action research was then implemented with a series of intervention methods being planned and implemented. Finally, there was a preliminary evaluation of the outcomes of the intervention. It should be mentioned, however, that there are overlaps in the definitions of 'research design' and 'research methods' or 'research methodology,' which provides researcher's with an opportunity to take the route they deem appropriate. Such differences are noticeable among authors, such as Mouton and Creswell, with the latter positing that research designs include qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (2009: 3). For this research I also adopted the action research design aligned to Mouton's which is elaborated on below, since it was suitable for addressing my research problems, overall objective and research questions. My intention was to work together with street children for a period of time towards altering their attitudinal and behavioural responses through football before their re-integration (contextual).

6.2 Research design

A research design includes experimental, action research, survey, historical, case studies and ethnography, among others. (Williams, 2007: 67) describes a research design as the nature of the pattern to be followed by the research. In other words, it can be explained as an overall plan or strategy to be utilised in conducting the research. In similar fashion, Mouton (1996: 175) describes research design as a set of guidelines and instructions to be pursued in addressing the research problem, and would usually include aspects, such as the aim of study. Essentially, a research design can be described as a mapping strategy or a statement that shows how the research question is to be answered (Kalof et al., 2008: 130). During the time of the development of the design, the researcher examines how characteristics of the participants may change over time (Williams, Ibid, 67).

Development designs

There are two types of development designs, which are cross-sectional and longitudinal. The former compares two different groups using the same parameters, while the latter is commonly utilised in cases that seek to comprehend a certain phenomenon displayed by a group confined to a certain age and who are studied over a period of time (Ibid). In my study, despite the natural changes that took place among the street children, which meant I had a few street youths who fell above 18 years, I used the longitudinal design. This was more appropriate, less expensive, more focused and more convenient, as compared to the cross-sectional design, which is usually used in quantitative research.

Exploratory research

There a number of types of scientific researches that would seek to answer different questions, with the more prominent ones being exploratory, descriptive and explanatory, which are summarised in Table 6.1 below:

	Exploratory research	Descriptive research	Explanatory research
Degree of defining the problem	No defined key variables	Definition of variables	Definition of key variables and key relationships
Possible situations	"The number of street children is growing and we are not sure why"	"What has been done to address the problem of street children in the past decade?"	"Which of the existing programmes have been effective in trying to curb the problem of street children?"
	"Would street children be interested in the programme that involves football?"	"Did last year's government programmes for the street children have an impact on their lives?"	"Can I predict the future of street children if I were to know the effectiveness of past programmes?"
	"How essential would football be as a reintegration strategy?"	"Has the life of street children improved in the past few years?"	"Do street children prefer changes in their lives?"

Table 6.1: Comparison of exploratory, descriptive and explanatory researches

Bhattacherjee (2012: 6) states that descriptive research is based on scientific method, which must be precise and replicable. It seeks to answer the why, where and when of the phenomenon, while the explanatory seeks to answer the why and how questions, by identifying causal factors, as well as outcomes of a target phenomenon.

For the beginning of my research, I made the choice of using the exploratory research method, since I was venturing into a fuzzy area. Naturally, exploratory research helps in the clarification, as well as the definition of a particular problem, yet does not provide any conclusive evidence. This also means that there are anticipations of subsequent research. According to Bhattacherjee (Ibid), exploratory research is dependent on the purpose of the research and is conducted in new areas of inquiry, in which the following goals are taken into consideration:

•Scope the magnitude or extent of a particular phenomenon, behaviour or problem;

•Generation of some initial ideas or 'hunches' about the phenomenon; and

•Tests the feasibility of undertaking an extensive study regarding the phenomenon.

Exploratory research may not lead to an accurate comprehension of the target problem, yet may be a worthwhile exercise in revealing the nature and extent of the problem, which can serve as precursor for more in-depth research (Ibid).

From the very commencement of my study, it was apparent that Zimbabwe, like most countries, faced a serious problem of street children, but the plan of the study was unclear and I was not sure where to start, nor was the destiny clear-cut. Yet once I started being involved in the research, along with the children and CESVI the 'why' and 'how' questions became excitingly clear, and laid the foundation for an action research approach to the study.

6.2.1 Action research

Action research (AR) was a fairly new concept for me to grasp at the commencement of my study. Nonetheless, it proved to be highly effective. According to Brydon-Miller et al. (2003: 11), the concept still has so many unanswered questions and unresolved debates. Despite the fact that a number of terms have been used, the concept is a relative one. Hence, if one was to hear terms such as 'participatory research,' 'action research,' 'collaborative action research,' and so forth, this does not necessarily imply much of a difference in the

application of the concept. McIntyre's (2008: 5) definition of AR is similarity to that of Grossi (1980), when she describes it as "…an approach to exploring the processes by which participants engage in collaborative, action-based projects that reflect their knowledge and mobilize their desires." In addition, McIntyre emphasises that the approach is characterised by a thorough, active participation of both researchers and participants, who promote critical self-awareness that gives impetus to individual and collective growth and social change, and where these plans lead to the implementation of the initiated processes as suggested by the gathered information (Ibid). McNiff et al. (2002: 15) propose a more elucidated meaning to action research when they claim that it is a process whereby:

> …researchers do research on themselves in company of with others, and
> those others are doing the same. No distinction is made between who
> is the researcher and who is a practitioner…traditional researchers enquire
> into other people's lives and speak with other people as colleagues.
> Action researcher is an enquiry by the self into the self, undertaken in
> company with others acting as research participants and critical learning
> partners.

The authors suggest the use of the term 'participants,' rather than the traditional use of words, such as 'respondents,' among others to avoid creating a chasm between the researcher and the researched. It is with this in mind that the same authors radically claim that there is no such thing as 'action research,' but people who are 'action researchers' (Ibid, 16). The fluid nature of AR would also mean that there would be different definitions from different authors, but the critical tenets of the exercise bear a lot of similarities. For the purposes of this study, AR has mostly been used as a method used to collect data on the activities of the street children.

Kemmis et al. (2000: 567) argue that AR is a contested concept that has been used to apply to many and various research approaches used in diverse fields of studies and settings. The use of different terms in their work, such as 'action research,' 'participatory research,' and 'collaborative action research,' also upon their admission, might depict confusion, but it is apparent also that they found comfort in the use of 'action research,' which they also argue, includes the rest of the aforementioned concepts (Ibid).

The genesis of action research

While the actual origin might be contentious, AR is greatly intertwined with the socio-economic transformations that were witnessed in most Third-World countries from the turn of the 20th century. In principle, the concept appears to have found niches in the proposals of the liberal theology and the neo-Marxist approaches, in relation to community development (Ibid, 568). Accordingly, the approach was bound to find a safe haven among backward and penurious global communities. Consequently, the concept ran parallel to human rights and human suffrage activities that mostly took off in the 1920s.

It is important to take note of the assertion of Kemmis et al. (Ibid, 568) that three attributes appeared to have engulfed the concept of action research in the form of how research projects were shared; the same with how communities shared and analysed their socio-economic challenges and collectively push towards an understanding and finding of ultimate solutions to such challenges. It appears that AR emerged, not only as an alternative research exercise, but also as a challenge to the other conventional social research exercises, which, despite their efforts to show how societies were set-up and run, they appeared in effect, to promote the positions of those at the top of the socio-economic echelons. With this in mind, it seems that AR would always or mostly appeal to those on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder.

This might not be a genuine reflection of the goings-on on the ground though, given that AR has recently made strides and has been found to be an effective research tool amongst the working classes, in industry and commerce, and amongst other private and public global entities. As a result, one might argue that it has found its way into various groups, such as those found in education, health-care, human resources, architecture, urban planning and quantity survey, amongst others. At the same time, there are signs that other forms of research and AR can be positive bed-fellows, whose intentions are complementary and non-antagonistic towards each other.

In the case of my study, I found out that street children in Harare are of different backgrounds, while on the street itself, some are permanently stationed, while others are there temporarily. In addition, they are resident in different locations of the city and their activities also vary. This is determined by their varying geographic locations. Despite their

individualistic backgrounds, reasons for being on the street and experiences at home and on the street, they proved that they could shift aside their differences for collective understanding of their experiences, before attempting collective solutions to their challenging problems.

My study, at the same time, did not seek to look into the individualistic versus the collectivist theories, yet still realised and respected the fact that they were the two sides of the same coin. This was so, because of the understanding that each and every child on the street has had a unique and very personal experience, but whose similarity with other children is because all of them are referred to as 'street children.' It was with this in mind that the children had to make choices, for instance, on whether or not they wanted to be part of the focus group, and had to come up with their own timetable as to when and how they wanted to play football, make a choice of their football uniforms, and give a name to the project, and so forth.

Lessons from McIntyre's experiences in Bridgeport and Belfast and challenges of action research

Kemmis et al. (Ibid, 568) have made observations that have led to the criticism of AR. For instance, they remind us that a number of anti-AR protagonists decry the concept's lack of scientific rigour, as well as its confusing lobby for social reform and activism and community development, at the expense of research. This leaves a number of rhetorical questions that have to do with whether or not AR is an activist's invention that is manipulative and exploitative of the penurious of the society.

In addition to taking longer, the fluid nature of AR can result in so many conclusions in the overall study. In this study, it was based upon the experiences of each street child, but whose experience differed to that of the other children. In similar light, Kemmis et al. (Ibid, 591) add another dimension by claiming that, as is typical in other action researches, AR runs into the peril of sacrificing the methodological and technical rigours, in exchange for quick gains that arise in the face of attempts to retain validity. In other words, AR can be rushed through, via consistent tools and possibly results, or can take time, leading to all sorts of observable changes along the way, some of which might prove to be the undoing of the study, yet one might contend that dynamism is part and parcel of AR. The authors grappled with AR in the attempt to explain whether the concept should be understood as 'good' or 'bad.' The authors

appear to suggest that, given the methodological sophistication found in the non-AR social research, because of the chasm that exists between the researcher and the researched AR has positively proved that all participants, including the researcher, live within the consequences of the transformations that they would have made (Ibid, 592).

It also appears that some anti-AR researchers have contended that the researcher might end up losing his or her voice in the whole maze of AR, since, with time there might be no distinction between him or her and the subjects that are being researched. In an argument that might end up resembling that of the conundrum of which came first, the chicken or the egg, the position of the researcher remains pertinent, at the same time, questionable, depending on the context. Overall, there is always the danger of a too-powerful and intimidating researcher, as well as one who gets too entangled in the research to the extent of him or her losing a voice.

One of the challenges faced by the AR emanates from the fact that there is no clear distinction as to who has to initiate the processes between the researcher and the community. Communities differ in nature and faced challenges, but in most cases it appears it is the researcher who acts as the facilitator. While this might not be always the case, in most of McIntyre's (Ibid, 8) projects, such as the Bridgeport and Belfast ones, she discovered that most of her AR-induced studies were her own initiatives. Consequently, it can be asserted that most AR studies are initiatives of the faculty and student members. Along the way initiative roles can change, but concerted efforts can only result in collective accountabilities of the participants.

AR is a process that might take weeks, months or years, depending on the nature of the study. In the process, which might at times be perceived as tedious and long, it is imperative for the academic practitioner to engage in reflexivity, which McIntyre (Ibid) says involves a dialectical process that involves the research practitioners and participants. At the centre of the AR processes are issues of the practitioner's ability to listen, synthesize, analyse, as well as interpret acquired knowledge (Ibid). It is from this perspective that McIntyre (Ibid) raises a vital challenge that some researchers face. During her Bridgeport project, which involved 12 and 14 year olds of different races, she had to work with a shifting population of graduate students. While racial distinctions proved challenging, she discovered that the mobility of the participants was equally problematic. Working with street children of similar mobility is a

big challenge, especially given that some of the participants would opt to get home during the night and be on the street during the day, and, worse still, others would not stay in one place on the street, while some would resolve to get back into their family set-ups before the end of the research. It has to be noted that working in an AR that naturally involves participants of different cultural and experiential backgrounds can translate into a recipe for disaster on the part of the researcher.

AR and ethics are hand-in-glove, in terms of the site in which the projects have to take place, who is to be involved, issues under investigation, unique issues to be addressed, access to relevant information, building relationships, who is to speak on behalf of certain individuals or institutions, who owns generated information, and courses of actions to be taken during the recursive processes. It is against this backdrop, that McIntyre (Ibid, 12) suggests a number of ethical considerations that she used in her Belfast and Bridgeport processes, and that can aid participants in the AR processes. These include, engagement in all attributes of the study, participants' appreciation of the capacity of individuals to work with each other so as to effect change, everyone's duty to contribute relevant knowledge and resources, reducing barriers to all participants, including use of appropriate language in the processes, encouragement to learn about applicable research methods, precaution to protect and promote confidentiality, identity and privacy of participants, dissemination of data in agreement with all participants and general trustworthiness and fairness to all participants.

While ethical issues for consideration may vary from one study to the other, McIntyre's suggestions provided relevant parameters for my study. These ethical issues were vital, at different intervals and, more-so, in the early days of setting apparatus towards a working AR, lest one might be seen as an intruding individual. Otherwise, equalisations in terms of power, relationships, gender, race, social class and education levels, call for deep commitments from all participants in the AR processes.

It also has to be understood that not all human beings involved in AR will divulge information willy-nilly, hence the need for patience, endurance and tenacity. There are times, especially early in the AR processes, that the participants would not give much in terms of information. This could be a result of all the different experiences and, as in the case of McIntyre's (Ibid, 18-19) research, at times due to gender dynamics. In her experiences, the involved young women were reluctant to share their experiences probably due to

socialisation. While it took time, the majority ended up sharing their stories, but at different times. For different reasons, that might range between the experiences, levels of education, age and biological differences. It was always expected that street children would have to move from apprehension that would see them reluctant to share information about themselves, others and their experiences, to a position where they would be willing to share with other members of the study.

One exercise that McIntyre (Ibid, 19) suggests as a way of demystifying the tensions experienced in the initial stages of the AR processes is to put young people through creative activities such as sculpting, drawing and painting. While a number of the involved young women took time to get into the 'groove,' most were able to put their life experiences into drawing, painting and in the use of clay. Given that children involved in AR exercises will be of different education levels, it is imperative for the researcher, together with the participants, to participate in exercises and activities that seek to establish some equity between all involved parties. Such an exercise, which McIntyre lauds, was similarly useful in my study (See Chapter nine). It might not be a case of one size fitting all, but such explorative ways tend to unleash the hidden voice, especially among young participants.

Use of photo-voice might not always work, especially in the early days of the research. While the exercise is relevant and pragmatic enough to induce openness among the participants as suggested by McIntyre (Ibid, 22-25), it might be greatly dependent on the levels and stage of the research, as well as the trustworthiness that might have developed between the researcher and other participants, especially if the researcher is to provide the equipment for use. With this approach, the group is involved in investigating phenomena by utilising photography to raise awareness and change. McIntyre reveals that the exercise was a positive exercise in the Bridgeport and Belfast ARs, but it might be argued that the exercise can be expensive if all participants are to get necessary gadgets for use, and worse still, if they are less trusted with such gadgets. In McIntyre's (Ibid, 22) researches, the young participants were given a five-day (5) leverage to take photographs of their communities, and most of the resultant pictures were humorous, provocative and others, disturbing. What is apparent is that photo-voice, alongside some the aforementioned exercises, can go a long way in the AR process, despite some inherent challenges.

In addition to McIntyre's study, the following are some of the few most recent cases at different levels in the likes of the USA, Chile, El Salvador, SA, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Canada that have embraced action research with varied outcomes,

	Setting	Intervention	Outcomes
1.	**(USA)**-involved an urban middle school, a non-profit organisation and nearby university. The identified participants went through leadership training and were put in focus groups. The background issue was less participation by low-income parents in school activities, especially those from the Hispanic and African American backgrounds.	The nine month long action research investigated the impact of the parent involvement strategy in public education systems.	-Main reasons for lack of participation in programmes emanated from home, where there was domestic violence. -Parents and students were equally affected by being in a new setting, such as a new town and school. -There was no connection between schools and parents to the extent that parents did not know school rules and policies. -Another theme that cropped up was the resultant violence in the school setting, which resulted in the reluctance of students to go to school. -The intervention methods included parents' support of students through their assignments, which bettered the students' results, interaction with the teachers, patience and communication skills **(Snell et al., 2009).**
2.	**(Chile)-**intended to understand the reasons why there was low participation in the organisations found in the community, despite the end or military rule. It involved *La Pincoya*, which was founded in 1968 to address housing shortages in the capital, Santiago. With little support from the civilian government, the new military government perceived the organisation as a hub for armed and unarmed resistance.	The social work related action research took 16-years and commenced in 1995 and included community leaders, youths and members of other political, social, cultural, and religious backgrounds. It focused on the perspectives and views pertaining to human rights issues vis-à-vis the military regime.	-Violence perpetrated by the military regime threatened the existence of *La Pincoya.* Consequently, people lost trust and enthusiasm about community welfare and development and for each other and suddenly, everyone was a spectator. -The intervention methods included formal and informal discussions, which brought community nostalgia back. -The liberating message of action research was inculcated into communities, which resulted in the building of friendships and trust among the *La Pincoya* communities **(Barbera, 2008)**.
3.	**(El Salvador)**-The Cinquera Natural Area	The intervention action research incorporated local	-land was designated for different purposes, such as tourism, conservative,

	faced similar challenges faced by many El Salvadorian communities during the civil war of 1979-1992, when peace was achieved. Concern was for forest conservation and agricultural or developmental land, at a time ex-combatants needed land.	authorities, the academics and the locals, and the research took over ten years from the 1993. It attempted to address the history of the land and carefully worked towards bringing harmony between the involved parties.	botanic and organic and wildlife. -Relations between the government, local authorities and the local communities were repaired and restored (**Valencia et al., 2012**).
4.	(**South Africa**)-the research was based in the Mpumalanga Province and involved 4 17-year old middle to upper class Afrikaner girls whose parents had divorced and some had remarried.	The two year intervention action research also involved a support group from the girl's hostel where the 4 girls stayed. The processes included them going through narratives of their stories on divorce, which they retold and relived; they shared the positives and negatives about their experiences.	-Improved well-being. -Improved school's family-related issues, leading to participants' improved confidence and resilience to negative situations and equipped to embark on social actions so as to help other girls in similar situations. -Inspiration to other girls (**Botha et al., 2016**).
5.	(**Bosnia & Herzegovina**)-having gone through the 1992-1996 civil war, the country's youth were apparently less aware of the impending peril of HIV/AIDS pandemic, which had already affected a lot of the young people. The aftermath of the war left dismantled systems and a fragmented young society, which abused drugs.	RTK and UNICEF involved the youth in an action research process in three towns between 2003 and 2004 in the attempt to try and curb the HIV/AIDS pandemic and to promote themes on sexuality, teenage pregnancies, gender, livelihoods, and physical development. A national basketball tournament themed 'No drugs, no alcohol, just play basketball,' was also used as intervention alongside dancing and music.	-Made a countrywide exploration in development and implementation of prevention of HIV/AIDS strategies. -Laid the foundation for the introduction of rural HIV/AIDS awareness through engaging the media and peer educators. -Laid the foundation for the involvement of youths in decision-making and policy-making. -Faced challenges of being too short, as well as political red tape and bureaucracy (**Maglajlic, et al., 2006**).
6.	(**Canada**)-the action research took place in Wikwemikong, which had a population of about 3 000 people of Aboriginal origin. The population of the area consisted of three	Sandwiched between 2003 and 2012, the sport and development project involved the local groups through meetings and conferences on the project that could transform the lives of those involved in	-The idea of a comprehensive sport and development project was a result of local community involvement. -Wikwemikong started to fund and govern the project without outside support and interference.

	different tribes, the Ojibway (Faith Keepers), the Odawa (Traders) and the Pottawatomi (Fire keepers). Typical of such minority groups, the tribes sought for independence and worse still, previous researches had not brought much help to them.	the project. From the outset, the sports programmes that were set-up were culturally sensitive, and involved all age groups, despite the fact that the youths mostly benefitted.	-A symbiotic relationship between people of different backgrounds (researchers & locals) was established (**Schinke et al., 2013**).
7.	(**South Africa**)-with the intentions of addressing teenage pregnancy amongst the poor communities in South Africa, since the combination of the aforementioned are a recipe for disaster.	The action research engaged youths from 24 high schools on early reproduction and prevention strategies against unwanted pregnancies. The study aimed at exploring how to engage the youth in a cycle of inquiry, in which they could reflect on their experiences, knowledge, attitudes and values vis-à-vis becoming pregnant while still in school, before imparting their acquired knowledge to benefit other students. The study involved peer education, individual interviews and questionnaires.	-The outcomes mainly revolved around the themes, such as the consequences of being teenagers, how parenthood affected their lives and how sexuality education that had been implemented in school was not helping them much. - Led to designing of prevention strategies. -Identified the existing gaps that included non-participation and sharing of relevant information by parents and teachers. -Media was noted as a source of providing conflicting messages about sex, while peer pressure and alcoholism exacerbated their situation (**Wood et al., 2016**).

Table 6.2: Examples of places where action research was used in recent times

Advantages of action research

Generally, a positive oriented-AR is inclusive and expresses its nature of seeking to collaboratively involve all the relevant elements found in society. This emanates from the concept's nature, which is biased towards human and societal development. In other words, the idea of AR is backward-looking, as it seeks for the causes of faced challenges, but it also focused on the present, as it seeks to understand the current situation, as well as prevailing trends and finally, it is forward-looking, as it seeks to induce society or community-found collective therapies to apply to their challenges. By-and-large, AR bears resemblance to

Galtung's proposal that, for there to be any form of contextual, behavioural and attitudinal alterations, there is need for the understanding of the past (root-causes), the now and the highly-likelihoods (prognosis) and the ultimate application of the right therapy to challenging problems (therapy) (Galtung, 1996: 24-27). Kemmis et al. (2000: 568) comment on the positives that might emanate from using AR when they say, "critical action research expresses a commitment to bring together broad social analyses: the self-reflective collective self-study of practice, the way language is used, organization and power in a local situation, and action to improve things." One can decipher that AR is action-oriented, can lead to permanently eradicated causes of challenges and problems, can suggest positive accountability and ownership, can lead to use of understood and local modes of communication and ways of attending to issues, as well as promotion of collective and locally suggested solutions.

Where other forms of social research have proved rigid, AR has given many a research, a humanistic face, albeit in the face of the involved risks and the impending uncertainties involved. As a result, AR gives face value, significance and meaning to collective and empathic ways of conducting business, vis-à-vis social realities. As compared to other types of social research, AR does not concern abstracts, but practices, which lead to collective knowledge about concrete and real issues that concern people and their social, economic and geo-political environments. Put to practice, it facilitates the seeking of oneself, as well as of others.

Major characteristics of action research

Coughlan et al. (2002) have suggested the following as major characteristics and intended outcomes of AR by quoting Gummesson (2000),

	Characteristic	Course(s) of action
1.	Action researchers take courses of action	Not merely observers, but working towards making it occur
2.	Two goals of action research	Solve a problem Contribute to science (contribute theory to the body of knowledge)
3.	Action research is interactive	Cooperation of the researchers Perpetual adjustment to new information & events (AR involves a series of unpredictable and unfolding events)
4.	Action research in developing holistic understanding	Broad view of how systems work and the ability to move between complex structures Be able to handle multiple causes and effects in dynamic and complex systems
5.	Action research and change	Fundamentally, AR is about change hence knowledge and skills about change are necessary Articulation of desired outcomes from change, make plans and implementation for the desired future
6.	Action research and ethics	Calls for authentic relationship between research participants and how they comprehend the process and courses of action
7.	Action research and data gathering methods	The research does not preclude an integrated approach to the use of the multifarious methods of data collection
8.	Action research and pre-understanding	Need to understand the dynamic organisational systems and structures being dealt with, especially those intending to develop grounded theory
9.	Action research and real time	While action research is about the present and now, it can also be useful when used in retrospect or 'learning history'
10.	Action research and quality criteria	How well does AR reflect on the relationship between the participants? Is AR governed by reflexive and constant reflections in relation to change and or improvement? Are the used methods furthering knowledge? Is there any significance being realised? Is there presence of sustainable change out of the project?

Table 6.3: Major characteristics and courses of actions for Action Research-adopted from Coughlan et al. (2002: 224-226)

Implementing action research

Coughlan et al. (2002) feel that the implementation of the AR be embedded within the context of the AR cycle in which the monitoring researcher and other participants in the context would be part of data gathering, part of the data feedback and data analysis, implementation and evaluation as illustrated in Figure 6.1 before the cycle can be repeated a number of times,

Context and purpose

Data gathering

Data feedback

Monitoring

Evaluation

Data analysis

Implementation
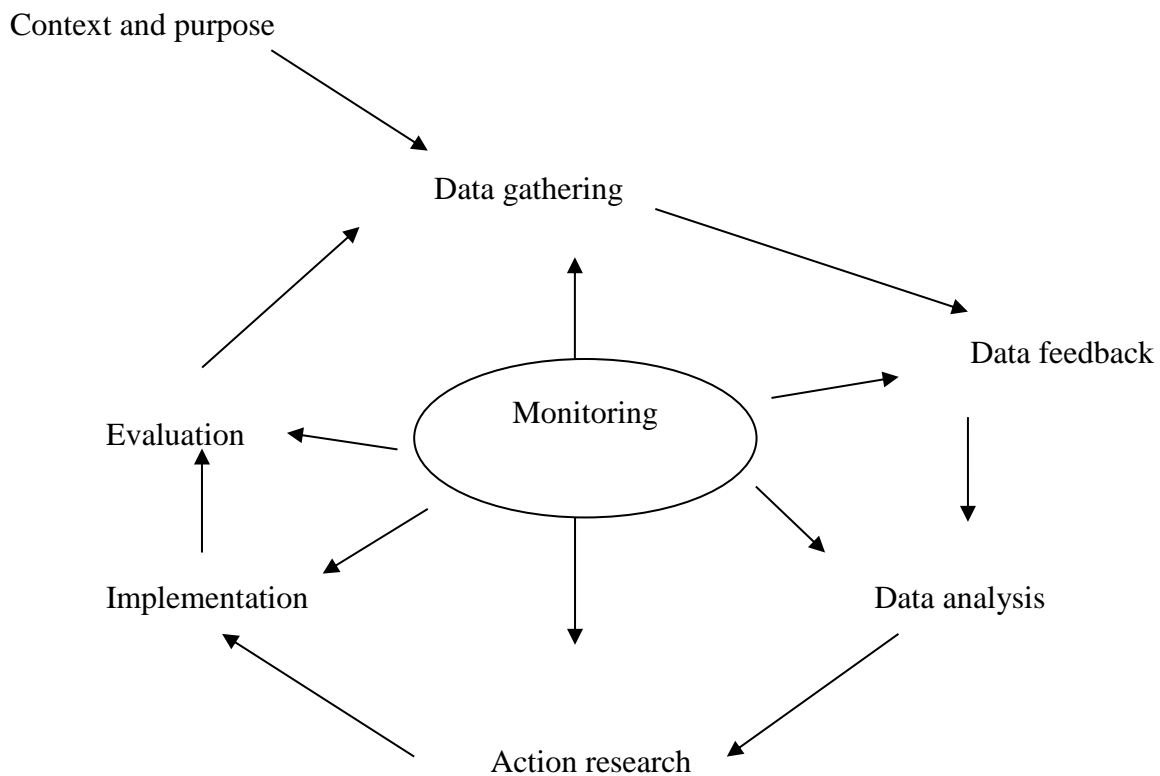
Action research

Figure 6.1: Action research cycle-adopted from Coughlan et al. (2002: 230)

Given the nature of action research, there are so many variations to the implementation of what can be deemed an appropriate approach. Coughlan et al. (Ibid, 231-233) suggest six steps that are related to data and the courses of actions that should be taken and these include:

Data gathering
> • 'Hard' and 'soft- data is gathered, despite the challenges of gathering the latter, due
> to its perpetual nature, which might render it difficult to interpret. Observations,

discussions and interviews are utilised, and the same is said about the day-to-day interactions between the participants, who convene and meet informally and formally.

Data feedback

•The action researcher takes care of the gathered data and makes it available for analysis, and at times reporting is done amongst the participants through feedback meetings.

Data analysis

•Important to AR data-analysis is the fact that it is collaboratively done; the efficacy of doing so is based on the fact that the participants from the organisation would have a better idea of how things have been going on, and will ultimately be the ones to implement the agreed courses of action.

•Tools for analysis must be linked to the purpose of the research, as well as the aim of the interventions.

Action planning

•After the analysis, further action is planned for following the aforementioned routes with key question to address and manage change including,

(a)   What alterations need to be effected?

(b)   What parts need to change?

(c)   What are the types of changes called for?

(d)   Whose support is required?

(e)   How is commitment to cause to be built and boosted?

(f)   How can resistance be managed?

Implementation

•Implementation is another collaborative endeavour of the participants in the study.

Evaluation

•Involves reflecting on intended and unintended outcomes against action.

•The process is reviewed, so as to benefit the next cycle of planning.

•Evaluation curbs the proliferation of ineffectiveness and errors.

6.2.2 Justification of using action research

At the centre of all AR processes is change, which was also core to my study, which involved street children, whose stay on the streets of Harare led to them, willingly or unwillingly, to acquire certain attitudes and behaviour, most of which ended up defining their lives within that context. Yet venturing into this area was not easy, as it presented its own fair share of challenges, since there were so many unexplored and unknown corners in the life of a street child. AR, which Hine (2013: 151) asserts, presents a process in which individuals and groups go through repeated cycles of planning, observing, and reflecting, with the agenda being to implement necessary changes that will lead to the acquiring of social improvement, proved the most appropriate way of getting individuals to collaborate with other personnel and the children themselves, especially through football. As a result, we were all presented with a chance to effect social change in the lives of one of the most loathed and stigmatised groups the world over.

6.3 Summary and conclusion

The main thrust of my research design consciously used AR as a way of identifying the deep-underlying problems of street children in Harare, collectively examining the prospective solutions to counter the challenges of the young people, as well as implementing appropriate interventions. The AR method, which I implemented in my study, was not absolute, but was a collaborative effort that involved a number of experienced personnel including the street children themselves. The following chapter discusses the research methodology that I implemented in my study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESEARCH METHODS

7.1 Introduction

The research methodology used in the study was qualitative. The reasons for this, as shall be seen, were that there was no clearly identifiable and consistent population from which to draw a statistically representative sample. More crucial, an in-depth knowledge of individuals was more relevant to the research topic. The qualitative research landscape has the tendency to be seen through a number of different lenses that include social justice, ideological, philosophical and systematic procedures (Creswell, 2009: 173). Most of the information that I utilised in the research was obtained through secondary sources, such as published books and journals and primary sources, which included theses, individual interviews with the street children that were involved in football at CESVI, focus group discussions and a conference, my observations and those of my two assistants and other key players. My research called for the fostering of ethical relationships with the street children, and from the beginning, I consciously made sure that I was on the same page with them during all our exercises. The triangulation of such methods was meant to minimise pitfalls that many qualitative researchers fall into. The chapter also focused on the original versus the final course of action that I took, and it examined and justified the sampling, data collection and data analysis methods used, ethical issues, challenges that were faced, as well as the validity and reliability issues.

7.2 Research methodology

Human life has always been punctuated by social research, and the idea becomes even clearer when we participate in some sort of observation through qualitative research. Technically, we do field research whenever we participate or observe certain behaviours and try to understand them; whether in an airplane, classroom, church or stadium, we observe behaviours upon which we can report to others. Such reporting can be either, qualitative, or quantitative, or both. It is with this in mind that I adopted the use of qualitative research methods in this study. Mouton (Ibid, 35-36) might have only shown the difficulties embedded in defining the methodological dimension when he posits that it refers to the 'knowledge of how' or 'know-how' to do things or a total set of 'means' that are employed

by scientists in order to reach a goal of valid knowledge. Consequently, these could be under various names, such as methods, techniques, procedure, instruments or methodologies (Ibid, 36). What is apparent is that there are overlaps found between 'research design' and 'research methods' or 'research methodology.'

Critically, Mouton (Ibid, 36-37) refers to 'methodological paradigms,' by which he refers to qualitative, quantitative and participatory action paradigms as some of the examples. Despite different perspectives on definitions, there are clear distinctions between qualitative and quantitative researches. In this study I used qualitative research, which Creswell (2009: 4) refers to as:

> …a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals
> or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of
> research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically
> collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively
> building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher
> making interpretations of the meaning of the data.

Typical of all methods of research, qualitative field research has its own distinctive strengths and weaknesses. To begin with, field research seeks to study latent nuances as found in attitudes and behaviours, in relation to the examination of social processes over a period of time (Babbie, 2007: 326). According to the same author, the chief strength of qualitative field research is in its enablement for deep understanding, as compared to other research methods, which might be superficial (Ibid).

Another advantage of field research is found in its flexibility. As already alluded to, modification of ideas and courses of actions are not only formulated on sight, but are also equally modified and altered along the way.

While a qualitative field research may be expensive in cases where it involves a number of people as observers and recording equipment, the exercise may be equally inexpensive, since it can be undertaken by an individual, who comes along with his recorder, ball-point pen and paper.

One other advantage of qualitative-field research comes in the aftermath of the study. In terms of continuity and sustenance, the exercise has proved to be excellent. Consequently, it is highly likely that such researches end up getting funding.

Babbie (Ibid, 326) observes, that there is one weakness that qualitative research is faced with, when a research has to arrive at statistical descriptions over a large population. While its findings might point to and provide certain insights, there is always the peril of failing to yield trustworthy estimates on behaviour and attitudes. To avoid falling into such entrapments, my study also provided certain statistics where necessary.

Bogdan et al. (1992: 30) assert that qualitative research that is descriptive and includes data from field notes, interviews, and photography among other data do not reduce the pages upon pages of narrative and other data to numerical symbols (Ibid). Schmuch (1975: 339) posits that qualitative research is rather concerned with a process that unfolds during the research than with outcomes, or products.

All designs differ in terms of detail, as well as finality. Consequently, a major determining factor in the process of research design is the degree of control that is deemed necessary for a particular study. In the same light, given the high probability of error and disastrous consequences, it is of paramount importance that control and planning be seriously considered. Similarly, working with street children, most of whom are vulnerable in the society, called for a high level of dexterity on my part.

Table 7.1 below summarises some of the differences, weaknesses and strengths to be found between qualitative and quantitative researches,

Components of research approaches	Quantitative research	Qualitative research
Philosophical assumptions	Positivist perspective, objective reality, researcher is independent of that which is researched	Post-positivist perspective, naturalistic, social, multiple and subjective reality where researcher interacts with that being researched
Method/type of research	Experimental, quasi-experimental, single subject and descriptive, comparative, correlational, ex post facto	Phenomenology, case study, ethnography, grounded theory, cultural studies
Purpose/goal of research	Generalisability, explanation, prediction	Understanding, insight, contextualisation and interpretation
Questions or hypothesis	Hypothesis is informed guess or prediction	Question is evolving, general and flexible
Those being researched	Randomly selected sample, proportionally representative or population	Usually a small number of non-representative cases
Those conducting the research	Etic (outsider's point of view); objective, neutral, detached and impartial	Emic (insider's point of view); personal involvement and partiality
Data	Questionnaires, survey, tests, etc. in the form of numbers and statistics	Written documents from the field work, interviews, pictures, observations, objects, etc.
Data analysis	Deductive process, statistical procedures	Inductive process: codes, themes, patterns to theory

Table 7.1: Comparison between Quantitative and Qualitative researches-adopted from Castellan, 2010

7.3 Key players

To begin with, it was always going to be imperative that I identify NGOs or an NGO that dealt with street children for consistency and security reasons, since it was not practically possible to deal with such children straight from the street. It was with this in mind that CESVI, which was built on the ashes of the now defunct, Streetsahead, was identified with the aid of one of my former students and the organisation was willing to help by providing personnel for interviews, as well as two persons, Harold Marama and Margret Phiri, who acted as my assistants throughout the course of my study. The two were critical since they dealt with the street children, whose lives they documented, trained football, entertained at the House of Smiles, and in other instances, helped the children into re-integration.

CESVI was founded in 1982 as a response to the challenges faced by new societies coming out of political repression, and unrolled its projects in Nicaragua, Italy, Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, among other South American countries (www.cesvi.eu-Accessed on 12/01/17). The organisation also established bases in North Korea and Vietnam, before getting into Africa after the turn of the 21st century, and founded projects in South Africa, Mozambique, and in Zimbabwe in 1998 (Ibid). The CESVI-owned, House of Smiles, was established in Zimbabwe in 2004, with priority being given to disadvantaged children and youths, especially in the areas of humanitarian aid, water and sanitation, environment, health and social business (Ibid). Critically, CESVI developed from being an 'association' to a 'participatory foundation' in 2007, which meant transition to consolidating transparency, as well as opening social structures to participation of the stakeholders. CESVI Zimbabwe has been running a number of projects in different sectors in Centenary, Mashonaland Central, as well as others in the Beitbridge areas, among others, with special emphasis on food security, HIV/AIDS, promotion of education and recreational activities, and child re-integration for vulnerable and disadvantaged children (Ibid).

Harold is a holder of a certificate in teaching, certificate in Identification, Tracing and Re-unification (ITR) and a certificate in First Aid and previously worked with VVC, which was later absorbed into CESVI, and worked for the latter since 2012. Harold, who also acted in the capacity of a field worker in the area of re-integration, helped with football coaching, since the time I established a relationship with CESVI.

Margret Phiri played for Eiffel Flats, Maranatha Angels, St Mary's and Hollenbeck Queens football teams at club level. She represented the Zimbabwe female football team, popularly known as The Mighty Warriors between 1998 and 2003. She is a holder of the Zimbabwe International Football Association (ZIFA) coaching Level 1 (2012) and Level 2 (2012) football coaching badges. Margret has worked for CESVI since 2014 and was also working in the capacity of a field worker in the area of sport at the same organisation during the period of my study.

Another key player was the former Dynamos player, Stanley Chirambadare, who came in handy and at a time when it proved difficult to engage Dynamos Football Club as part of my study. Chirambadare, who did his Advanced Levels at Highfield High School, trained with the Dynamos' junior team in 1982 before he joined Arcadia football club in 1985 from which

Dynamos bought him in the same year. He won a number of accolades with Dynamos that included two league championships, the Castle and the Independence Cups, and trained with Amando Ferreira's Zimbabwe Senior Football Team. Since his retirement from active football, he has been involved in coaching, including at Dynamos, where he became assistant coach to Keegan Mumba for the 2003 football season. Chirambadare did Business Studies, is a trained Pastor and holds a Confederation of African Football (CAF) B football coaching licence. Currently, he owns and runs his own junior team named Revival Junior Football Team, which is based in Mufakose. This proved vital, since I managed to organise, with the help of Harold, Margret and the children, a number of matches between his juniors and the CESVI team. In his personal capacity, he also trained and spoke to the children.

Another key person during the one-day conference with the street children, which took place on the 26th of April 2016 (See Table 7.3), was the retired, Professor Michael Francis Charles Bourdillon, who presented on the latest child rights trends and challenges faced by street children (Also see Conference findings in Chapter ten). Professor Bourdillon acted as a board member at Streetsahead and has written extensively on the Harare street children. He taught at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) for more than 25 years, and for 3 years at the University of Calabar, Nigeria. Professor Bourdillon also directed two child and youth institutions in the areas of Development of Social Research in Africa, in Dakar, Senegal, in 2009 and 2010, respectively. He has produced over 120 publications, including books, journal articles and chapters, as well as over 70 book reviews, while most of his post-2000 publications have focused on children's work, child poverty and child protection. In 2016, he was a board member of Save the Children's International.

Winidzai Rwaendepi was also instrumental during the April 2016 conference (See Table 7.3 and Chapter ten), as she concentrated on the definition of 'homelessness,' causes of homelessness, and the programmes that were being run by CESVI. Mrs Rwaendepi is a holder of a BSc. Honours in Local Governance, Diploma in Programme/Project Monitoring and Evaluation, Certificate in Public Policy Challenges in the 21st century and Certificate in Sustainable Development. She has worked for CESVI since 2013 and was the Programmes Officer at the end of 2016.

Two re-integrated street children, Success and Darty Kashy (Pseudonyms), were part of the football project in their capacities of player and referee, respectively (See Table 7.3 and

Chapters nine and ten). Because of their re-integration, I invited them in liaison and agreement with the CESVI leadership to be part of the April 2016 conference. In principle, their major role was to motivate and portray to the children still in the street the possibilities of re-integration or alternatives to street life, as well as the existing career opportunities. In 2016, Success and Darty were in Harare doing their Advanced Levels (Arts) and Graphic Designing, respectively.

7.4 The original plan of my research

In my original plan for this study, which was going to run between 2011 and 2015, I envisaged identifying a Harare-based NGO to engage with, after which I was going to engage the street children and assistants in football matches that were going to involve Dynamos football club's junior teams. During this period, observation, individual and focus group interviews were going to be used to collect relevant data, while the re-integration into paternal and maternal homes processes were going to run concurrently with the aforementioned activities. Each of the four phases was meant to involve meetings with the children and other personnel over the five working days of the week. The original plans for the study are highlighted in Table 7.2 below,

Phase	Period	Activities
First phase: Identifying an NGO that is already dealing with street children to engage with in my study and	2011	Help in the identification of street children who might be interested in the football project
Getting a research ratification letter		Ratification research letter from the Department of Social Welfare
Terms of reference between myself, involved NGO and the street children	2011	Getting the name for the football project, coming up with the meeting times for the organised matches and engaging my assistants on how they may engage with the children
Interviews	2011	First individual interviews with the relevant children and the NGO's representatives
Engage Dynamos	2011	Organised matches between

football club		the street children and the Dynamos' junior teams
Second phase: Observations	2012	Observations of the street children engaged in the football matches
Focus group interviews	2012	Focus group discussions with the street children and my assistants
Engage Dynamos football club	2012	Further organised matches between the street children and the Dynamos' junior teams
Re-integration	2012	R-integration of street children into paternal and maternal homes
Third phase: observations	2013-2014	Observations of the street children engaged in the football matches
Individual interviews	2013-2014	Series of individual interviews with children involved in football matches and with my assistants
Engage Dynamos football club	2013-2014	Further organised matches between the street children and the Dynamos' junior teams
Re-integration	2013-2014	Re-integration of street children into paternal and maternal homes
Fourth phase: Engage Dynamos football club	2015	Further organised matches with Dynamos' junior teams
Individual interviews	2015	Last individual interviews with the street children that are consistently involved in the football matches and with my assistants
Focus group interviews	2015	Last focus group interviews with the street children and my assistants
Re-integration	2015	Re-integration of street children into paternal and maternal homes
Data analysis and thesis submission	2015	Analysis of the collected data Thesis submission

Table 7.2: Original plan for my study

7.5 The actual research process for my study

Phase	Period	Activities	Participants	Objective
FIRST PHASE	**August 6, 2014**	Attempt to get ratification letter from the Department of Social Services in Bulawayo & Harare		So as to get the green light from the government to work with children; was notified this was impossible since Volunteers for Vulnerable Children was a trust
	September 15, 2014 (Morning)	Familiarisation with Volunteers for Vulnerable Children (VVC) at House of Smiles	Myself and the VVC leadership	Get to know each other with the VVC personnel & the prospective children for the study
	September 15, 2014 (Morning)	Individual interviews with VVC personnel	Myself, Mr. and Mrs. Zuva, Mr, Marama, Mrs. Rwayendepi and my assistants, Harold and Margret	Understand the prevailing trends among children coming to VVC & street children in general & set up a programme with my assistants
	September 15, 2014 (Morning & afternoon)	Individual interviews with available 13 street children who frequent House of Smiles	Boys of various ages that were available on the day	To get a knowledge of the background of some of the children frequenting VVC, reasons for being on the street, nature & faced consequences
	September 16, 17 & 18, 2014 (Afternoons)	3-day football training sessions for the street children in which observation was utilised	Myself and assistants and Wayne	Observe the children's attitudes & behaviour
House of Smiles closed	**June-September**	Second session intended for July 2015 subsequently		

for renovations	**2015**	cancelled		
	June 2015	The children made a choice of their own type and colours of the uniform	Children and my assistants, Harold and Margret	It is imperative in action research that one does not impose himself/herself on the participants; inculcate a sense of responsibility and belonging among the children
Renovated House of Smiles officially reopened for business	**23 October 2015**			
SECOND PHASE	**December 07, 2015**	I was notified upon arrival that due to the problems between CESVI and some of the street children, I could not use House of Smiles for any individual nor focus group interviews		
	December 08, 2015 (Morning)	Discussion and feedback at the House of Smiles	Myself my assistants & CESVI representatives	This was meant to find out the areas that needed to be changed, and the changes that had taken place amongst the children
	December 08, 2015 (Afternoon)	Focus group discussions were done at the Mbare football stadium before the training session	Myself, the children and my assistants (not exactly the same group of children I had met for the individual interviews in 2015)	So the children could give the project a name & discuss their views of the near and far future; observe their attitudes & behaviour

	December 09, 2015 (Morning)	Met with the then Dynamos Secretary General, Mr. Webster Chikengezha, in Harare		Informal request for the club to consider organised matches between its junior teams and team CESVI, and look into the possibilities of taking talented CESVI children into its junior ranks
	December 09, 2015 (Afternoon)	Observation mostly done at the football fields in Mbare	Myself, the children, my assistants and former Dynamos & national team player, Mr. Stanley Chirambadare	Continued with observation; have a role model who played football at the highest level talk about the future in & out of football & train the children
	December 10, 2015 (Afternoon)	Training session and talk at Mbare Stadium (Observation)	Myself, the children and my assistants	Continued observation of the children on the field of play
	December 11, 2015 (Match played in the afternoon)	Travelled with the street children for a football match at Alaska Mine, Chinhoyi (Observation)	Myself, my assistants, the children & CESVI representative, Winidzai	Observation of the children in a competitive match against children from other places
THIRD PHASE	**March 31, 2016**	Submitted a written request to the then Dynamos Secretary General, Mr. Wester Chikengezha via e-mail		To Engage the club's junior team for competitive matches with team CESVI
	April 19, 2016 (Morning)	Focus group discussion & use of 'eduntainment'	Myself, the children & my assistants	Assess the impact of football on the children, reflect on the experiences & their

				perspectives of 're-integration'
	April 19, 2016 (Afternoon)	Training session and talk at Mbare Stadium (Observation)	Myself, the children and my assistants	Examine whether the children recalled some of the issues that we addressed in my previous visits vis-à-vis the objectives of the study. Revisit what they drew as perceptions in December 2015
	April 20, 2016 (Morning)	Individual interviews with Success and Darty Kashy	Myself & the former street children	Understand background to their presence in the street, their experiences & their re-integration
	April 20, 2016 (Afternoon)	Competitive football match with Mr. Chirambadare's junior team (Observation)	Myself, the children, my assistants & Mr. Chirambadare	Observation of the children in a competitive match
	April 21, 2016	Short conference (presentations from Mrs. Rwaendepi and Professor Bourdillon and two reintegrated children)	Myself, the children, my assistants, CESVI officials and Professor Michael Bourdillon	Presentations on CESVI programmes & current street children trends, existing opportunities for children & child rights; sharing of children's perspectives of re-integration
	July 8 & 9, 2016	Football trials	I facilitated for two children to go for trial with the Aces Youth Soccer Academy in Harare	Give opportunity to the two children that Mr. Chirambadare had highly recommended

FOURTH PHASE	December 12, 2016 (Morning)	Evaluation and reflections	Myself & my assistants & CESVI officials	To find out whether or not the objective of using football as an intervention towards the re-integration of the children had been met
	December 12, 2016 (Afternoon)	Evaluation and reflections	Myself & children who are still on the streets	To find out whether or not there were any benefits derived from the intervention in relation to the main objective of the study and prospective re-integration
	February 2017	Follow-up discussions	Myself & re-integrated children	To find out whether or not the football intervention contributed towards their re-integration
	March 2017 to May 2018	Follow-ups, data analysis and thesis submission		

Table 7.3: Actual procedure of my study between September 2014 and May 2017

7.6 Study population and sample

According to Allison (1996: 31), population is the entire population from which one intends to obtain a sample and to which a researcher would like to apply his or her conclusions. This study population should consist of subjects, whose characteristics are similar to those of the subjects in the sample (Ibid). In other words, the sample should be a genuine representative of the study population.

Quite often, populations are too large or are too scattered, such that it becomes impossible to draw a sample from the entire population. In such cases, the researcher may describe in terms of an accessible population, which, in turn, is part of the target population that is

reachable. If properly structured, small numbers can reflect a true picture of the findings in the data analysis.

The target population for this study consisted of, approximately 5 000 street children, that were estimated to be on the Harare streets towards the end of 2000 (Mella, 2012: 3), but these numbers could have gone up by the end of 2016. By that time, one of the organisations that worked with street children, and one that I originally was meant to work with, Streetsahead, had around 1 500 children on its books, of which more than 200 were girls (Ibid). Harare is the capital city and naturally attracts the majority of the children who end up on the streets, either permanently (children of the street), or temporarily (children on the street). It was, therefore, considered appropriate that Harare provide a focal point for the study of the homeless street phenomenon vis-a-vis how football could be used towards their re-integration.

The organisation that I finally worked with, CESVI, would host between 25 and 30 homeless street children (mostly boys) coming to its centre daily for different services that included bathing, washing of clothes and meals. Given the unpredictable life of the children, I worked with more than 30 children who participated in football at different intervals with the help of two assistants and other individuals who played in different capacities. The majority of the children were aged below 18 years.

A sample is part of the target or accessible population, which should have been procedurally selected so as to represent it. The street children on the Harare streets formed part of my focus group, which participated in football activities between 2014 and 2016. This cohort group comprised boys who were chosen through the purposive and snowball sampling methods, which are the most appropriate methods in a terrain where there is constant alteration to the lives and composition of the children. From the outset, it was apparent that of those coming to CESVI, there were more boys than the girls and only the former were interested in football; while a few of the girls knew about the on-going football sessions, they showed no or little interest in such activities.

In short, Babbie (2007: 189-191) opines that the history of sampling manifested itself alongside political polling, as a number of opportunities presented themselves among the social researchers who were attempting to make sense of their estimates. By the end of the

day, on election-day most of them are interested to find out how right or wrong they would have been. So popular did political sampling became in the 1920s through the 1940s, that the likes of Warren Harding, James Fox, Alf Landon, Franklin Roosevelt and Thomas Dewey, got entangled in political campaigns that encouraged the media to make predictions according to sample assessments drawn from the American population. It also appears that the pit-falls found in sampling are also equally as old as the technique itself.

Sampling methods are classifiable as probability and non-probability. In the former type of sample, the selection of the respondents is known, while in the latter type, the probability of selection in unknown (Bailey, 1978: 91). For my study, I chose to use the non-probability sampling in the form of the purposive or judgmental sampling and snowball sampling, which is appropriate for an action research. Non-probability sampling techniques are also common and popular in many small studies, with the most common being convenience, quota, dimensional, purposive and snowball.

AR is venturing into the unknown hence purposive or judgment sampling has proved one of the most popular, since it means the researcher or investigator has no obligation to have a quota for the various existing strata, as in quota sampling, but neither does she or he hand-pick any closest individual or organisation, as in convenience sampling (Ibid, 99).

Accordingly, one advantage of purposive or judgmental sampling is that the investigator can use personal research skill, as well as prior knowledge of the informants that he or she chooses.

A snowball sample, whose name is derived from a snowball that begins small, before it accumulates into one big ball, is relatively new in research, particularly in studies that need to be authenticated by observation, as well as through community studies. While snowballing is fairly a new non-probability sampling method, Bailey (Ibid, 99-100) points to the fact that there is the possibility of drawing a probabilistic snowball sample, which permits for the estimation of sampling errors, and use of statistics in testing significance. Whichever way, snowball-sampling is conducted in stages, starting with a few people, who in turn, might end up referring the researcher to other individuals of significance. This was appropriate as I worked with participants who continued to change during the time I was on the field.

From the beginning of my study, I intentionally chose to use purposive and snowball-sampling techniques, due to my prior knowledge of some individuals and organisations, such as Streetsahead, Volunteers for Vulnerable Children (VVC) and former and current football players. This also meant that I did not necessarily need to blindly venture into the insecure streets of Harare.

7.7 Data collection methods

Data-collection methods refer to the sources or instrument of data gathering that are used during the study. Generally, these are either secondary or primary sources. Elo et al., (2014: 3) quoting Rourke and Anderson, assert that it is the trustworthiness of data collection that determines the researcher's ultimate argument vis-à-vis the trustworthiness of the study. In other words, an appropriate method of collecting data is also vital in the credibility of the analysis of content.

7.7.1 Secondary sources

Secondary sources can be processed or raw and can refer to the published books and journals. It can also refer to company records, government sources and archival materials and so-forth. I found published sources useful for this study, especially in relation to my research problem, overall objective of study and research questions. The same could also be said of how useful these sources were during literature review and data analysis. Secondary sources have the advantage of being readily available, which make them cheaper, and tend to be more reliable and more realistic in comparison to primary sources.

7.7.2 Primary sources

Naturally, primary sources are unpublished and a number of methods can be used to acquire raw information from a number of sources. Most modern researchers emphasise the utilisation of primary sources, especially in AR and other pragmatic researches.

For my study a number of primary sources were triangulated, so as to derive as much information as possible on the street-children phenomenon.

Interviews

An important category of enquiry has to do with asking people questions, or getting them to respond in one way or the other, before capturing and recording their responses. For the sake of this study, I had to intentionally interview the street children at the point of entry, during and towards the end of the study. It also has to be observed that such interviews were essential within the focus group and at the homeless street children's individual levels, since some of them were comfortable to share their stories in a variety of forms. Attitude and behaviour transformations can only be observable through carrying out these kinds of staggered interviews.

Interviews are a kind of purposeful conversation that takes place between the researcher and the informant. As human-beings, we use the tool so often. While in its simplicity, interviews are viewed as easy, in practice they are not. Quoting Cannel and Kahn, Robson (1993: 229) posits that conversation in an interview is one, "initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him (or her) on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or exploration." The definition is all-embracing, since it attempts to include all types and forms of interviews, whether structured or unstructured. Critical to an interview and as suggested by the definition, are the enquirer's actions and intentions, which so often vary from one researcher to the other.

Interviews of one form or the other have been with us for a long time, and in similar fashion, the Egyptians conducted censuses through interviews in ancient times (Denzin et al., 2000: 647). According to the authors, the tradition of carrying out interviews has evolved via two trends; firstly, it is popular and widespread among those in clinical diagnosis and counselling, where there is great concern on the quality of the responses, and secondly, it proved important during the Second World War II, when interviewing became popular in psychological testing, in which there was great emphasis on measurement (Ibid).

Generally, Charles Booth has been credited for being the first person to have developed a credible social survey, when he carried out an intensive survey on the economic and social conditions of the Londoners in 1886 (Ibid). Fascinatingly, Booth successfully triangulated his interviewing methods through the use and reliance on unstructured interviews and ethnographic observations (Ibid). Such an exercise gave impetus to studies that soon followed, especially in England and the United State of America (USA), with the likes of W.E.B. Du Bois, who studied the black Philadelphians in 1899, R.S. Lynd and H.M. Lynd (1929 and 1937), becoming some of the most topical researchers (Ibid). It also seems that a universe, whose history was to be punctuated by world wars and other political and socio-economic events, such as the Great Depression (GD), would not be devoid of, or be exempt from some form of interviews being carried out. Having appeared to have started in industry, the interviewing exercises had also penetrated academia by the 1920s.

Typical of all inquiry methods, interviews also have their pros and cons in how they relate to research. Robson (1993: 229) has highlighted a number of advantages of carrying out research that uses interviews. An interview is flexible and adaptable, and in a sense opens the door to a lot that contributes to human actions or behaviour. As a result, face-to-face interviews provide an array of possibilities and interesting responses that can be tied to underlying motives, which cannot be exuded in self-administered questionnaires. Suffice to say, carrying out a successful interview is an art, which if successful, can yield great results.

Compared to questionnaires and other methods of gathering data, interviews allow the researcher to make follow-up questions, as well as to observe certain behaviours emanating from the informants. Such observable behaviours can be recorded and are a plus on the part of any research, especially in cases where the informant says one thing, yet his or her non-verbal, visual communication may contradict what the interviewee says.

These days, interviews have been further simplified through the use of telephones, mobile phones and other means that have transformed communication, such as skype and so-forth. Some of these have meant interviews can now be done, despite the distances between the interviewer and the interviewee, yet at the same time, permitting the researcher a chance to still keep an eye on the interviewee's behaviour.

Given the capricious nature and lack of standardisation in how interviews are carried out, there is concern for reliability and bias. While there are a number of ways to counter such challenges, it also points to the fact that, most successful interviews are dependent on certain attributes that include experience and degree of professionalism that not all researchers have.

Interviews are naturally time-consuming, and it is with this in mind that Robson (1993: 229) argues that an interview under half an hour might not be valuable, while that which is above an hour will not auger well with busy informants. Bias and lack of validity can be a result of the reluctance on the part of informants, to be involved in long interviews, resulting in too few of them participating. Quite often, the researcher changes from one area to the other, to obtain different, but relevant interviews. Some of these could be in different towns, and, at times, in different countries altogether. Overall, interviews call for thorough preparations and dexterity on the part of the interviewer, so as to maximise on the existing opportunity to obtain relevant data.

In the case of my research, it was observed that the homeless street children had different lapse times during the interview, but concentration spans could still fit into Robson's suggestions. Looking briefly into the types of interviews will reflect on some of the pros and cons that should be anticipated by researchers.

Types of interviews

To begin with, the type of interview that a researcher might settle for could be determined by the sample size. The same could also determine whether one uses the interview or questionnaire or both. In the case of my research, interviews were conducted for the individual homeless street children, as well as for the focus group, since the numbers were manageable.

Structured and unstructured interviews

The three main types of interviews are the structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, with the last one being also referred to as 'unscheduled interviews.' While the unstructured interviews can be intended to probe the interviewee's deepest feelings, it is almost entirely dependent on neutral probes (Bailey, 1978: 201). Bailey (Ibid, 202) argues

that, while the structured interviews are commonly used, unstructured interviews can be more valid. His argument appears to emanate from the fact that structured interviews can be too rigidly used, since highly structured questions would have been put in place premeditatedly. Nonetheless, it appears unstructured interviews have had the advantage of helping the interviewee to recall some of the issues that he or she might have forgotten due to time lapse or might not have necessarily taken seriously.

Bailey (Ibid, 202) reports that one of the disadvantages of the structured interview is that, it leads to impatience, since there is tendency and temptation to hurriedly go from one question to the other by the researcher. It might be argued that the longer the questions and the exercise, the more likely the challenges faced by the structured interviews. Consequently, the reliability and validity in this context become questionable.

Semi-structured interview and its advantages

It is apparent that two extremes might spoil research, in terms of opting for either structured or unstructured interviews. It was with this in mind that I opted to use a combination of both. The semi-structured interviews are more reliable and valid since they allow the researcher to have direction. In addition, there is leverage for one to probe or to have follow-up questions and listed ideas or themes, as well as new questions.

Positively, the semi-structured interviews permit the researcher to use a combination of open and closed-ended questions. Firstly, in such cases, the interviewees are assumed to have been entangled in a particular situation or have observed some social situation, about which the interviewer would have a tentative idea (Ibid, 200). While the interviewer would have general questions in place for guidance, other questions, ideas, themes and answers will come up during the interview exercise itself.

Secondly, Bailey (Ibid, 200) asserts that patterns, elements and processes that feed into themes can be analysed by the social scientist, in the attempt to discover how the situation would have impacted on those involved. With this in mind, the researcher does not get into the field with blank pages, but with an idea and some listed down themes and research questions. These will aid the researcher in the third step, which is of coming up with an interview guide.

In terms of the progress of the use of the semi-structured interviews, there is suggestion of the fourth step, which points to focusing the interview on the subjective experiences and understandings of the involved persons, who, in the case of my study, are the homeless street children, in the attempt to understand how they define their situation (Bailey, Ibid, 200). It is within this context that sub-themes, as suggested by the grounded theory, crop up unexpectedly. Apparently, the interviewer should not get lost in the whole research, because there was no question content in place at the point of entry, otherwise the whole exercise can be worthless. Positively, the open-ended questions embedded within the semi-structured questions provide natural flexibility, in addition to giving room for unexpected responses and questions that may be asked. Overall, semi-structured interviews provide a middle path, between the unstructured and structured interviews.

Interviewing children

As already highlighted, there are always differences in terms of the structure and the way interviews are conducted for the adults, as compared to those prepared for the children. A number of researches have been carried out looking into early childhood socialisation, as well as child development. Most of these studies have generally portrayed the necessities, as well as the positives of involving children in the exercises. Bailey (Ibid, 203) contends that there are approximately three basic problems that should be anticipated in those involving children in a study and these are, the child's limited vocabulary and ability to comprehend abstract concepts, the child and how he or she relates with the adult in terms of roles, and finally, the child's limited understanding of the situation in which the interview is carried out, which in turn is under threat of his or her limited attention span. In this study, the situation was found to be even worse when it came to dealing with the homeless street children, some of whose unfortunate upbringing and experiences on the street had literally destroyed their attention span.

While asserting that there are many challenges that the interviewer should anticipate when dealing with children under the age of six, most of whom should still be in pre-school, because of their insufficient language skills to comprehend and respond accordingly. Bailey (Ibid, 203) is of the view that, direct interview with such children can be accomplished successfully if dolls and pictures could creatively be utilised while interviewing two to three-year olds. Overall, the younger the child, the more difficult it is to interview him or her (see

Kortesluoma et al., 2003: 436). This might also mean, for such interviews, the shorter they are, the better for the child and for the interviewer, otherwise there are usually high rates of children of this age who are reluctant to participate in an interview.

While appreciating the fact that some street children found in Harare are so young, it was expected that their interest in participating in interviews and their understanding levels would vary accordingly. It was with this in mind that I had to so often consult with CESVI, since it was already providing services to most of the children with whom I had to deal. The organisation kept the records of the children and it also made sense to work with some individuals who already knew these children on individual basis. Translation of the semi-structured questions from English to Shona before the interviews also proved pertinent.

The relationship between an adult interviewer and a child interviewee differs from one study to another, but for my study I discovered that creating a workable relationship and rapport with the homeless street children without the aid of the CESVI personnel was almost impossible, if not dangerous in terms of security.

Bailey (Ibid, 204) points to some of the challenges that are faced in how the adult relates with a child interviewee and these include failure on the part of the child to understand the role of the interviewer, who apparently appears to be like any other parent or teacher adult. In addition, it is the assumption of the child that all adults know it all and are in the business of wanting to derive the answers that they already know (Ibid). It appears in such instances children might end up consciously not giving answers, giving delayed answers or they deliberately give wrong answers altogether. Such challenges can be countered by working alongside personnel from the foster homes or having the interviewer creating a cordial working relationship with the children or a combination of both, as in the case of my study.

Children naturally have a wandering mind and so often would want to present their cases through images. It becomes the role of a trusted interviewer to continually bring the wandering mind back on track, especially when dealing with those of the pre-school ages. While there could be other contributing factors such as level of education and experience, Bailey (Ibid, 204) raises a valid concern about children of approximately seven years, whom he claims, that while they have good verbal skills, they have a tendency to hide their attitudes and feelings from adults. In other words, the older the child, the more likely he or she is to

become subtle. In my study I tried to counter this challenge by perennially observing the children, instead of merely depending on their words, as projected in the interview sessions.

The last of the challenges that Bailey has raised in interviewing children has to with the actual interview situation, a challenge, which becomes more pronounced if the child is going through his or her first ever interview session. An interviewer always requests for co-operation from adult interviewees, but a more difficult proposition results when dealing with less-conscious children, especially those at pre-school level. It is against such a backdrop, that Bailey (Ibid, 204) suggests that the interviewer plays a game with the child when better answers are presented almost effortlessly, as the child gets engrossed and gets into a positive mood. The idea of games, including in the case of my study, appears to present the best opportunity of getting the answers to research questions. These ice-breaking possibilities, at the same time, should not divert the child's attention away from the research at hand. The game itself should be in simple form so as not to leave a frustrated child, whose contribution towards the research might end up being negative (Ibid). This also bears similarities with Clark, quoted in Einarsdottir (2007: 201), who opines that when dealing with children, drawings can be the best way to discover their views and experiences.

Baily's pragmatic suggestions of using dolls, pictures and story-telling are essential when dealing with children, without my research being an exception. Such exercises have been used in researches that have dealt with racial prejudices, gender disparities and so-forth (Ibid). As already discovered in McIntyre's studies, images are essential when it comes to studies that focus on children.

Focus groups

According to Davis (2007: 178), a focus group (FG) creates an environment conducive for feedback amongst the parties. He adds that a focus group examines the mood, positive and negative, and the causal factors that feed into the particular attitudes or behaviours (Ibid). For the sake of this study I set up a focus group of street children that averaged between 10 and 15 each time I visited Harare. Since this was an action research and, given the nature of the children's lives, participants and numbers remained inconsistent during the study. At the same time, I still managed to observe the children's attitudes, behaviour and contexts and to carry out individual interviews at the commencement of my study, and have focus group

discussions and a conference, during, and towards the end of the research. The football sessions and matches, as well as further observations, were run and monitored by my two research assistants, a male and a female (a former Zimbabwe national football team player), and also involved a former professional football player-See Chapter seven).

The focus group method, also known as 'group interviewing,' remains a pertinent part of most of qualitative methods of research. The focus group methodology can be equated to having people who are put through a laboratory exercise, and this research is not an exception. Depending on the level or stage at which it will be used, the focus group can be based on structured, semi-structured and, or unstructured interviews (Babbie, 2007: 322). That means the researcher gets to individually or collectively ask individuals, or a group, systematically. While there might not be any definitive issues derived from a focus group, the method serves the purpose of sharing ideas and exploring possibilities.

For my study, the focus group was involved in a number of exercises that involved off-field meetings, football clinics and football matches, which were meant to assess the different levels or stages through which the street children's behaviours and attitudes went through over a period of time. The mixture of play and meetings involved the researcher, focus group, football personnel and research assistants and there were attempts to curb children's loss of concentration by keeping time and to their suggestions (Also see Brink, 2001: 82).

Krueger, cited in Babbie (2007: 323), suggested that there are about five (5) advantages to using focus groups, which include:

- The exercise being a technique that is socially-oriented, and captures real-life data from real-life experiences in a social environment;
- It is flexible, but it has to be mentioned that at times it can be too capricious for results to be taken seriously;
- It has high face validity, given that the respondents can always ratify their experiences;
- Its results can speedily be revealed, due to the fact that the exercises might be shorter than those found in other methods; and
- Costs incurred in focus group might be on the low-side, especially because people are grouped together, and are not necessarily to be found in different places, which is expensive.

Such advantages might also be explained in terms of certain individual's being apprehensive to face the researcher individually, yet the focus group gives an individual some comfort zone to share experiences, and crafts the way forward with others.

The use of a focus group is not all smooth-sailing, albeit I chose it, and Babbie (2007: 323) reflects on some of the challenges, which include:

• The researcher is highly-likely to lose control, as compared to individual interviews;

• The exercise's data can be difficult to analyse, especially in cases where the recording systems are less reliable;

• Moderators will require special skills to decipher information; in cases where there are more than one group, there is tendency to compete, which can be troublesome;

• Generally, groups are difficult to set up and ensemble; and

• The discussion requires a tolerant environment, which might mean, for instance, organising for expensive accommodation and other facilities. It was with this in mind that I used a combination of a Dictaphone, camera and assistant researchers, yet still had to face the challenges of organising venues, food and refreshment for the conference meeting.

For the purposes of my study, I attempted to curb some of the natural challenges faced by focus groups. For instance, I deliberately formed one focus group of street children, so as to minimise expenses and competition, despite the capricious nature of the children's lives. There were a total of 36 children involved in the study (See Table 9.1). Efforts were also made in the AR exercises to make sure that rules that regulated the exercise were drafted with the inclusion of the street children, former football players and assistant researchers. This also minimised the challenge of sharing analysed data with all the participants. The involvement of an NGO, CESVI, also made it a lot easier to ensemble the street children that formed the focus group, in addition to them having already been providing resources and space to the street children. One of the first exercises carried out in my study was to have individual interviews with the children, meaning that even those without the voice in the focus group were taken care of.

Observation

Generally, and more-so in qualitative research that is action oriented and where there is a focus group, direct and indirect observations are critical. This is largely so, because social scientists are interested in understanding human behaviour and how human-beings act, as well as in the motivations and influences behind such behaviour. One way of doing this is through observing people directly. According to Kalof et al. (2008: 114), such a technique of data collection can be named 'ethnography,' 'field research,' or 'naturalistic observation.' As opposed to the laboratory and other types of controlled research, 'naturalistic' observations seek to make observation of the subjects in their natural settings and these could be in the forms of homes, places of employment, public places and so-forth (Ibid).

In the case of my research, it was imperative to note that most of the children under study had found 'homes' and 'employment' in the streets of Harare. Observation in qualitative research has always been contended, especially in relation to issues of ethics. In other words, there is contention on whether or not the researcher should carry out a study without or having notified the participants and gatekeepers about his or her presence. The major challenge of not informing the participants about the researcher's presence is that it is deemed unethical, while notifying them might also lead to pretence on their part.

Kalof et al. (Ibid, 115) assert that there are two basic forms of observation, participant and direct. Other writers merely suggest that there is indirect and direct observation, with the latter having the same meaning as participant observation. Kalof et al. (Ibid) define participant observers as researchers who immerse themselves in what occurs in the area under scrutiny, while direct observation entails watching people, but without becoming participants in the setting. Consequently, an added advantage of direct observation is that the researcher does not disrupt the proceedings on the site, and in this case, his or her presence might not require any permission from the participants.

Researchers seek for permission from the gatekeepers and informants on ethical grounds. Since I was using an action research, I intentionally set-up a focus group of homeless street children, alongside a number of other people and it became imperative that I, together with my assistant researchers, be participant observers. This was critical as it gave room for interaction between the researchers and people of different cultural backgrounds, whose

attitudes and behaviour attributes were under consideration. It also became additionally imperative that I observed some of the street children's activities without their knowledge, so as to avoid leaving gaps that are usually a consequence of my presence being known to the children.

7.8 Data analysis

There are a number of methods that can be used in analysing qualitative research. In my research in general, I used themes. According to Mouton (1996, 161), data analysis usually involves two steps; firstly, reducing collected data to manageable proportions and, secondly, identifying patterns and themes in the data. Elo et al. (Ibid, 5) suggest that units for analysis should not be too broad, since this might be difficult to manage, nor should the unit be too narrow, which might translate to fragmentation. Accordingly, qualitative researchers have had to emphasise an integrated approach, derive meaning and contextualise phenomena in their analysis or interpretation of data in a number of approaches.

For data analysis for my study, I used the thematic-synthesis, which combines and adapts a number of approaches according to themes, and essentially, also recognises the use of grounded theory. The method reviews and addresses issues relating to intervention need, appropriateness and acceptability, and those aligned to effectiveness, but without compromising the key principles that would have developed (Barnett et al., 2012: 6-7). With this method, the researcher's findings are organised into descriptive themes, which are further interpreted into analytical themes. Braun et al. (2006: 37) succinctly highlight some of the advantages of using thematic analysis as:

- Flexibility;
- The method is relatively easy and quick to learn;
- It is accessible to researchers with no or with little experience and knowledge of qualitative research methods;
- Generally, the results are accessible to the educated general public;
- The method can be utilised in the participatory research paradigm, alongside participants who will be acting as collaborators;
- Key features can be summarised from a large chunk of data, and offer a 'thick description' of a data set;

• It highlights similarities and differences across the data set;

• It generates unexpected insights;

• It allows for social data interpretations; and

• It has the potential to produce relevant qualitative analysis that can inform policy development.

I also found the thematic-synthesis method appropriate for my research, since it accommodates the grounded theory, which is developed by entering the field without a hypothesis, and the researcher describes and formulates explanations of what would be occurring on the basis of observing (Bailey, 1978: 55-57). Babbie (2007: 307) defines grounding theory as "…the attempt to derive theories from an analysis of the patterns, themes, and common categories discovered in observational data." As a result, I found the evolving nature of the thematic synthesis very useful in AR that was apparently unpredictable and sought not to impose itself on the street children involved.

Procedurally and structurally, I found Creswell's suggested data-analysis procedure in Figure 7.1 below useful, especially in the thematic analysis of my data. It highlights certain levels that can be followed in the analysis of qualitative data not only from the bottom upwards, but also as an interactive process. The bottom-up approach according to Figure 7.1 will start with the collection of raw data, which will then be organised and prepared for analysis; it is coded manually or by computer before the data is interpreted and described according to the identified themes.

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Interpreting the meaning of themes/description │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                       ▲
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │ Interrelating themes/description (e.g. grounded theory, case study) │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                        ▲                                  ▲
                 ┌──────────────┐                  ┌──────────────┐
                 │    Themes    │                  │  Description  │
                 └──────────────┘                  └──────────────┘
                        ▲                                  ▲
   ┌──────────────┐  ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
   │ Validating the │  │     Coding the data (by hand or computer)    │
   │ accuracy of the│  └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
   │  information   │                     ▲
   └──────────────┘  ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                     │            Reading through all data           │
                     └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                        ▲
                     ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                     │    Organising and preparing data for analysis │
                     └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                        ▲
                     ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                     │   Raw data (transcripts, field notes, images, etc.) │
                     └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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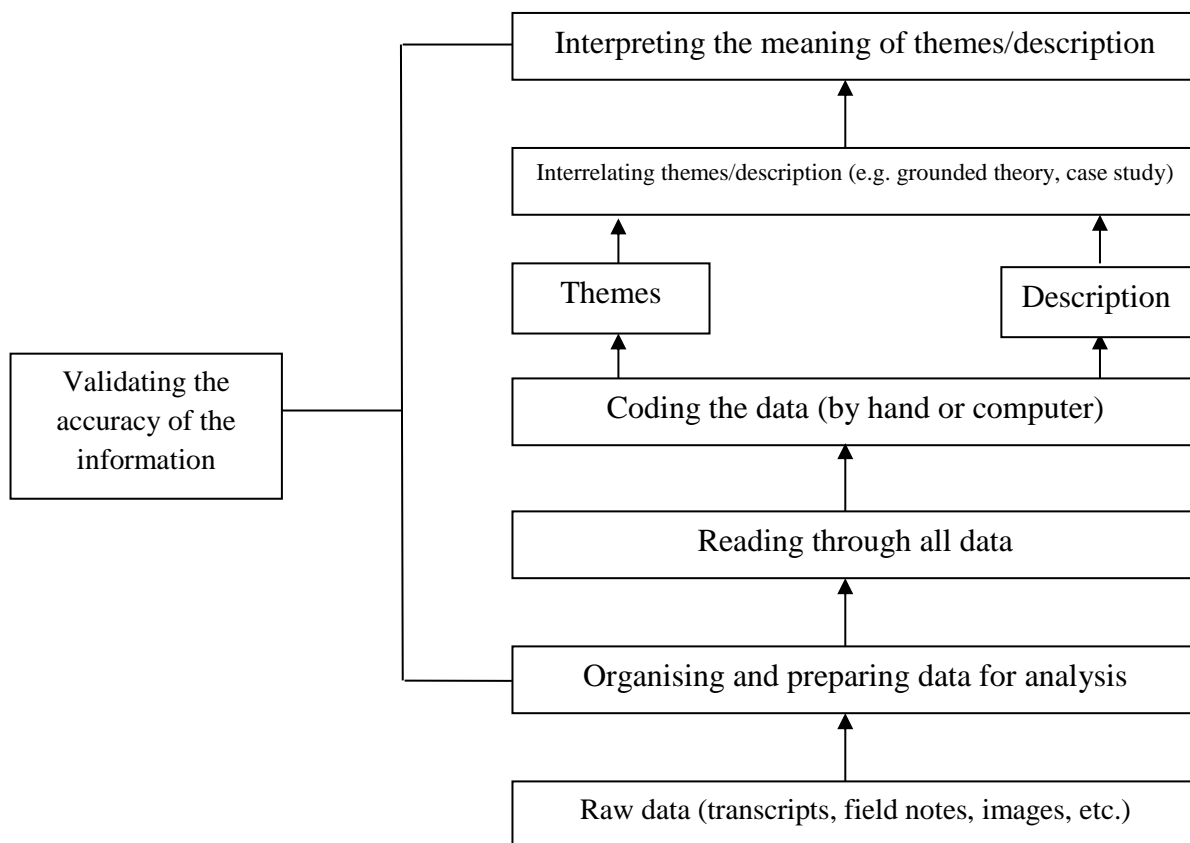
Figure 7:1: Data analysis in qualitative research (adopted from Creswell, 2009: 185)

7.9 Ethical considerations

In general terms, in as much as research has retained a lot of its characteristics since the founding of the concept, the same can be said about the concerns pertaining to the method in which it is conducted. In other words, ethical dilemmas have and will always be part and parcel of all research, and it is with this in mind that most countries have recently set-up professional organisations, whose ethical codes are meant to regulate and provide behavioural standards for researchers.

One of the most critical, if not the most difficult area of research, is confidentiality, which becomes more relevant in AR. Esterberg (2002: 45) contends that all research should ensure voluntary participation and privacy of the informants, and in my case, participants. Tentatively, informants or participants must be informed of the perils of being involved before they consent to be part of the research (see Fargas-Malet et al., 2010: 176-177). Given that there are a variety of researches that can be conducted, it appears there are some, which

are more sensitive than others, for instance, those that involve the participant's race, gender, sexual preferences, salary and so forth. Consequently, in more difficult circumstances, more-so, in the clinical experiments, researchers resort to experiments with animals, in an attempt to avoid experimenting with human beings. It is only recently that animal rights activists have been raising their voice against such practices.

A rhetorical, yet pertinent question that has been part of every research is whether to provide the prospective informants or participants with all the details of the research, or to proceed and to conduct research without their knowledge. As I have already alluded, the former might lead to pretence of the participants, while the latter sounds overly unethical and deceptive. Accordingly, arguments of deception are rampant in qualitative research, despite lack of experiments, especially in cases where participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus groups are involved (Ibid, 47). In most of these and under normal circumstances, symbiotic relationships are developed between the researcher and the participants. Deception is a real occurrence in so many researches, and Bryman (2001: 143) defines it as a case, where the researcher presents his or her work as something different from what it actually is.

Apparently, action research is more susceptible to challenges of deception, yet the type of research has the efficacy of longevity, which, in turn, might challenge all forms of deception by the researcher, informants or participants. In short, deception is difficult to sustain for long periods and for those types of researches where a group of individuals have to work together for a while.

In the case of my research, it was always going to be difficult to blindly try and work with street children in the street hence I had to work with an established organisation that was already working with those kinds of children. Much of the consent, since the commencement of my study, was with the children and CESVI. While the organisation gave me the go–ahead to interview and work with the homeless street children, I still had to introduce myself and assure them that all derived information was to be confidentially protected. In similar vein, especially when I carried out interviews with the first group, I assured them that I was not going to use their names nor have their faces anywhere in my research. It was with this in mind that in my data analysis I also used nicknames and pseudo-names of the participants, and as per my agreement with them. On a number of occasions, for instance, when we had the conference, the children signed consent forms. In this light, I closely followed the

Durban University of Technology's (DUT) ethical guidelines. It was also with this in mind that I fostered positive relationships with a number of children by constantly being in tough with them through the different modes of communication, such as Internet, WhatsApp, Facebook, and Mobile phone and so forth, even during those times I was not pursuing issues related to my study.

With the rapport that I developed with the street children, they also allowed me to take pictures and record interviews on the Dictaphone. I discovered that buy-in is critical, despite some of the challenges that are also involved when dealing with homeless street children. For instance, some of such faceless characters would not easily want to be re-integrated, nor reconnected with their biological homes hence they remained a mystery. While the majority of them provided relevant information about their background and experiences, I, as a researcher had to fulfil my part of the bargain.

Once, I discovered that some of the children with whom I was dealing had mistrust toward researchers and it became difficult to convince them that I was up to something positive. This was a period when a number of those involved in the first group that I dealt with in my research were put on life bans after a fracas between them and some donor researchers. From that moment, CESVI and the children were apprehensive about researchers. Consequently, I could not carry out the detailed follow-up interviews as I had planned and also had to deal with a majority of new faces during my different visits, while the focus group interviews that I carried out were at the football field.

7.10 Challenges

There were a number of challenges that I faced from the outset of my research, some of which are also part of my data analysis and these included the following:

- Difficulties in acquiring clearance from the Department of Social Welfare (See Table 7.3);
- Closure of Streetsahead, the first organisation I was meant to work with (See Table 7.3);
- Temporary closure of CESVI's House of Smiles for renovation purposes (See Table 7.3);

- Failure to engage the street children in further individual interviews and focus group discussions at the House of Smiles due to an internal problem between CESVI and some of the children. Consequently, all later discussions were done at the football fields or I had to organise alternative venues;
- Failure to engage Dynamos football club as originally intended (See Table 7.2);
- Withdrawal of the parents and guardians from participating in the conference for financial and other reasons;
- Lack of predictable patterns of how the children could be re-integrated; and
- Communication difficulties with the children who were re-integrated.

7.11 Validity and reliability

7.11.1 Validity

Overall, validity refers to whether the findings of the study are accurate from the point of view of the researcher, participants, and or the readers (Creswell, 2014: 201). According to Thatcher (2010: 125), validity is the extent to which a measuring instrument measures that which it intends to measure. Thatcher also adds that it is possible for measurement to be reliable, but invalid; however, if a measurement is unreliable, then there is no way it can be valid (Ibid). Golafshani (2003: 598) asserts that validity is an embodiment of replicability or repeatability of the results or observation. Quoting Whittemore et al., Elo et al. (Ibid, 4), opine that validity also has to do with the thoroughness and adequacy of data, as well as sound sampling and saturation.

With these definitions in mind, it has to be understood that gathering data on human actions, as opposed to their values, beliefs and opinions, as provided by questionnaires and interviews, always sound more valid and superior. Telling and retelling stories and issues as provided for by questionnaires and interviews, can depend on selective memory and can suffer from faded memory on the part of those providing information. Consequently, and as Bailey (1978: 275) posits, all things being equal, observation of an event holds more weight and a greater face validity, as compared to a second-hand account provided through a questionnaire or interview. At the same time, observation itself cannot be said to be infallible, for instance, if one was to assess the role of the eyewitnesses in criminal trials. As a result, it only makes more sense for the observation, which is greatly dependent on fallible human senses, to be complemented by other forms of data gathering. In addition, Dennis et

al. (2013: 3-4) opine that there are more validity arguments in qualitative research, as compared to quantitative research, yet there are so many meeting points between the two camps. The authors further emphasise that flexibility is vital in qualitative research and they suggest that researchers address common markers as configured by self-reflexivity, which focuses on introspective assessment of bias, inclusion of self-reflexivity in field notes, self as instrument and getting feedback from the participants; transparency pertaining the methods and challenges, which entail auditing, which show methodological details, disclosure of challenges and giving due credit; and mind of participants, which calls for the consideration of the needs of the participants, behaving honestly, empathetically, kindly and with self-depreciation and being vulnerable in the field of study (Ibid, 11). I found these suggestions very important, especially in the case of action research such as mine, where selfishness had to give room to inclusivity, and where I discovered that I did not have to impose anything on the other participants.

It appears that, the more control the researcher has over the interview, the more valid is the results. This is made possible in cases where the interviewer ensures that the informant or participant answers questions adequately, in an orderly manner and without having to depend on anyone to aid in providing answers (Ibid). Depending on how this is handled, it in this context that it can be argued that interviews are more dependent and more reliable compared to questionnaires.

Creswell (2014: 201-202) proposes the following multiple approaches as a way of validating qualitative research, as well as a way of ensuring accuracy of findings,

Triangulation

This is realised when the respective sources of data information are examined from the sources and are used to build coherent justification for themes. The establishment of themes based on converging sources of data and, or views of the participants, can add to the validity of the research.

Member checking

This can determine whether or not the qualitative research findings are accurate by way of taking the final report, specific perceptions and themes back to the participants, who in turn, will determine their accuracy, especially on the major findings and themes.

Utilisation of description

Provision of a chance for shared experiences on the themes and settings between the researcher and participants can be enriched by means of description in the study.

Clarity of bias

Honest on the part of the researcher due to such influences from history, culture, gender and so forth, and how these might have influenced the interpretation of the findings usually adds validity to qualitative research.

Negative/discrepant information

The general perspective about a particular theme can be challenged through the researcher's presentation of tangible evidence against what might have been thought to be correct or the norm.

Time in the field

The time in the field for the researcher, the more likelihood they are to understand the phenomenon being researched on. In other words, the more the experience in the setting for the researcher, the more the accuracy of the study.

Use of peer debriefing

Validity and value addition can also be realised through the engagement of a peer de-briefer, who can interpret and reaffirm the findings of the study.

Use of an external auditor

Engaging an external person, who has no connection or familiarity with the researcher or study, to have an overall oversight can bring more objectivity to the research. This person can try and relate all aspects of the research by connecting the research questions, aim(s), objectives and data to each other.

For my research, the aforementioned validity exercises were fulfilled through what is reflected in Table 7.4 below,

	Validation exercises	What was employed to ensure validity
1.	**Triangulation**	Employment and triangulation of three methods of data collection.
2.	**Member checking**	While member checking was occasionally carried out via my two research assistants, my last trip to Harare at the end of 2016 also involved individual and focus group interviews with the children.
3.	**Utilisation of description**	Collected data from the field was described and explained according to themes that came up during course of the study.
4.	**Clarity of bias**	While the mere fact that my research was based in Harare and not Bulawayo, which is close to my place of employment, might have been a reflection of avoiding cultural challenges (including the vernacular language), the setting of the study ensured that bias was at its minimum for my study.
5.	**Negative/discrepant information**	Grey areas and contradictions to norms, perceptions and themes were addressed in the data analysis.
6.	**Time on the field**	My study's field work spanned a period of three years (2014-2016), in which periodic visits were made to Harare, where I would spend at least a week on the study; my efforts were adequately complemented by two assistant researchers.
7.	**Use of peer debriefing**	My study was reviewed by a person who has worked and has experience in the field that deals with street children.
8.	**Use of an external auditor**	Different phases of my study will ultimately be exposed to external eyes through peer reviewed publications.

Table 7.4: Validation exercises that were taken for my study

7.11.2 Reliability

According to Twycross et al. (2004: 36), reliability refers to consistency stability, as well as the repeatability of results. This implies that the results of the researcher are considered reliable so long the consistent results are obtained in similar situations, but different circumstances (Ibid). According to Elo et al. (Ibid, 4), quoting Moretti et al., reliability or dependability also has to do with the transferability of the main characteristics of the participants to other contexts for assessment. Reliability of an observation is dependent on a number of factors, some of which have already been mentioned as threats to validity. Otherwise, reliability can greatly depend on the observational method being used. Bailey (1978: 280) asserts that field research, more than any other method, such as survey and experiment, is an individual endeavour, which seeks to study a single culture or group, leaving little room for any comparison necessary to assess reliability. It is along these lines that the author posits that it should be surprising that discussion of reliability can be completely lacking in an ethnographic field research, given that it is dependent on the subjective comprehension of the researcher (Ibid).

This is not to suggest that observation cannot be relied on, especially if it is well structured according to certain times of the day, week or month, and includes more than one person. Bailey (Ibid, 280) postulates that reliability of observation can rise as high as more than 80 per cent, if more eyes are put into the field and observation of behaviour is sandwiched between certain times of the day or week.

It has to be highlighted that there are always challenges when dealing with the results that are derived from interviews and these include cases where the informants would have answered favourably, but inaccurately, or would not reluctantly accept limitations towards effectively answering certain questions. One of the perennial challenges towards validating interview answers has to do with the informants' responses to questions on events of a distant past (Ibid, 204). That means quite often, participants would try and be as absolute as possible, even over issues they are no longer sure of. Appearing to provide favourable answers to the researcher can be a contagious academic disease that all studies should be wary of.

Gibbs quoted in Creswell (2014: 203) recommends four reliability procedures in order to curb some of the question marks that remain on qualitative research. They are as follows:

• Checking the transcripts for any mistakes that might have been made during the initial transcription;

• Retaining consistency in the definition of the codes, so as to avoid drifting;

• If the research involves teams, there is need for constant communication, regular meetings and sharing of the analysis; and

• Reliability can also be a result of engaging other personnel to cross-check the codes that would have been used in the study; these could use computer software packages, but, I might add, these could also be done manually.

Reliability of my study, in relation to Gibbs' recommendations, was ensured through ways reflected in Table 7.5 below,

	Reliability exercises	**What was employed to ensure reliability**
1.	Checking of transcripts	Collected data was well kept and transcribed from the Dictaphone, while different themes that cropped up during the study where coded accordingly.
2.	Retention of code consistency	I went through collected data a number of times and each time I consulted my assistants and met with the children. Certain issues and themes were repeated and collectively reviewed.
3.	Team involvement	Action research is a concerted effort and my research was not an exception. I constantly communicated and shared information with my assistants and with the street children each time I visited Harare.
4.	Engaging other cross-checking personnel	I constantly checked and cross-checked the coding system which was set according to themes.

Table 7.5 Reliability check for my study

7.12 Chapter summary and conclusion

This chapter focused on the methodology that I employed, which in this case was qualitative research. The method was deemed appropriate, since the research sought to address a unique, but not so clear phenomenon. This methodology gave leverage to me, experienced and relevant personnel and street children, to examine ways of addressing the challenge of children in the streets of Harare. Given the nature of the life of a street child, a number of challenges militated against the original course of action, yet the non-probability and purposive sampling kept me in the loop with a constant membership of street children to work with. Data was collected through individual interviews, focus group discussions, which also took the face of a conference at some point, and observation. Most of these were meant to understand the street children's contexts, attitudes and behaviours, which was in accordance with my research's problem, overall objective and questions. Collected data from the field was analysed through the thematic-synthesis method. The chapter also discussed the methods that I employed to ensure validity and reliability, as well as how ethical issues were addressed in the study.

Part IV DATA ANALYSIS

This part my study deals with the presentation of the data that I collected during my study with the street children and CESVI between September 2014 and December 2016, and it comprises of three chapters. The majority of the children would come to the organisation's House of Smiles, which is located very close to the Harare city centre, for feeding, bathing, cleaning their clothes, taking a rest, some for lessons, and to play football. Working with CESVI proved positive and productive, since the organisation was already working with the children. At the same time, building trust with the organisation was also the only way to go.

Most of the data was collected through individual interviews, observation, focus group discussions, a short questionnaire and a conference. Trust was always imperative in my dealings with the street children. This was mainly achieved by assuring the street children that pseudonyms and their nicknames were going to be used in the research, as already highlighted. In similar vein, I promised I was going to avoid showing their faces without their consent. It has to be mentioned that there were sporadic strained relationships between CESVI and the children, which at one time led to the expulsion of some of the children from visiting the centre. This also meant that some of my visits to meet with the children were conducted at the football pitch in Mbare, and at an alternative venue. In addition, it also meant that we could not retain the same children consistently for the study. This is similar to so many situations for the street children the world over. At the same time, this did not prevent me from making certain conclusions about the street children that visited CESVI. Most of the data was collected in the vernacular language, Shona, and had later to be transcribed and translated into English.

Chapter eight of my study focused on some of the reasons that led to homelessness among some of the street children who frequented CESVI between September 2014 and December 2016. Most of these reasons came out during my individual interviews with the children on the 15th of September 2014, and I also have to mention that participants in my research were exclusively boys, yet from the outset it had also been open to the girls. From my observation, it is mostly boys that frequently visit House of Smiles. This chapter sought to address my research question 1, which emphasised the nature, extent, causes and consequences of homelessness among children in Harare.

Chapter nine, Chapter ten and **Chapter eleven** are mainly based on the themes that came up during the course of my action research study, most of which sought to find out how community football, as led by myself, my assistants and the street children, can be used as an intervention method towards addressing the children's issues, behaviours and attitudes in specific living environment. These final chapters focused on addressing my third research question, which sought to look into how football could be used towards social change, alongside other programmes, before the re-integration of the street children. Chapter eleven specifically focuses on the study evaluation and reflection process that I undertook with the CESVI personnel that also included my assistants and some of the former and current street children. As highlighted in Chapter seven, I analysed my data in these chapters using the thematic-synthesis method, which also accommodates the grounded theory.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF HOMELESSNESS

8.1 Introduction

The causes of homelessness among the street children who frequently visit CESVI's House of Smiles are not unique to this particular setting. Similar causes are prevalent around the globe and I addressed some of these in Chapter three of this study. This, though, does not take away the need to look into how these particular children ended up in the streets of Harare in the first place. As a result, Chapter eight examines some of the causes and consequences of the children who frequented the House of Smiles between 2014 and 2016 (Also see Appendix 1). The literature-review findings in Chapter three emphasised the factors that force children onto the streets temporarily, semi-permanently or permanently, with such factors as loss of guardians, abuse, committed offences, lack of resources, peer pressure, and economic independence being predominant. Without home protection, the street children face consequences, such as abuse from certain pockets of society and the media fraternity and are exposed to terminal and non-terminal diseases, which have serious ramifications on their attitude and behaviour. The general trends of Chapter three can be generalised, and can be specific in the case of street children found in Harare.

There are a number of bases found dotted throughout Zimbabwe's capital city, with some closer to the capital than others, but the majority of the children that I interviewed and were part of my research were from such places as Fife Avenue, OK Kwame Nkrumah, OK Julius Nyerere, and Mbare, while it was confirmed that the majority of the girls are based along the Mukuvisi River, to the south of the central business district (CBD). It is evident that most of these places are strategically located to the benefit of the children. Most of the children had more compelling factors contributing to them ending up in the street, as is confirmed below. Most of the areas covered under the causes of homelessness among the children were a culmination of what I discussed with the children in the individual interviews, which I carried out on the 15th of September 2014. In this study, I used pseudonyms or nicknames of the street children, as previously mentioned. Shona was mainly used during data gathering, and was translated into English during data analysis.

Table 8.1 below is a summary of the 13 street children who were involved in the individual interviews at the House of Smiles, and it includes categories that related to the children's

gender or sex, causes of being onto the street, where the children slept, places of their origin, their age at the point of entry into the street, duration of their time on the street in 2014, level of their education, survival activities and their relationships with the police. Data tabled and analysed below is based on the information that was provided by the children, the majority of whom were aged below 18 years. Since it was early in the action research, I avoided trying to derive information in sensitive areas, such as abuse of alcohol and drugs, in the attempt not to make the children feel uncomfortable. To begin with, I thought that in later stages or sessions I would be able to have follow-up individual interviews regarding the more sensitive issues, but that assumption faced challenges that included continual changes to the group of children involved in the study, and the closure of the House of Smiles between June and September 2015 for renovations (See Table 7.3). It was also with this in mind that observation and additional information from my assistants and other CESVI personnel became relevant, as these covered a number of areas that were either hidden or had fallen through a number of cracks in the data-gathering procedure (See Chapter eight).

8.2 Background of the interviewed homeless street children

	CHARACTERISTIC	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE
SEX			
	Male	13	100%
	Female	0	0%
AGE AT INTERVIEW			
	5-10 years	0	0%
	10-18 years	11	85%
	Above 18 years	2	15%
	Unknown	0	0%
DURATION OF TIME ON THE STREET IN 2014			
	Born in the street	1	8%

	Less than one year	3	23%
	1-2 years	3	23%
	3-5 years	5	38%
	More than 5 years	1	8%
PLACE OF ORIGIN			
	Urban	7	54%
	Rural	5	38%
	Peri-urban	1	8%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION			
	Never been to school	0	0%
	Grade 1-4	3	23%
	Grade 4-7	9	69%
	Form 1-2	0	0%
	Form 3-4	1	8%
	Form 5-6	0	0%
	College/University	1	8%
WHERE THE CHILD SLEPT			
	Home only	0	0%
	Street only	8	62%
	Home & street (include those in touch with people at home)	5	38%
SURVIVAL ACTIVITIES			
	Begging	3	23%
	Carry goods for other people and sell items	3	23%

	(vendors)		
	Washing & cleaning	1	8%
	Stealing	0	0%
	Guarding cars	0	0%
	Cleaning cars	0	0%
	More than one of the above	6	46%
CAUSE(S) FOR BEING IN THE STREET (includes those who mentioned more than one reason)			
	Ignorant of parents	2	15%
	Being an orphan (lost one or both parents)	7	54%
	Delinquency (Committed offence)	4	31%
	Poverty	2	15%
	Political unrest	0	0%
	Abuse	9	69%
CONCERN ABOUT THE RELATIONS WITH POLICE			
	Negative	9	69%
	Not so bad	4	31%

Table 8.1: Summary description of the characteristics of the 13 street children involved in the individual interviews on the 15th of September 2014

Overall, I carried out individual interviews with 13 street children, who happened to be part of the football team and who were present at the House of Smiles during the week of 14th to the 20th of September 2014 (Also see Table 7.3), and whose diversity in experience was as large as their numbers. According to my assistant, Harold (Interview on the 15th of September 2014), what a homeless street child called 'home' can determine perceptions that the children have against one another. In other words, he argues that children from Mbare, for instance, are ill-regarded by those from the city centre areas, such as Fife Avenue and OK, Nkrumah. With this, he was trying to explain the tension that arose during one training session during my visit in September 2014, between Xavi and Machinda. The former suddenly jumped off the kombi (taxi) and picked up a rock and threatened to strike the latter. While it might need further research, it is apparent that the street children I was dealing with related better with some than others, despite the fact that they had to ultimately come up with one football team representing CESVI.

At the point of the September 2014 individual interviews, none of the 13 children was below 5 years, 11 (85 per cent) were aged between 10 and 18 years, and 2 (15 per cent) were above 18 years (see Table 8.1). For a street child, age will always be important and a constant reminder of some challenges that a particular child might end up facing. It was with this in mind that one of my assistants reported in an individual interview in September 2014 that:

> One is a street child to a certain age and when they get to, say, 20 years of age,
> society and organisations no longer take the person seriously, let alone willing to
> continue spoon-feeding the person. Unfortunately, that is when we have cases
> where such kind of people get into lives of stealing and robbing (Harold).

Of the 13, John and Father Junior were aged 19 and 20, respectively. While everyone appeared to know or have an idea of their age, Xavi said that since he did not know where he was born, nor, who his parents were, his age of 14 years was mere guess work, which might have left a number of the ages questionable. Age is both an advantage and a disadvantage for those residing on the streets. While I have looked into one of the disadvantages, one advantage of being older than the others was highlighted by one street child when he pointed to one older one, Mercy (not part of my study), who was in control of their Fife Avenue base when he said:

> There is a chap called Mercy, who sells *mbanje* and plays and bets on cards,

who would not tolerate nonsense; he is the one who tell us to 'sweep' in the

morning and he is the one who usually helps us when the army and police

personnel come (Wasu).

Father Junior, who claimed to have enrolled at the University of Zimbabwe at some time, was an articulate chap and was aged 19 years. While there might have been fewer signs of how age benefitted his position among those in the street, the mere fact that he spoke of frequently using a mobile phone and was the captain of the football team appears to suggest otherwise.

At the point of entry into the street and as reflected in Table 8.1, 2 (15 per cent) of the children claimed to have been less than 10 years old, while 10 (77 per cent) said they were between 10 and 18 years. 1 (8 per cent) was born in the street, which translated to being permanently present on the street.

As shown in Table 8.1, 1 (18 per cent) of the 13 children was born in the street, 3 (23 per cent) had been on the street for less than a year, 3 (23 per cent) for between 1 and 2 years, 5 (38 per cent) for between 3 and 5 years, while 1 (8 per cent) for more than 5 years). My assistant, Harold, also suggests that the longer a child stays on the street, the more difficult it is to re-integrate such a person. It might also be added that those who would have stayed longer in the street might also end up being natural ring leaders, if not lacking discipline. This might be the context in which some of the street children I started the project with ended up being expelled by CESVI for indiscipline and insubordination. Amongst these, were the likes of Wasu, who had stayed on the street for a period of approximately 12 years. Otherwise, the majority of the children who were involved in my study had been on the street for a reasonably short time. In other terms, the younger and the less time a child has spent on the street, the better the chances of being able to address his or her issues.

The majority of the 13 street children who I had individual interviews with were born outside of Harare though a number of them were born in other urban places, peri-urban and rural areas. According to Table 8.1, 7 (54 per cent) of children were from the urban centres, 5 (38 per cent) and 1 (8 per cent) was from the peri-urban area. I also have to mention that due to continual movement, some of the children's place of origin would get mixed up with other places they would have stayed in or attended school. To an extent, the majority of them had some experience of city or town life by the time they ventured onto the streets of Harare, but

this does not imply that there were more compelling factors, as compared to detracting factors involved in their choice.

It is also important to mention that all the children had some form of formal education. Of those who attended, 3 (23 per cent) had an education level of between grade 1 and grade 4, 9 (69 per cent) between grade 4 and 7, 1 (8 per cent) between form 3 and form 4, and 1 (8 per cent) claimed to had been to university.

Of the 13 children, none was sleeping home on daily basis, 8 (62 per cent) were children of the street or they were permanently on the street, while 5 (38 per cent) were in constant touch with those at their paternal and or maternal homes. The impact of such a disparity in the children's characters, including attitudes and behaviour was not clear from the outset.

Survival is a big issue for a child who resides on the streets. Consequently, they participate in a number of what might the considered both legal and illicit activities. I had to depend, to a large extent, on what the children said were some of the activities they got involved in, with a number of them being involved in multifarious survival activities. 3 (23 per cent) mentioned begging, 3 (23 per cent) would carry goods for people, as well as sell items (vendors), 1 (8 per cent) highlighted washing and cleaning for people in the community, while 6 (46 per cent) mentioned more than one of the aforementioned chores. Interestingly, none of the children made mentioned of those activities that society and law-enforcers would deem negative, such as stealing and robbing, nor did any make mention of guarding nor cleaning cars, as was found amongst other children in other areas in the other studies. At the same time, I had to refrain from asking such questions this early in my research.

Street children naturally have apprehensive relationships with the city fathers and law-enforcers. According Table 8.1, 9 (69 per cent) of the children spoke negatively about their relations with the national police, while 4 (31 per cent) claimed their relations were not that bad.

Causes of homelessness amongst children are usually varied and on a number of occasions, there could be more than one cause. Accordingly, Table 8.1 shows that 2 (15 per cent) of the children mentioned ignorance of the identity of their parents, 7 (54 per cent) blamed being orphans (lost one or both parents) for their situation, 4 (31 per cent) highlighted delinquency

or they had committed a crime, 2 (15 per cent) mentioned poverty a factoring challenge, while 9 (69 per cent) spoke of abuse as the main contributing factor. The figures on the cause are inclusive of those children who mentioned more than one reason as having contributed to what pushed them into the streets.

It is proper in this chapter that accounts of the themes that cropped up during my interviews with the 13 children be discussed in detail, alongside the causes of homelessness among the same children, as well as the consequential experiences that they have encountered on the street. Their narratives are critical in providing some overarching reasons that lead to homelessness among children in Harare, and most of the reasons that came out of the 13 children also confirmed the general causes of homelessness among children. These are found in chapter three of this study (Also see Figure 3.1).

8.3 Causes of homelessness among the interviewed children

Apparently, the immediate families of the 13 street children that I interviewed showed that both parents were deceased or were divorced, which suggests that such a scenario acted as a compelling factor leading them onto the streets of Harare. While 12 of the participants had an idea about both or one of the parents, Xavi's case is an exception in that he had no record or memory of his parents and had been born on the street, but he briefly stayed with his grandparents in the town of Norton. The closest that he claimed to have heard about his parents was that they were both deceased, but it is unclear, whether or not, this position contributed to his position of being the least formally educated among the interviewees, since he only went up to grade one. In-fact, he did his grade one for free at the now defunct, Presbyterian Primary School in Harare, when he was already on the street. Xavi, who resides at OK, Nkrumah and was the CESVI team captain in 2014, and had been on the streets since 2009, summed up his life and what pushed him into the street when he said:

> So, grandma told me to leave her homestead and go to my parents' place, yet I have no idea
> where they used to stay. In my current situation, if we have no blankets, we use cardboard
> boxes and *masaga* (grain bags) (Xavi).

What was apparent in his case, as was with a number of other cases that involved the children I interviewed 2014, was the fact that the move to the street was a culmination of change of

guardians as a result of remarriages. Xavi appeared to suggest that his epitaph was inscribed the day his *sekuru* (grandfather) or his father's father decided to remarry, leading to him being chased away by the new wife.

As I have already alluded to, broken marriages and deaths of parents seem to be the most common cause of the homeless street children I interviewed. Patrick, who resided at Fife Avenue and was 14 years old, is one in such a position and uncontrollably wept during the interview, as he narrated how the passing away of his mother and father in 2007 and 2008, respectively, led to him dropping out of school, at grade seven level.

Rooney, who also cried during the interviews pointed to loss of parents as one of the reasons for being on the streets. The then 14 year old, who had relapsed at the end of 2016 and had been in the street since 2012, asserted that after the death of his father due to natural causes, he then tragically lost his mother in a car accident:

> My paternal and maternal relatives refused to take care of me on the pretext that my mother
> would not visit when she was still alive-I concluded that it was better to go and stay in the street.
> Even in cases where I have attempted to join my maternal relatives, there would be a *mainini*
> (aunt), who would frequently beat up my young brother for no apparent reason and she would
> not take it kindly when I ask about his crime (Rooney).

Machinda was one those street children who seemed to bear the brunt of divorces, but whose situation was compounded by the drinking habits of one of the parents, which was similar to Mndau's predicament each time he tried to get back home. Uniquely, Machinda's parents were both alive and he usually visited home, but could not stay for a long time each time he got there. He attributed his ordeal to his parents' divorce and his father who exacerbated the situation by drinking heavily. He said of his situation:

> I get to my father's place, but after a few days things altered for the worse. He doesn't chase
> away, but the way I end being handled leave a lot to be desired. When I could not get money
> to sit for my grade seven, my grandma told my father to go and sell her cattle in the rural areas
> and pay for the examinations. My father took that money and squandered it, which might have
> led to my grandma's passing away soon after due to stroke, as she was distressed (Machinda).

Machinda, who had been on the streets for between three and four years at the time of the interview and was 17 then, claimed that he was usually visited by his, now-remarried, mother. He also claimed that plans were underway for him to get back into school.

Mndau was also one of the very few participants who claimed to frequent home, but would not stay for long due the father's drinking habits, which culminated in the father's use of abusive language. He was also one of the very few with whom I worked with in this study, who was re-integrated with his paternal family in 2015, despite the aforementioned challenges. The then 15-year-old was one of the few who stayed in Mbare since 2009, and his education adventure ended in grade six. He would stay for approximately three to four months before visiting his father, and at the time of our interviews, it had been less than a month since he had visited home. Mndau claimed that each time he got home he would be stigmatised and he asserted:

> *Mdhara* (father) would perpetually call and introduce me as 'street kid' when drunk.
> If I get ill, he doesn't care the way he does for the other children from his remarriage.
> Up to this day, by the way, my father has never bought me any clothes. I would,
> consequently, prefer to get into a foster home. Unfortunately, my father is inconsistent,
> since he is at times kind, especially when sober (Mndau).

Mndau might also have been a victim of circumstances, since his mother did not get married, but was simply impregnated and left Mndau's father well before he was born.

20 year old Joe was another interviewee who often frequented home and at the time of our interview, it had been less than a week since he had visited his paternal home, and both of his parents were alive. Of all the participants and those who were involved in football at CESVI, it appeared Joe had the best chance of re-integration back into his family permanently. He claimed that:

> I had problems over minor issues that included my *maiguru* (aunt) and the twin sister, whose
> custody I was under, who sought to share my parent's items. Worse still, the twin sister
> would get drunk and tell everyone that I had no father nor mother. The other issue pertains
> my brother's wife, who usually goes haywire and beats up everybody she meets in the house.
> I usually purchase clothes for my parents and if get more money, I want to get them more
> clothes (Joe).

Joe's case was unique in that he did not have problems with his parents, but with certain issues which he referred to as 'minor' in nature. He was unwilling to divulge information on the challenges that he faced. Amongst all the participants, he spoke favourably about his parents and was one of the very few who would get back home carrying something for them and he also spent a number of days there.

Of the 13 informants involved in my study, only three partly blamed themselves for their ordeal, and these were Medzo, Father Junior and Mugo. The first two claimed that they might have played with the wrong people and got influenced along the way, and the two were the most educated if one is to consider that they went as far as form three and university, respectively.

As much as Medzo had lost his mother due to natural death in 2000 and had last spoken to his father about a year before our interview, he said:

> In life, you later see that you might have played around with the wrong friends. Now on your
> own, you will discover that what you did was not right. I got to play with drug addicts, and got
> suspended from school twice, which ultimately precluded us from even joining the remotest of
> the schools, since we got blacklisted. This led my father to tell me '…if you see and feel that you
> have come of age and can take care of yourself, then proceed and do that' (Medzo).

By the time of the interview with Medzo, it was unclear whether or not the blacklisting that had been imposed on the 16-year-old had been suspended.

Medzo's case is similar to that of Father Junior, who claimed that, academically, he went as far as university level. During my visit to Harare in April 2016, my assistants asserted that Father Junior might have taken advantage of his gift to grasp issues quickly, to the extent of misinforming CESVI officials that he had gone as far as university level, yet he might not even have reached secondary school. Having allegedly been in the education degree at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) and though having lost a father, who passed away, he subsequently left because:

> I started having fun, which was soon after compounded by lack of money to proceed with
> school. While my paternal relatives might have helped me, they could not, because there were
> already confuting over my fathers' items, which they did not want to see in mother's hands, but

shared amongst the children. The whole issue strained relations amongst the family members. Being at home with my mother also brought remorse in me, because I felt as if I was a burden, since there were so may unemployed people there (Father Junior).

The 16-year-old Mugo's mother died, while his father lived in the rural areas in the north of the country at the time and academically, he went up to grade seven. The young man sounded extremely distraught and apologetic for he had made of his current life:

I got mischievous. I was sent to pay some money and used it at some sporting activity. The result was fear of going back home. Consequently, I have not been home, nor have I gotten in touch with anyone from home in the past three or so years. I definitely would love to leave the street if I get alternatives (Mugo).

The most carefree of all the participants was Chipo, who did not care to know whether or not his father or mother were alive. The 14-year-old sounded as if he was really hurting, and he is one of the victims of divorce and had to be raised by a grandmother, aunt and stepmother. He was apparently tossed between families, while his father was in and out of the family. As a result, he was now under the auspices of an abusive stepmother, who, as he claimed, had a daughter whom he was not supposed to relate to hence:

My step mother told me that I was not to supposed to be in good books with my step-sister. One day she called me, took *mugoti* (cooking stick), and she thrashed me until it broke; she took *musika* (steering stick) and further beat me and I thought 'what wrong have I done?' I told my father and he thought I was lying. The final straw was the day she beat me in his presence and he ignored the fracas. That's when I started roaming around (Chipo).

Apparently, it is most difficult when dealing with homeless children such as Chipo, or in those cases where the aims are towards having these children re-integrated into their paternal and maternal families. Otherwise, for such children, a different 're-integration' approach might be considered.

8.4 Consequences of street life

The consequences and impact of living on the street on the child can be very negative, despite assertions that there are positives like not being subjected to abusive and violent situations in their paternal and maternal homes. Such negatives include substance abuse, violence,

contracting terminal and communicable diseases, among others. No-one puts it better than a former officer at CESVI, Bernard Zuva, when he said in an individual interview:

> Some of the kids would have been considered 'rubbish' and the uncouth language that they use might be a survival strategy for them. Most of them have gone through trauma, which in turn would have left a negative mark on their mind…yet if you consider some of them, you will see behaviour change according to situation, which means there is potential in them (Zuva).

Suffice to say, while negative consequences of being on the street can overwhelm some of the homeless street children, it appears some of them still have conscience in similar circumstances. For instance, during a training match in Mbare on the 17th of September 2014, one of the children used a derogatory statement, without realising the presence of my female assistant, Margret. Upon having realised her close presence, he closed his mouth in shame and apologised. Such gestures, including respect for the elderly included me when they would call me *blaz* (brother) or *mdhara* (father) have always been evident in the children.

During my study visit in April 2016, I noted and was informed that Kedha and Xavi had been involved in serious violence in the streets, which left them with physical scars. While information on the causes of the fracas they were involved in was not communicated to me, Kedha briefly hinted his ordeal and how he was left for dead by the involved parties. There is evidence that street life is a risky business in which the laws of the jungle apply and it is survival of the fittest.

8.4.1 Drug and substance abuse

There was always evidence of the use of drugs and other substances by the children with whom I have come across and worked with at CESVI. It is also highly likely that their quagmire was heightened by the fact that, after the activities of the day, they still have to get back onto the street for the night and this happens throughout all the season, including the cold winters and wet summers. While I intentionally avoided questions related to abuse of hard substance in September 2014, including glue, *mbanje* (marijuana) and intoxicating spirits, there was evidence that most of the children faced a huge challenge with intoxicating substances, which gradually led to addictions. This might explain the argument of Harold that it is easier to try and help a child who has not been long on the street, than one who has

been there for a longer period. During the September 2014 interviews, Patrick claimed that, despite selling tobacco to earn a living, he did not smoke. Whether or not this was true, the same could not be said every child that I met.

A notable example of intoxication and *bhabharasi* (hangover) were observed among the children who were visiting the House of Smiles (HOS), especially in the mornings. Amongst the players, I also observed the children sharing cigarettes (or were smoking something whose nature I could not determine) at the end of the first match that I attended in Mbare on the 16th of September 2014, as well as just before a trip for a match against the Alaska Mine juniors in Chinhoyi on the 11th of December 2015. It is in similar circumstances that Harold claimed that Wasu lost his front teeth, due, possibly, to some of the aforementioned corrosive stuff.

It appears there are different types of substances that intoxicate the children and at every given moment, it seems there are new substances arriving on the market. One of the most prominent is the cough syrup named, *broncho* (broncleer), which sounded prominent in the language used by the children during my first visit. Harold graphically mentioned during a feedback discussion on the 08th of December 2015 that:

> During winter most of the children take *broncleer* cough syrup, which they now use as blankets against the cold winters. If one takes two tea spoons of the syrup, they get bedazzled, but with addiction, it's no longer working on others; such would need to drink one or two bottles. It is even worse for the older boys, who may need to add marijuana on top. Another prominent one is *zed*, which is coming from Mozambique (Harold).

The impact of substances might be difficult to measure, but there was clear evidence of its use amongst the children, including those I interviewed and were involved in the football project. In addition, what seemed the most undoing circumstance was the lack of alternative places of residence for the children who came to CESVI, since this meant they were continuously exposed to such substances on the streets. This was premised on the assumption that substance abuse could be curbed by providing the children with alternative places of safety, rather than for them to remain on the unrelenting streets.

Medzo's assertion during the September 2014 interviews that there were certain areas that were rampantly abusing *marijuana* and *bronco*, such as Mbare and Kopje, might be an

argument over the extent of drug trafficking and drug-abuse by the homeless street children in the different areas of Harare.

Despite the fact that some of the children with whom I was involved in this study might have been involved in drug-abuse and or drug-trafficking, there were suggestions that this might not have always been the case. In a feedback discussion with my assistants on the 08th of December 2015 (See Table 7.3), they suggested that probably until recently, Sauro, was known to be free of hard drugs, such as cocaine among others. What was unclear was the reason for this stance, yet my assistants also hinted at the perils of such a child remaining on the streets. In other words, the more such children remain on the street, the more likely they are to get entangled in the use of drugs for one reason or the other.

The mere fact that a child is on the street appears to suggest that they might use drugs at some point, but on the 20th of April 2016 I had an interview with the affable 21 year-old, Success, who also re-emphasised the same during the focus group and conference, that it is not everyone who got deeply involved in the use of drugs:

> I stayed in the bush and in the street for a number of years in the attempt to dodge
> my mentally challenged father, but I managed to stay out of drugs. There were other
> negatives that got hold of me, but drugs never became a problem. It was only one
> Sunday afternoon that I took *marijuana*, due to peer pressure and got hit by a car and
> I knew drugs were not for me. So it is very possible and positive to live a clean life,
> while staying in the street and I'm testimony to that (Success).

While Success's story might be rare amongst the street children, even those that are intoxicated might be doing so to varying degrees and for one reason or the other. As will later be discovered, Success' participation in football inspired some street children to push for re-integration into their places of birth and foster homes (Also Chapters nine and ten).

During my December 2015 feedback discussion one of my two assistants confirmed how the situation was getting more precarious for children, as more deadly and illicit liquors of different kinds were finding their way onto the streets of Harare and he had this to say:

> In addition to *marijuana* (mbanje), we now have a dicey situation as other drugs and liquors,
> such as *maragudu,* and *msombodhiya* have entered the market. The latter is also known

as 'blue diamond,' which is supposed to be diluted, but it is being taken undiluted by its users, including street children, while some of the children are used as carriers or suppliers. The source of the liquor is the suburb of Bluffhill, and you know what? After two glasses of *msombodhiya,* the partaker is gone. It is unfortunate, because some of the partakers are people who should be precluding its use (Harold).

8.4.2 Promiscuity

Usually, drug abuse, street life and promiscuity go hand-in-glove. Generally, most of the participants asserted that the majority of girls are found along the Mukuvisi River, amongst other places slightly out the central business centre of Harare. While I did not come across a lot of girls frequenting The House of Smiles, there were two unnamed girls, who might have been under-17, who visited the house on the 19th of April 2016, with the more vocal and gregarious one arguing that:

> Under whatever circumstance, I will never be back in school, because my teacher would
> beat me for any reason on planet earth. I went as far as grade three, but that is enough and
> I know I am okay with that. Never ever will I get back into school! (Observation)

Apparently, it appeared there were certain areas that had less girls comparatively speaking. In addition, certain areas might have had females, some of whom might have been part and parcel of families formed in the streets. I observed a family that resided at the Fife Avenue shopping centre and there could have been many more around the different bases. This was also confirmed by Harold.

Wasu cited an incident, which showed the presence of visiting girls, who were now residing in Epworth, when he said in an interview in September 2014:

> Yesterday there were girls who have turned into prostitutes and are staying in Epworth,
> who had purchased *marijuana* in their hood. They fought amongst themselves until arrival
> of the police. One managed to jump over a high razor wire, while the other two were caught
> on top of the roof…it is said they were fined $20 (Wasu).

This incident might show that, while homeless street girls might not be a permanent part of the majority of bases from which my interviewees come, a number of them might have turned into prostitution and frequently visit bases for one reason or the other. Overall and in general

terms, it seems girls are not only illusive, but also more vulnerable and fewer than their boy counterparts.

Of all the participants, Mugo came closest to portraying the consequences of promiscuity that takes place in the streets of Harare. During my first visit in September 2014, the young man had contracted the sexually transmitted disease (STI), allegedly, from a girl from some flat and by that time, he could not locate the girl (Individual interview). Usually, clinics and hospitals would want the involved parties to be treated at the same time and same place in the attempt to curb the spread of the disease, which might, partly, explain why he thought using traditional medicine from the railway area, instead of that provided by clinics and hospitals. He did this because the girl could not be located. Lack of aid from the clinics and hospitals might also be a result of the unobtainable charges by the fraternities.

8.4.3 Relationships between the children and the law enforcers

The general relationship between the homeless street children and the national and city law enforcement agents is capricious, as mentioned in the previous chapters. Such a volatile relationship can be qualified as seasonal, given that there are certain times that the city council police, national police officers and other agencies can be involved in clean-up campaigns, which include driving out the homeless. Yet, some of the homeless children might also have been used as pawns by the same agencies.

Apparently, some of the homeless street children's places of rest or residence are susceptible to round-ups, especially those close to the city centre. For instance, during my study-visit in December 2015, Xavi was incarcerated and almost missed a match that we had in Mbare, after being raided with his colleagues in a morning raid by the national police. One of my assistants, Harold argued during the 2014 interviews that there were so many times that the national police, as represented by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), would target the homeless street children's places of rest, in the attempt to catch thugs, thieves and other law breakers. It thus appears that such places are not only easy target, but can also be a safe haven for law breakers.

While most of the children claimed that their relationship with the city council law enforcers and ZRP can best be described as that of cat and mouse, a few gave details of their ordeals at the hands of the law enforcers. Wasu highlighted during the 2014 interviews that the homeless were usually caught in-between the city representatives and national representatives, who, at times, include soldiers for reasons that include being out of bounds by staying in the undesignated city places, and attempting to sell pirated music and discs. He also posited that there were times when street children would have to buy their way out of trouble with the police by giving them *marijuana*. In general terms, negative perceptions towards the homeless are well documented, alongside those of law enforcers.

One of the children involved in my study cited an incident that included him, his colleagues and the police in the 2014 interviews:

> There was a time the police caught us and took us to the middle of Gonarezhou National Park, close to Mutare. Fortunately, some people saw us and bought us food. When we met the same policemen later on, they told us that next time they would leave us by the Mozambique border (Rooney).

It seems that the relationship between the street children and the law enforcers can best be described as inconsistent, and, recently, there was concern that came out on Sport Frequency Modulation (SFM), in which the residents of Harare, especially women, had become a target of street children (04th of May, 2016). The police commissioner was quoted as promising full force against the street children, who were accused of snatching handbags and other essential gargets from the citizens. A similar situation was also confirmed by a representative of CESVI, Winidzai, who hinted that some of the street children take advantage of being under-18, with the knowledge that such an age will see them being released for being under-aged. Habitual law-breakers can be thrown into jail though. Consequently, and in response, the children would influence others, especially the new-comers to go on a looting and snatching spree on their behalf (Telephone conversation with Winidzai-12 May, 2016). It is also the same strategy that those above 18 appeared to also master a survival strategy in order to avoid jail time when caught in the act. It seemed as if the country's economic meltdown continuously impacted the street children, and, in response, the children became more daring in order to survive.

8.5 How the children try to fend for themselves

As already mentioned, CESVI took care of the children during course of the day, with approximately 25 to 30 of them visiting (Marama-interview on the 15th of September 2014), but the same children had to fend for themselves and find somewhere to sleep at night. This impacted on the lives of so many children, most of whom also needed medical attention, and other social amenities, which most of the NGO's could not afford all the time. That also meant most of the children had to fend for themselves, when it came to clothing and so forth. Their cases got more complicated during the evenings and weekends, when they had to survive without visiting The House of Smiles.

It is with the aforementioned in mind that most of the challenges they faced became more serious, because the country as a whole was going through an economic meltdown, especially in the post-2000 period. In addition, life of a street child was then punctuated with living hand-to mouth and this came out clearly during the interviews that I had with them. Whether they attempted to earn a living out of what they realised during course of the day or at night, the majority of the children involved in the individual interviews highlighted their struggles to get enough money to get by, with a despondent Rooney hinting at having to spend so many nights on an empty stomach. Consequently, most claimed they had no savings, save for Xavi, who said in the 2014 interviews he had some older person keeping his $30 safe.

Sources of money for the children varies between participation in temporary work, illicit selling of audio compact discs and digital versatile discs (DVD's), guarding and cleaning cars and begging. A number of the interviewees hinted at their creativity in the attempt to survive on shoe-string budgets and improvisations. One of them revealed how he has had to survive, especially during the weekend when CESVI would be closed:

> On Saturday's I usually attend the Seventh-day-Adventist church in Parklane and later
> get food reserved for visitors, while on Sunday's I attend another service at a church in
> Belvedere and again, get food. I don't get money and I don't hunt for it (Medzo).

None of the children hinted that they, or some of them participated in more heinous activities, such as theft and robberies and, while it is highly likely that the older street children are the ones that mostly did that, the one's I interviewed might have just been reluctant to tell the truth about their participation.

8.6 Questionnaire findings

Table 8.2 highlights the short questionnaires that were filled in by my assistants on eight male street children who formed the core of our football project and who were constantly present at the House of Smiles in 2015. I came up with some of the general characteristics found among street children, which I shared with my assistants for more input and insight in early 2015. I had also observed some of the behaviour and attitudes during my September 2014 visit, while some of the characteristics came out in Chapter two and three. 3 (15 per cent) of the children had been involved in the September 2014 individual interviews. The questionnaire guide was meant to look into some of the behaviour and attitudes that were prominent and notable amongst the participants, and focused on the gender of the children, age in 2015, length of participating in the football activities, where the children put up for the night, duration of time on the street in 2015, drug abuse, smoking, sniffing of glue, drinking, prostitution and sex indulgence, bathing, violent conduct, ability to communicate, crying tendencies, stealing or theft, intolerance, teamwork intuition, arrogance, fear and restlessness (Also see Appendices 4 and 5).

I added the questionnaires, so as to understand the background behaviour and attitudes of some of the children who were involved in the study. This was meant to address a number of issues that I had deliberately not raised in the individual interviews in 2014, given their sensitivity, and for the fact that I was meeting the children for the first time and intended to build trust. Follow-up individual interviews that were intended for the latter stages of my research, were affected by the challenge that CESVI had with some of the children, which led to the imposition of a life-ban on some of them during 2015 (Also see Table 7.3). Given the ever-changing faces of the children involved in this study, questionnaires filled in by my assistants, gave invaluable information on a number of children who were involved in our football project by mid-2015, but had not necessarily been involved in the individual interviews of 2014. Given that there are so many similarities found in the lives of street children as exemplified in Chapter three, which looked into the causes of homelessness and way of life of the street children, my findings are assumed to portray a true generic picture of the way of life the children in and out of Harare. This led to a better understanding of certain behaviours and attitudes of the children.

Greetham (2009: 198) asserts that one of the efficient ways of gathering rich data is to utilise use of questionnaires, so as to get a general picture from a representative sample, and to support collected-data with the richness that is derived from the data that is gathered through observation and in-depth interviews. One of the advantages of questionnaires is that there is little room for the respondent to alter the responses, with some of the disadvantages being that the process is time consuming, since the researcher has to continually chase after the respondents, and, more critically, they favour more literate respondents (Ibid, 199). It is also apparent that the longer the questionnaire guides, the more likely that few people will respond. From the beginning of my research I discovered that it was going to be impossible for the children to fill in the questionnaire forms, because of the low level of education of the majority of them, yet it was only through short and precise questionnaires limited to my assistants that I was going to get certain relevant information since they worked with them on a daily basis.

	CHARACTERISTIC	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE
SEX			
	Male	8	100%
	Female	0	0%
AGE AS OF 2015			
	5-10 years	0	0%
	10-18 years	5	85%
	Above 18 years	3	15%
	Unknown	0	0%
LENGTH OF PARTICIPATION IN FOOTBALL			
	1 year	2	25%
	2 years	6	75%
	Above 2 years	0	0%
WHERE THE CHILD SLEPT			
	Home only	0	0%
	Street only	7	88%
	Home & street (include those in touch with people at home)	1	13%
DURATION OF TIME ON THE STREET IN 2015			
	Born in the street	1	13%
	Less than one year	0	0%

	1-2 years	2	25%
	3-5 years	1	13%
	More than 5 years	4	50
BEHAVIOUR	**BEHAVIOUR**	**BEHAVIOUR**	**BEHAVIOUR**
DRUG USE			
	Yes	7	88%
	Non-applicable	1	13%
SMOKING			
	Yes	4	50%
	Non-applicable	4	50%
ABUSE OF GLUE			
	Yes	0	0%
	Non-applicable	8	100%
USE OF LIQUOR & OTHER HOT STUFF			
	Yes	3	38%
	Partial	2	25%
	Non-applicable	3	38%
PROSTITUTION & SEX INDULGENCE			
	Yes	2	25%
	Non-applicable	6	75%
BATHING PROBLEMS			
	Yes	1	13%
	No	6	75%
	Partially	1	13%
VIOLENT CONDUCT			
	Yes	1	13%
	Partial	1	13%
	Non-applicable	6	75%
COMMUNICATION			
	Good	3	38%
	Poor	5	63%
TENDENCY TO CRY			
	Non-applicable	7	88%
	Partial	1	13%
STEALING			
	Serious	6	75%
	Partial	1	13%
	Non-applicable	1	13%
ATTITUDE	**ATTITUDE**	**ATTITUDE**	**ATTITUDE**
HURT			
	Serious	1	13%
	Partial	2	25%
	Non-applicable	5	63%
INTOLERANCE			
	Serious	4	50%
	Partial	2	25%
	Non-applicable	2	25%
TEAM WORK			
	Positive	6	75%
	Partial	1	13%
	Non-applicable	1	13%

ARROGANCE			
	Serious	5	63%
	Partial	1	13%
	Non-applicable	2	25%
FEARFUL & RESTLESS			
	Yes	0	0%
	No	0	0%
	Non-applicable	8	100%

Table 8.2: Questionnaires on the children's behaviours and attitudes in 2015

Behaviours of the children

According to Table 8.2, only males (100 per cent) were involved and of these males, none (0 per cent) was aged below 10 years, 5 (85 per cent) were aged between 10 and 18 years, while 3 (37.5 per cent) were above 18 years; of the eight, 2 (25 per cent) had played in the CESVI football team for one year, while 6 (75 per cent) had played football for two years; none (0 per cent) of the eight was a child on the street or was retiring for home for the night, 7 (88 per cent) of them were children of the street or were permanently on the street, while 1 (13 per cent) was periodically on and off the street, and the child was apparently the only one to get in touch with some persons at home; 1 (13 per cent) child was born in the streets, none (0 per cent) had been in the streets for less than one year, 2 (25 per cent) had been in the street for between one and two years, 1 (13 per cent) for between three and five years, while 4 (50 per cent) had known street life for more than five years.

In terms of the details of the eight children behaviour, and as highlighted in Table 8.2, 7 (88 per cent) were said to have a very serious drug abuse challenges in 2015 and these were Rooney, Xavi, Rufaro, Micky, Moty, Believe and Wasu, while 1 (13 per cent), Nash was non-applicable. It appears that drug abuse might be a big challenge for most of the street children or those who stay on the street in general irrespective of the period that one would have stayed in the street.

As highlighted in the table, in terms of smoking, 4 (50 per cent), Believe, Rufaro, Micky and Wasu were said to smokers, which might have implied extensively. 4 (50 per cent) of these, Moty, Nash, Rooney and Xavi scored non-applicable. These findings appear to suggest that street children are smoking to different extents, but there could be some who might have

opted out of smoking for one reason or the other. In other words, there might have been more choices over smoking as compared to drug abuse.

Sniffing of glue can be closely linked or can be part of drug abuse, but still, children might be involved in one of these and not necessarily in the other. All (100 per cent) the involved children scored a non-applicable in this category, which might imply that the children were not involved in sniffing glue or my assistants might have not been sure whether or not some of the children were involved. What I observed though amongst the children that I worked with was that smoking took place, before and after the matches and training, and I did not witness any sniffing glue.

In the drinking category, 3 (38 per cent), Micky, Rooney and Rufaro scored highly, while 2 (25 per cent), Wasu and Xavi, were categorised as drinking partially. 3 (38 per cent) of the sampled, Nash, Moty and Believe were listed as non-applicable. It seems age and length of children presence on the street might have little bearing on their drinking habits, since these cannot be tied to one particular group. General trends are also pointing to the fact that Moty, who was partially on the street might have not been involved in most of the misdemeanours due to having a safe haven for the evening, which is not the case with the other seven participants.

In the prostitution and sex indulgence category, my assistants listed 2 (25 per cent), Believe, and Mickey, as the only two with a challenge, while the other 6 (75 per cent), were categorised as non-applicable. There is no proof that period in the street might qualify whether one can be involved in male prostitution or be indulging in sex to certain extent, since the two had been on the streets for two years and eight years, respectively.

One of the facility provisions of CESVI is bathing. According to the table, 6 (75 per cent) of the participants scored highly, while 1 (13 per cent), Believe, scored a partial. In addition, Wasu scored lowly, but there is no suggestion that length of period on the street or age might have anything to do with the challenge on his part, since he had been there for more than 10 years.

Violence or threatening violence is one of the challenges faced in the life on the streets either as a defensive or an attacking mode. In addition, most of it is given impetus by intoxications

of different kinds, and the children that CESVI was rendering assistance were not an exception. 1 (13 per cent) child who was listed as having a challenge of violent behaviour was Moty, while Rooney (13 per cent) was categorised as partially violent. The rest (75 per cent) of the children were categorised under non-applicable. On several occasions I witnessed the latter's challenges during football matches, especially after his relapse in 2015. At the same time, there was an occassion, as I have already highlighted, such as after one particular match in Mbare in December 2015, when Xavi wanted to stone a team mate with whom he had become involved in a verbal confrontation. This might imply the unpredictability of street life.

As the table reveals, 5 (63 per cent) of the children, save for Xavi, Nash and Rufaro (38 per cent), who were categorised as good communicators, were categorised as poor communicators. My observation was that under normal circumstances, the likes of Xavi were effective communicators. These were the times when they were not under the influence of intoxicants. One of the less difficult positions to understand for the majority of the children, which I also discovered led to negative communication among the street children that were involved in project Destiny, came about when they were on the losing side during football matches. In this case, it would be both, verbal and non-verbal communication. Of the latter, one would observe them infringing on opposing players and deliberately handling the ball, using foul language against the referees, as well as kicking the ball away in frustration.

Given the kind of lives they led, as shaped by their experiences, crying might be frequent amongst the children. In this category, only Nash (13 per cent) was categorised as susceptible. It was unclear whether or not it was a result of being on the streets for eight years, after arriving as a seven-year old or his personal experience might have had something to do with it. Out of observation, a number of children who were part of my study would cry, especially when they were confronted or got into a dispute and argument with a peer member, especially during the football matches. For instance, one such occasion is the one shared above that involved Xavi, in which he cried with a rock in his hand.

Survival is part of street life and for the young people to be able to fend for themselves, and given a chance, the children have the propensity to steal from the nearest point. This might explain why, according to Table 8.2, 6 (75 per cent) of the participants, Rooney, Micky,

Wasu, Moty, Believe and Rufaro were listed as having this challenge at different levels, while Xavi (13 per cent) was categorised as having a partial challenge. Nash (13 per cent) was listed under non-applicable in the category.

While it had already been hinted at by one of the CESVI officials that a number of the children involved in football would rarely go snatching citizens' items, there could be ways some of them have devised in order to survive. It may also have to be mentioned that their behaviours (as well as attitudes) are very unpredictable, depending on what will be at stake. Overall, it seems that at a time the Zimbabwean society in general has shunned street children, their behaviours and attitudes might have to be perceived as results and not necessarily as causes. In addition, there is evidence that the majority of street children have behaviours that are so similar, which makes the case of Success, who I have already partly covered and is also covered in Chapters nine and ten, sound extraordinary.

Attitudes of the children

My assistants also filled in a part that sought to comprehend the attitude side of the eight children whose behaviours were looked into above, and these attitude categories included hurting, intolerance, teamwork, arrogance, and fear and restlessness, which usually feeds into their behaviours, and vice versa.

My assistants alluded that one out of eight children, Nash (13 per cent), got hurt easily, while 2 (25 per cent), Rufaro and Xavi, were susceptible to partially getting hurt, while there were non-applicable for Believe, Moty, Rooney, Micky and Wasu (63 per cent). It has to be kept in mind that Xavi was born on the street, and this might to an extent explain his vulnerability to getting hurt. Rooney's attitude was also not stable over the time of my study, especially after changes that witnessed him missing out on school after the withdrawal of funding, leading to his relapse.

In the intolerance category (See Table 8.2), Nash, Micky, Xavi and Moty (50 per cent) had challenges, while Believe and Wasu (25 per cent) were in the partial category. While Rufaro and Rooney (25 per cent) scored non-applicable, there was evidence that Rooney and Wasu might not have remained in the categories listed by my assistants, given that one relapsed and the other had a permanent ban imposed on him, respectively.

Teamwork according to Table 8.2 witnessed 6 (75 per cent) of children score a positive result, while 1 (13 per cent) scored a partial and the other (13 per cent) a non-applicable. Teamwork might also have gone hand and glove with the ability of the children to influence and lead others. Since the inception of my study, there was evidence that Wasu was an influential figure on a number of the children, which might explain a life-ban that was imposed on him in 2015. His experience on the street might also explain the kind of influence that he appeared to exert on the other children or on his peers.

Arrogance and abrasiveness are birds of a similar feather, and both might be useful on the street. Out of the questionnaire in Table 8.2, only Moty (13 per cent) scored a positive, since he got a partial, while the rest got negatives under the partial (13 per cent) and non-applicable (25 per cent) categories. In the latter group, Xavi got the worst result, since he was listed as having a serious challenge. Rufaro got a non-applicable, which separated him from the rest of the children. Arrogance and abrasiveness, it seems, are a survival mode that the children use to their advantages in most situation and without it, they might not be able to cope with the challenges of living on the streets. I observed on so many occasions that the children were usually highly charged against anyone whom they felt tried to occupy the same space with them, and in most cases they would not care whether or not it was one of them, or their football coach or a representative of CESVI.

All (100 per cent) the children scored non-applicable in the fear and restless section. While most of the children never showed any fear, even from my observation, there were some cases where some projected restlessness, especially during football matches, especially in the first halves. Once they fell behind the opposing team, they would appear and sound apprehensive and restless and start shouting and threatening one another. On more than one occasion, their mood would suddenly swung from one end to the other and they would look to vent their disappointment on something or someone, which might affirm the findings from the questionnaire in which only Wasu scored a positive. It, consequently, is not a surprise that it would take a while for most of them to calm down and accept losing matches. They would also need encouragement at the end of the day.

Behaviour and attitude is the biggest undoing for the majority of the street children, and their situation is exacerbated by their drinking and smoking habits, and the majority of the children that I worked with at CESVI proved vulnerable to the challenge.

8.7 Summary of the findings

This chapter attempted to get to grips with some of the causes of homelessness among the children that were involved at the different levels of my study. To understand such as position, along with the background of the children, and some of the consequence and impediments they faced on the street, I used individual interviews, which were complemented by observations and short questionnaires, which were filled-in by my assistants. The questionnaires were meant to find out certain behaviours and attitudes of the children, which I could not clearly observe or ask the children themselves in the first interviews I carried out with 13 males of under-18 and a few others of above 18, in September 2014.

Out of the findings of my study, the majority of the children were bearing the brunt of broken families, with the majority of them being permanently on the street. A limited number had connection with home, and this small number seemed more poised for re-integrated into their families at some stage.

The consequences of street life were quite apparent among the children with whom I first got involved in this study, and these were connected with how they led their lives. These also led to certain behaviours and attitudes, such as drug abuse, promiscuity, strained relationships with the law enforcers, abrasiveness and arrogance, among others. Some of these came out at the House of Smiles, some during the football matches, while others were a result of the supplementary questionnaires that were filled by my two assistants.

From my findings for the chapter, I discovered that the children's background was a mixture of urban, rural, peri-urban and a mixture of all these, since the majority of them were never in one place before they got onto the streets. Consequently, the majority of the children who were involved in the interviews did not advance beyond primary school level, which might show that those at that level were more vulnerable than those at secondary, university or tertiary levels.

The was also evidence that the majority of the children were living from hand-to mouth, and had no savings in place, which might be attributed to the challenges that Zimbabwe faced at the time, and not necessarily to the fact that the children were disorganised. Most of the

children were involved in menial jobs, such as begging, carrying goods, selling wares and washing and cleaning.

From my findings, the majority of the children were on the street as a result of being born in the street, losing one or both parents, abuse, child delinquency, poverty or were ignorant of the identity of their parents or a combination of a number of these.

Given the nature of their lives, the majority of the children testified that their relationship with the police was highly unpredictable.

The supplementary questionnaires revealed mixed results on the homeless children's behaviours and attitudes, with the majority not scoring so well or were average in the categories, such as drug abuse, smoking, use of alcohol, general communication and stealing, arrogance and intolerance, possibly, because of the nature of street life, which is characterised as survival of the fittest. The majority of the children who were part of the questionnaire had no contact with home or were children of the street. In addition, the context in which they would have to go and sleep in the streets of Harare only exacerbated the situation.

CHAPTER NINE: PERSPECTIVE OF THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY FOOTBALL

9.1 Introduction

This chapter looks into the role of football in the life of the children with whom I worked under the auspices of CESVI, and sought to answer my research question three, which focused on finding out the possibilities of using community football as an intervention method towards the re-integration of street children in Harare. During the course of my study, the children were kept in check by my assistants, while I also played a role during my periodic visits to Harare between 2014 and 2016. Getting involved through working with the children and my assistants was always going to be vital. The same could be said about involving the children in decision-making, as was realised in their involvement in purchasing a uniform of their own choice (See Table 7.3 and Appendix 8). In this case, I gave the children, with the help of my assistants, leverage to make choice of the uniform they wanted. At the same time, it was essential for me to involve the children in a project that involved a sporting discipline that they had a passion for. In similar vein, it also has to be mentioned, and as already highlighted in the previous chapters, that my research sought to change the street children's contexts and purchasing uniforms and other sporting paraphernalia for them was part and parcel of such an endeavour.

Data collection for this chapter was done through the individual interviews, focus group discussions, observation, and through input from the assistants, who were perennially on the ground working with the street children (Also see Appendix 2, 3 and 4). On all the occasions that I visited Harare for the sake of my study, an average of 13 to 20 children participated, despite the fact that on a number of occasions they had to be taken out of their regular schedules. I also interpreted this to mean that they had a passion for the game, and also knew the physical and adventurous benefits that also came along with football, such as travelling to new places. Having discovered that the majority of the education programmes run by CESVI took place in the mornings, it was imperative to avoid disturbing those children that were involved in both, education and football. As a result, the majority of the football issues were addressed in the afternoons, while those that needed to start in the mornings were negotiated with the children and CESVI, for instance, the conference that we had in April 2016. In addition, while CESVI used to meet with the children once per week for football, on Thursdays, we would increase football activities, and would meet with the children on a daily

basis on most occasions (See Table 7.3). In spite of lack of financial muscle to sustain the daily meetings in my absence, each time the children would assert their wish to meet for football during all the working days. Despite the comings and goings of the children, given the similarities of what pushed them into the street and their experiences, findings of this study were consistent vis-à-vis my overall objective and the research questions.

9.2 The role of football

Table 9.1 below casts a general picture of the 36 children who were involved in project Destiny between September 2014 and December 2016, their age, status and the times that I met the children for the week. At the end of the 2016, 21 (58 per cent) of the children were between 10 and 18 years, while 15 (42 per cent) were above 18. It is those above 18 who would face the biggest challenges that I discussed in chapter eight hence tendency by this group to lie about their age or use their under-18 counterparts in illicit businesses. For the sake of harmony, it also became imperative not to exclude participants who were above 18.

While details of the re-integration and imbedded challenges are a highlight in chapter ten, I have to mention that 1 (3 per cent), Success, who could not be part of the September 2014 interviews, but became part of the CESVI football team soon after the interviews, was fostered via a fostering home, before he inspired two other street children to be re-integrated back into their paternal homes after they saw him playing football in the fostering home team towards the end of 2014 (See Table 9.1 and chapters nine, ten and eleven). In addition to the two who were inspired by Success, these were joined by one, Mndau (8 per cent), who was re-integrated back into his paternal home in 2015. 4 children (11 per cent), who proved difficult to access due to the reluctance of the well-wishers to be known at the end of 2016, were re-integrated into the well-wishers' homes in Harare. 1 child (3 per cent), Wasu, was given a life ban after friction with CESVI, while 3 (8 per cent) children were under suspension for various disciplinary reason by the end of 2016. 5 (14 per cent) of the children had disappeared or could not be accounted for, meaning they had stopped coming to the House of Smiles for reasons not known to CESVI. 19 (53 per cent) of the 36 children that were involved in my study between 2014 and 2016 were still on the street at the end of 2016.

Each time I would visit Harare between 2014 and 2016, I would meet with the children for the whole week for the different activities and usually the children whom I would meet on the first day, would faithfully attend the agreed sessions, unless something drastic occurred overnight, such as in the case when the police would round-up some of them for one reason or the other (See Chapter eight). Given the nature of the life of the children, there was always a chance of failing to consistently meet the same group all the time. Consequently and as shown in Table 9.1, I met 6 (17 per cent) of the children once over one week; 2 (33 per cent) twice or over two weeks, 15 (42 per cent) thrice or over three weeks, and 3 (8 per cent) four times or over four weeks.

	CHARACTERISTIC	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE
AGE AT THE END OF 2016			
	10-18 years	21	58%
	Above 18 years	15	42%
STATUS AT THE END OF 2016			
	Re-integrated into foster home	1	3%
	Re-integrated with paternal or maternal home	3	8%
	Re-integrated into families of well-wishers	4	11%
	Expelled from House of Smiles	1	3%
	Under suspension from House of Smiles for disciplinary reasons	3	8%
	Disappeared	5	14%
	Still in the street	19	53%
TIMES I ENGAGED WITH THE CHILD FOR THE WEEK			
	Once	6	17%
	Twice	12	33%
	Thrice	15	42%
	4 times	3	8%

Table 9.1: Summary description of the children that were involved in football between 2014 and 2016

My personal observation amongst the children that I worked with between 2014 and 2016 and through CESVI was that no activity could bring them together more than football. To begin with, they have a passion for the game and in one case where an academic programme at the House of Smiles clashed with informal football that involved four boys at the House of Smiles in September 2014 I observed one of the boys hide under a table, so as to avoid a class. No-one might have put it better than one assertive officer at CESVI, when he said in an interview in September 2014:

> Most of these children love sport and even if you go outside right now, they are playing soccer, so I believe soccer is therapy to them. Beside the psycho-social support we offer them, soccer is a good tool. It also gives them socialisation and ultimate citizenship in a Zimbabwe that has shut so many doors on them. During such matches, they are empowered to even divulge so much about their past and future lives (Zuva).

In the first instance, the idea was to engage Dynamos Football Club (DFC), so as to motivate the CESVI team, as well as for the Premier League Club, to give the opportunity and take the CESVI players they deemed talented into the club's junior teams. This engagement was also meant to run parallel to the re-integration of the street children. From the outset, it was apparent that meeting with the club's officials with my proposal was going to be difficult, which can be attributed to the off-field challenges the club was going through in 2015. Nonetheless, I finally managed to meet the team's then Secretary General on the 09th of December 2015, after which it was agreed that I put my request in writing. A written request was sent via e-mail on the 31st of March 2016 (Also see Table 7.3). Unfortunately, no response came from the Secretary-General nor from the club hence the thought of engaging former Dynamos left back, Stanley Chirambadare, who was running an academy in Mufakose, and whose experience at the highest level of football was meant to help the street children (See Chapter seven).

After my meetings and individual interviews in September 2014, it became apparent that thereafter the majority of our meetings, including focus group discussions had to be convened at Mbare Stadium, after CESVI had a challenge with some of the children over distribution of resources after a research (See Tables 7.3 and 9.1). Meeting at the fields had a number of side effects that included cancelling further individual interviews, expensive arrangement for alternative venues for focus groups and the conference meeting. Further, the children would push to play the game, rather than have formal meetings at the pitch.

It was against the aforementioned backdrop, that on the 08th of December 2015 (See Table 7.3), we had our first focus group discussion at the Mbare playing fields. In the discussion, the children hinted on how football had been of benefit to them when they stated that '…it keeps you fit, active and strong,' '…has helped me to listen to others, including my coaches and captain,' '…it opens your mind,' '…you get to visit places that you would never have thought you would and most of such places are new to us' and '…it fosters unity.'

It was during one such a training session on the 09th of December 2015 when former Dynamos left back, Stanley Chirambadare, highly recommended and made mention of two boys, Xavi and Sauro when he said:

> There are already two boys that I have observed, who can make money and earn a living out
> football. You two boys are more talented than some of the Premier Soccer League (PSL)
> players and on a sober mind, you can go far. *Makagarira mari boys dzangu* (you should
> be making money and earning a living young people) (Chirambadare).

Xavi was not only gifted as a footballer, but also had the passion for the game. Unsurprisingly, during my visit in December 2015 he had been incarcerated in an early morning police raid that involved his base, but in the afternoon of the same day we found him waiting for his colleagues in Mbare and claimed he could not miss the training, despite his earlier ordeal.

Together, with the children and my assistants, we would add a few more days of training to the one-day per week that they would usually meet, each time I was in Harare. In addition to the therapy afforded by football, I made observations during their training and during competitive matches. Some of these observations were also confirmed by the children during my visit in April 2016. They usually improved physically and emotionally in the second half of the matches they were involved in, yet would look dazed, slow in pace and thought in the first half, for instance, in the Alaska (Chinhoyi) competitive match. In a case that I further elaborate on later in this chapter, the boys were very poor in the first half and excellent in the second (Also refer to Table 7.3). During a focus group discussion in December 2016, I asked about how football had benefitted them, and what they had meant by previously alluding that the game 'open our mind…' and one of them asserted that:

> Intoxications take their toll early in the activities and football helps clear our bodies of most of

the drugs that will be in the body. Our challenges are even worse in the hot temperatures. It is very true that we are physically, emotionally and socially better in the second half (Focus group).

Similar to the time when the children had to make choices on their uniform, only through football could the children also learn decision-making. For instance, on the 08th of December 2015 during their training session in Mbare, I further pursued the principle of not imposing anything on them, which in turn, also helped to train them to be responsible and participative (See Table 7.3). We needed a name of the project and I gave them a chance to creatively come up with one. After going through a number of suggestion, such as 'Chicago,' 'Sauro' and 'Watermak' the last two being from one of the players and what was written on the taxi we had travelled with, respectively, we finally settled for 'Destiny.'

Further activities on the 08th of December 2015, included the children drawing up how they perceived their future. 4 (27 per cent) mentioned that their lives revolved around football, 2 (13 per cent) drew pictures of women and children, 5 (33 per cent) drew vehicles of different sorts, 2 (13 per cent) drew houses and 2 (13 per cent) drew airplanes. It was imperative that, since some of the children had a challenge of writing and expressing themselves in words they express and communicate their views through pictures. The fact that they could recall their pictures after a number of months might have been an expression of their longing for a better future. It might be with this in mind that Osama wrote on his drawing, which had a house the words 'In God be the glory (sic).' Given that they needed to get into the game as soon as possible, and having observed their growing restlessness, we could not discuss much on the choice of the project name that they had made, nor the pictures that they had drawn.

Further follow-ups on the lessons and benefits from football and on the project were made on the 19th of April 2016 (Also see Table 7.3). A focus group comprising myself, my assistants and 15 children discussed the project's name choice that the children had made during my visit in December 2015 (See Chapter ten on the details of the 15 children involved). In this instance, just as before, I discovered that CESVI's 'edutainment' concept, which is covered later in this chapter, was useful when dealing with street children. I was held back when a number of the children who had been involved in the previous focus group at the Mbare grounds recalled the name of the project and in trying to find out what they had in mind when they came up with the name, it was interesting to note that they recalled their dreams, which they had also put in pictures in December and they tried to connect these to the name of the

project. The children asserted that 'Destiny' was their future and they apparently knew the meaning of the word and had deliberately wanted to use it to define their future.

By involving street children in football, this study was not far from the United Nations' opinion that there are a number of skills that young people can gain from sport, such as co-operation, fair play, communication, respect for rules, respect for others, discipline, how to win, how to lose, problem-solving, connection with others, self-esteem, tolerance resilience, leadership, among others (www.un.org-Accessed on 12/02/16). The role of sport in the life of most young people cannot be understated, especially in terms of potential, which might have encouraged UNICEF's assertion that it strengthens the body, reduces depression and stress, improves learning capabilities, reduces crime and can lead to less smoking, as compared to school-going non-athletes (www.unicef.org-Accessed on 12/02/16). While it might be argued that a more conducive environment, such as an academic one might be ideal, the aforementioned efficacies were quite apparent during the course of my study.

Rookwood et al. (2011: 187), while assessing how sport can be used as a double edged sword in society, observe that physical education and sport must only be utilised when they are culturally correct in relation to the context and in cases of beneficial outcomes before they are included in peace-building processes. In addition, the authors are of the view that certain principles used in football, such as 'attack,' 'defence,' 'strike,' 'repelling,' and 'shooting,' might be perceived and compared to those used in less peaceful contexts and might not augur well with the harmonious situations (Ibid, 191). I have to add that acceptability and context-beneficiation must be determined by the people of the community, and, in most cases, use of sport, especially football is spontaneous and usually enriching, despite certain contextual challenges that might arise. In the case of my study, I had to make sure that I did not impose myself on the children or CESVI, but became part of a passion that was already in place.

I also observed that the coaches with whom I worked with in the form of Harold, Margret and Chirambadare, had a culture of having the street children mingle amongst themselves and with members of other teams before and after the matches, which appeared to augur well with the children. Be it for photographing or merely rubbing shoulders, it appears the culture helped the children not only believe in themselves, but in others too. I recall during my April 2016 visit to Harare, they called for more matches at the end of their match against Chirambadare's junior team in Mufakose. In other words, despite the fact that the children

would be emotionally close to the edge of the 'cliff,' their attitudes and behaviours, after the matches and having interacted with the other young people, were encouraging.

9.3 Programmes complementing football

I have to mention that from the commencement of my study, and typical of the majority of action researches, I thought it was possible and easy to have the children re-integrated with football being the sole intervention method, only to find out the challenges faced by such an assumption. Consequently, I discovered that CESVI, despite financial challenges, was already running parallel programmes to football in which a number of children were involved and that will need to be highlighted. I did not make much of a contribution towards these, yet some of them, such as 'edutainment' proved vital and complemented my study. The supplementary programmes included involvement in conferences and workshops on sexual reproductive health (SRH) and AIDS, which CESVI had been running in collaboration with the likes of Oasis, Zambuko House, Upenyu Hutsva, UNICEF, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFPC). The parallel programmes were conducted under the Out of School Study Groups (OSSGs).

I took such programmes seriously after a number of CESVI officials, including my assistants, had raised concerns about trying to re-integrate street children using football as the only intervention method. Marama made a sobering observation when he made the following remarks in an interview on the 15th of September 2014 on how football should work hand-in-hand with other programmes:

> Sports and music are being used for benefit of children already. These children
> like football so much such that it is being used parallel and as an entry
> point into other activities. As a result, you can win these children over in very
> short space of time. Otherwise, football alone, without other necessities might
> not be effective. Football must be an entry point, since the child needs shelter
> after the game. What if it starts to rain? They need skills training, social
> livelihoods, entrepreneurial skills should be factored in quickly and be intertwined
> with other endeavours. If you fail to see a child at a football match, it is possible
> that other mitigating factors might have affected him or her overnight-he or she might
> be coughing-some are staying in drainage pipes, like the boy we recently went

to see (Marama).

It is with the above in mind that the majority of the children who came to the House of Smiles would have dropped out of school in the very early grades, and CESVI put them into different categories, such as level one, which takes care of those doing grades one and two, level two, which takes into consideration those doing grades three, four and five, while level three addresses the needs of those doing grades six and seven (Interview with Harold). What I discovered to be one of the mammoth tasks for the facilitators was to keep the homeless street children permanently interested in attending school, as well as consistently attending to the lessons, especially given the challenge with their concentration span.

9.3.1 The education programmes

Ataov et al. (2006: 132-133) assert that out of their findings in their Turkish action research, they discovered how much it pays to empower homeless street children through the creation of practical and real life situations. Part of the children's activities included drama-acting, drawing and photography with the children sharing the lessons that they would have learnt out of such activities, which improved their confidence (Ibid, 137). In other words, empowering children through pragmatic programmes, including those that involve educating them, will be noble and beneficial, especially to the children themselves.

In the case of my study, it became imperative that a multiplicity of activities should run parallel and not against each other. It was with this in mind that I also discovered that most of the education programmes run at the House of Smiles were greatly dependent on individual well-wishers, such as Mabhawu and a few organisations, such as World Education (WE). The latter strived to contribute towards the education programmes despite the serious challenges involved.

It might be argued that the majority of the individual well-wishers faced serious financial challenges and this resulted in the relapse of some of the children, such as Rooney. When I visited CESVI for the first time in September 2014, I met four street children who were in green school uniforms and Rooney was one of them. He, alongside the likes of Xavi, had briefly gone through the corridors of the now defunct, Presbyterian Primary School, and

could not finish their primary level education for financial reasons. At the House Smiles, Rooney and a few others were funded by Mabhawu, whom I discovered in April 2016 could no longer pay for the children. Apparently, such false hopes end up taking their toll on the young people, and as I discovered during December 2015 and April 2016, Rooney was in the worst state after a relapse and his character (behaviour and attitude) could be viewed going in the wrong direction. This might also explain his behaviour during matches, including wanting to crash a team mate with a rock in April 2016 visit (Observation).

One educational programme that organisations dealing with disadvantaged children have in place are the annual quiz sessions. In addition to them ending up visiting new places, such activities are robust enough to keep them focused for some time, and there was evidence that the programme was beneficial as asserted by one of my assistants in the December 2015 feedback discussion:

> CESVI came up second in a football tournament of 11 teams and third in a quiz out of the same 11 teams in 2014, and in 2015 came out second in football and first overall in the quiz that had been organised by USAID. This is beside the fact that we might have had the least time to prepare for the quiz, whose content was mainly biased towards gender-based violence (Harold).

During the focus group discussion that took place at the Mbare Stadium on the 08th of December 2015 (See Table 7.3) the children could recall their experiences from the gender-based violence and sexual reproductive health conference from 2014. One of them went on to say:

> I learnt that if you are involved with girls avoid unprotected sex-use a condom. In principle we were taught to 'condomise' (Xavi).

What I observed and, as I have already highlighted, when I referred to one of the children who had a sexually-transmitted disease when I carried out the individual interviews, it is increasingly difficult for the children to abstain from indulging in sexual activities, therefore, the apparent need to promote safe sex. It is with this in mind that one of the children was distinctly clear during our 19th April 2016 focus group discussion when he alluded:

> In my case, I love sex with a passion. At the same time, when I indulge in sex, I have to make sure that I am protected, so programmes that CESVI have in place have been very helpful

(Focus group discussion).

Protected sex was not the only lesson that the young people grasped during the workshop, as they were provided with more alternative lines of communication in case they faced other related challenges and I believe it was with this in mind when one of the children added during the Mbare focus-group discussions in December 2015:

> If anyone attempts to sodomise you, run to the police (Mbare focus group).

Programmes that have been meant to supplement football efforts under the auspices of CESVI seem to have been meant to equip the street children, so that they might know the opportunities that they have and their rights. In addition, such programmes might have more impact on some of the children than others, as one of the CESVI official's commented during my April 2016 visit:

> Sexual reproductive health and gender-based violence meetings, which have
> already taken place have helped them (street children) and now they have the
> information on their fingertips. Unfortunately, most of them don't know
> how to access the existing services, yet, on the other hand, they have a window
> of opportunity (Winidzai).

The relationship between the children and the ZRP, as already observed, is very inconsistent. Consequently, attention from this group of law enforcement agents might have to be looked at from that angle, but it might be a misrepresentation, to assert that they have not been involved in trying to extend their protection to the street children. This might explain the presence and participation of the organisation's arm in the form of the Victims' Friendly Unit (VFU) at a trainers' training course, which in essence, sought to train them on how to relate sport to sexual reproductive health and HIV/AIDS, in 2015.

The trainers' course, which was under the auspices of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and the Ministry of Sports and Culture, attempted to create a symbiotic relationship between football and a number of relevant and topical areas that are meant to help street children, such as life skills, sexual reproductive rights, connecting ball-control to sexually transmitted infection, shielding of the ball and how this could be related to sexually-transmitted infections and pregnancy prevention, tackling and how it relates with understanding the effects of sexually-transmitted diseases and unintended pregnancies,

defence vis-à-vis early and unintended pregnancies, passing and how it connected with knowing where to go for help, turning with the ball in relationship to positive living and fair play as part and parcel of a call for action (*Soccer: drills to educate young people about sexual-reproductive health and HIV/AIDS*).

A case in-point and in a more practical sense, one of the exercises includes use of the footballs and cones, and division of players into groups (Ibid, 27-28). The players will pass the ball to the opposite team, while receiving the passes using the inside of their feet, before controlling and cushioning the ball. The drills are repeated for a while, before the coaches would attempt and have discussion around the lessons, such as a bad touch that would lead to consequences or pressure being exerted by the opposition. It is the duty or role of the coach to connect the lessons learnt in the football session to real cases, such as in school and or at home, when a bad decision leads to loss of self-control. In similar vein, the players might be induced to divulge how they have controlled sexual urges, and empathy could be drawn by focusing on how a girl would feel if coerced into sex against her will, or if a girl gives in to the boy due to pressure, does it mean that she has agreed to the act or she has been forced (Ibid, 28)? Derived positives are that the children are not taken away from football, but the game is used as a tool towards them showing their perspectives and sharing their ideas and insights via drills, discussions and applications. Apparently, such less-formal sharing is only limited to practice sessions and not necessarily during competitive matches. In the case of CESVI, lack of nearby stadia and convenient space and financial resources limited full implementation of these exercises. For instance, the football team was meeting once per week, yet there was the wish for more meetings for football.

Relating play to education

In the earlier chapters, I hinted at one of the biggest challenges faced by those dealing with street children and from my experience during my study, I came across this reality. As also discovered in Chapter ten, the children's concentration span is also limited and the situation can be worse in cases where there is lack of discussion. When I met with my assistants, representatives from CESVI, Bourdillon, former street children and street children in April 2016, such a reality was experienced. Some of the children managed to concentrate for the whole session, but almost half of the fifteen who attended ended up dozing-off after about half an hour or so. To keep them awake we discovered that we had to mix the conference

with play. This was helpful, especially, during discussion periods that mostly took place at the end of the presentations. As a result, most of the children stayed alert and made contributions.

Concentration challenges when dealing with street children might be attributed to their use of intoxicants and general lack of sleep. Such a challenge seems to have also been faced by those who have implemented formal education at CESVI, and it was to this premise that my assistants alluded during a discussion and note-sharing meeting on the 08th of December 2015 (Also see Table 7.3):

> Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays the children meet for their education programmes, but we have now resorted to mixing learning and playing games-unlike the conventional education teaching or education, which end up being boring to them. These games include mathematics and quiz games, as well as card spinning games. Games keep them active, and we usually end up having very informative discussions by end of the day. It is unfortunate that their attendance to classes is erratic though (Harold and Margret).

It is apparent that there are natural challenges faced by researchers dealing with street children, especially those related to concentration. CESVI has adopted the Zimbabwe AIDS Network (ZAN) manual, which developed the original Zimbabwe Join In Circuit (JIC) in collaboration with Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), and later with other partners, such as National AIDS Council (NAC), Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFPC), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), Population Services International (PSI), Southern Africa AIDS Dissemination (SAfAIDS), Swedish International Development Aid (SIDA), UNICEF, Action AID Zimbabwe (AAZ), Irish AID, Population Services Zimbabwe (PSZ) and The Centre (TC) (Join In Circuit Facilitator Manual-Zimbabwe). Like a number of other organisations, the manual's main mandate is to educate around the areas of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, but it uniquely promotes engaging people through games as informed by what is termed 'stations.'

During a focus-group discussion that involved the children on the 19th of April 2016 (Also see Table 7.3) I quizzed them on issues covered in the past months, such as the name and main objective of my study. My assistants used the quiz system to distribute surplus food and drinks and it was heartening to discover that they could recall most of the issues, as well as the seven stations that they had previously gone through with their football coaches, and these included station 1: ways of HIV transmission, station 2: body language, station 3:

positive living, station 4: sexually transmitted infections (STIs), station 6: condom station, station 7: protection station (Ibid). Xavi got the majority of the accolades. While the impact, embracement and implementation of the stations among the street children may need further research, the practicality derived from the lessons was evident. For instance, the participants are taught about body language in station 2, whereby jigsaw puzzles are used with inscriptions of action words, such as kissing, prostitution, fighting, hugging, intergenerational relationship and sexual harassment (Ibid). The ultimate idea is for the participants to choose groups, a representative to read the word (s) behind the piece of the puzzle and without telling his or her group what is written, use body language to mime what is written, and have the group to figure out the word(s) by interpreting the volunteer's body language (Ibid, 18). The whole idea is to have participants share the goal, as well as for them to feel part and parcel of the processes, which might explain why the children could recall the stations during our focus group.

Out of the findings of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (www.unesdoc.unesco.org-Accessed on 11/01/16), educational services and activities that take into account concerns of street children may have to include personal hygiene, nutrition, health, first aid; self-expression and communication under which arts and crafts, theatre and drama and music are addressed, and also a case whereby traditional subjects in the areas of sciences and arts are seriously considered. In other words, education should not remain too formal, but where possible, should form a symbiotic relationship with those skills that seek to promote communication and expression by the participants.

UNESCO (Ibid) also states that it is not enough to try and attract street children to rehabilitation centres in the absence of activities that interest them. As a result, recreation should be taken seriously as it is part of a vital cog towards breaking down psychological barriers, such as mistrust and hostility, as well as leading to physical development, social development and emotional development (Ibid).

While space is usually a challenge for most individuals and organisations intending to be involved in the aforementioned development, creativity can also save the day. Of the thirteen children that were involved in the individual interviews in September 2014, 9 (69 per cent) of them asserted that they found time to play football of one form or the other at their bases, especially during the night. Overall, all forms of games, whether formal or informal; whether

football or otherwise, can make a difference in a street child's life, and may need to be taken seriously.

Skills training

On any normal day, and related to whichever way the street children are going to be guided towards their vocational futures, skills training, which might also be referred to as 'vocational training,' remains vital as it empowers them and prepares them for life out of the streets. UNESCO has suggested a number or such programmes, and these include building, electrical equipment maintenance, mechanics, metalwork, plumbing, woodwork and so forth (www.unesdoc.unesco.org-Accessed on 11/01/16). UNESCO suggests that the teaching and training of children in such trades assists in the process of rehabilitation, while results are usually immediately visible. Children can also generate income while on the other hand this training also helps improve their confidence and self-esteem (Ibid). Positively, the majority of vocational-training programmes do not consider stringent entry-requirements, therefore, permitting children with special needs to enhance their lives.

Due to financial challenges and having lost the person who used to fund the project, CESVI also lost a window of opportunity to consolidate on the lampshade-skills training that they had in place for their 22 to 24 year olds. One of the organisation's officials said in the discussion we had on the 08th of December 2015:

> The lampshade skills training programme had been founded for the youth who could no longer
> freely beg in the streets or were above 18, but had to somehow survive, because these could no
> longer participate in begging, because of age. Such a project had been founded for them. A
> combination of lack of interest and loss of funding became most undoing for the project and we
> were back to square one (Winidzai).

While I witnessed some of the kinds of lampshades that the children used to work on, only one child, Wasu, probably due to the fact that he had been on the street longer than the majority of those I interviewed in September 2014, hinted on his participation in the lampshades and candle projects, and how they would also participate in their sale at Sam Levy's Village in Borrowdale, Harare.

As will be seen in the next chapter, vocational training is critical as part of the re-integration process, yet it has faced some challenges, at least in the case of CESVI.

9.4 Summarised observations

Most of the general observations highlighted here are based on my association with the street children who visited CESVI and who were involved in football during my visits between September 2014 and December 2016, and I have also mentioned some of my observations in part 4 chapters of my study. In addition, I also had to embed some of the observations within the relevant chapters and under applicable themes. Despite the fact that most of my observations would cut across different categories, they fell into a number of independent themes, which include those that emanate from the individual interviews, focus-group discussions, conference, and during and after football training and competitive matches. My summarised observations are here, since most of them came up during football training and matches.

9.4.1 Behaviours and attitudes

Substance abuse

There was evidence that the children who frequented the House of Smiles and were involved in football had the challenge of substance-abuse of one kind or the other. This had a clear effect on their concentration span, which explains why CESVI had to rethink the way they were to involve them in formal education hence the adoption of 'eduntainment,' which attempted to provide education through entertainment. While I did not make much of a contribution to 'eduntainment,' I got involved in it during the focus-group discussion that I had with the children on the 19th of April 2016 in which, as highlighted in chapter nine under 'relating play to education,' I, along with my assistants, quizzed the children so as to get feedback on the effectiveness of the programmes that we had implemented previously and relate these to the 'seven stations.' As discovered in the chapter, the stations mainly focus on the causes and effects of HIV/AIDS, and are found to be effective among those who easily lose concentration.

While almost all the children, who frequented CESVI during my study, would look drowsy, I also observed some of them smoking on a number of occasions, but without knowing whether or not the substance was more than ordinary cigarettes. For instance, at the end of the very first training on the 16th September 2014, a number of the CESVI football team members joined a few other unidentified boys in smoking at Mbare. The same could be said just before the football trip to Alaska, Chinhoyi on the 11th of December 2015, when a number of boys grouped for a smoke outside the House of Smiles premises. While a number of children would be involved in such activities, I also noted that they would not smoke nor drink within the House of Smiles premises, during training nor during competitive matches, which is something I discovered during my September 2014 presence. This is attributed to CESVI's regulations. At the same time, the negative effects of substance-abuse on the children involved in my study may need further study.

Despite the fact that on so many occasions, and as I have already highlighted in Chapter eight, the children showed respect for the older folk. Yet on a number of occasions, they also turned violent and used negative language among themselves or against a perceived enemy during and outside the football matches, which might be attributed to substance abuse.

Substance abuse and football

To begin with, on the football front, the children would not take losing lightly, which was a reality on so many occasions in the first half of their competitive matches. As discovered in their training sessions and in the cases when they played against the Alaska Juniors on the 11th of December 2015 and in match against Chirambadare's juniors on the 20th of April 2016, the street children turned against each other, the opposition teams, their coaches and the referees. As already noted in chapter nine and on their own admission, their first halves were not up to scratch, only to improve their play, as well as their behaviour and attitude in the second half. I recall in the match in Alaska in which having gone to half time losing 3-0, only for them to win the second half by 1-2 (they lost by a 4-2 aggregate scoreline), to which one of the Alaska supporters, not knowing the background of the CESVI team, went on to say:

> Whatever you gave to the young men during half time, it worked, because they came back a
> transformed team. You have a good team of young people, but they talk too much and fight

amongst themselves, which is not good for their development (Alaska Junior team supporter).

As I highlighted in chapter nine, football was rehabilitative to them, especially in the first half when toxins are still in their systems. What is imperative is to find out how such a position can be sustained for the benefit of street children, because there was evidence during my research that football was and could be a cheaper detox alternative. This might also work, given that one of my assistants had hinted that the scientific one was expensive (Reflection discussion on the 08th of December 2015; see Table 7.3). Such a process though could only work by providing the children with a place of safety, so as to avoid exposing them to the volatile environment found on the streets of Harare.

In similar light pertaining to substance abuse, there was proof that their concentration span was affected. While I highlighted this challenge in this chapter when I looked into how play and learning were mixed at CESVI, I also mentioned further observations in chapter ten, since the challenge was more manifest during formal meetings, as well as during individual interviews and the conference that we held in April 2016. During the conference, which lasted for more than an hour, I discovered that a number of the children started struggling to keep awake after a few moments. It was during the same conference that one of the children whispered to me that he was not used to sitting in such meetings and asked to be excused. He only accepted to sit and participate after I had given him the assurance that we were just about to conclude the meeting.

Societal attitude towards street children

I also observed that society lacks patience with the homeless, including those who could be providing access to space for play. Despite the presence of a number of schools within stone's throw of the House of Smiles, there are allegations of the team being refused passage through certain areas, as well as use of stadia for the mere fact that the team is comprised of the homeless (Interview with my assistants on 15 September 2014; this was also repeated during the feedback session with the assistants on the 08th of December 2015).

The findings of my studies bear similarity with those that came out of those of Ataov et al. (2006: 129-130), in a Turkish case study, where it was discovered that town developers tended to disregard those in the lower rungs of society, including homeless street children.

As a result, such children have tended to concentrate their activities in places that look lucrative, such as malls, which in turn, are also meant for those in the upper social categories of the community (Ibid, 130). It is quite revealing that while a number of Zimbabwe's cities and towns have expanded in recent history, this might have come at the expense of enough space for the street children. The situation was compounded by the increasing amount of traffic in Harare, despite the economic challenges that the country faced during my study. This might also explain the reason why the children who frequented CESVI found it difficult to find space for football nearer to the headquarters of the organisation.

Yet, certain pockets of society have embraced the realities of homelessness amongst the youth and are willing help where necessary. In the endeavour to use football as an intervention, I discovered that there were some young and elderly individuals, groups and teams that were always ready to help the homeless, especially those that were involved in playing with and against the CESVI football team and those that ended up being part of my research.

9.4.2 Context that involve the homeless

During this research, I observed that there is no separation between the homeless' behaviours, attitudes and environments or contexts, since these feed into one another. In other words, behaviour and attitude can determine a child's environment or how he or she lives and lead his or her life, while environments or contexts can also determine children's behaviours and attitudes. In the case of my study, I observed that the biggest challenge to ending homelessness among children's behaviours and attitudes was the lack of will power and safe nets in the form of foster homes and other properly-structured, run and guided rehabilitation and re-integration processes. My observation was that the street children spent the better part of their day at the House of Smiles, and I should assume the same can be said of other places elsewhere within and outside of Zimbabwe, yet the fact that they spend their evenings on the street act as a detriment to all efforts towards their welfare and re-integration.

9.5 Summary of the findings

This chapter sought to find out the possibilities of using community football as a stepping stone towards the re-integration of street children. The chapter's findings were mainly based on my observation, interviews and literature. In addition, information that was supplied by

my assistants for the period between September 2014 and December 2016 also proved very important.

To start with, there was evidence that the children had a passion for the game of football, though there were others among them who were more gifted than the rest, such as Xavi and Sauro. It was through football and examining the lives of those they played against, but who used to be on the streets, that some of them looked forward to re-integration of one form or the other. In other words, football exposed the children to certain advantages that they did not know existed, so, to them, participating in football was a symbol of their liberation from ignorance, while the likes of re-integrated footballers, such as Success, only encouraged in them the desire and passion towards re-integration.

I also discovered that, because of the use of drugs and intoxicants, the children struggled with sustained concentration, and had poor judgement, even in the football matches, especially in the first half of their matches and training. Consequently, there was evidence that football also helped them to kick out the toxins from their body, which might explain the fact that they tended to improve their type of play, behaviour and attitude in the second half of the majority of the matches that they were involved. It was because of some of these struggles that it was always a big challenge for them to sit through education programmes that were deprived of some type of play or lacked hyperactivity. As a result, it was imperative that there be a mixture of football with some of the lessons learnt in more formal ways, such as in the areas of sexual-reproductive health, sexual-transmitted diseases, and protection, as well as skills training, among others, which CESVI referred to as 'edutainment.'

On each occasion that I was in Harare, we tried by all means to make sure we organised training sessions and competitive matches for the children as per their wish. This study also demystified my assumption that all children could easily be re-integrated, as well as that football could lead to such re-integration on its own. It was with this in mind that I discovered there was need for a symbiotic relationship between football and other collaborative programmes, such as education that CESVI had in place. Without mixing them, these programmes might not have worked toward the behaviour and attitude change of the children. It is in this context that a number of the children clearly showed that football could be married to formal education to their benefit.

By December 2016, a number of the children who had been involved in the project had been re-integrated into paternal and maternal homes and, a few others into foster homes. Others had disappeared, some were on suspension, and the majority was still on the street. It can be concluded from the finding of this chapter that re-integration is a process and is very unpredictable.

CHAPTER TEN: RE-INTEGRATION

10.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the prospective re-integration that the street children who were involved in this study could be involved in, some of the re-integration processes that others were involved in, as well as the children's understanding of what 're-integration' into normal life meant to them. A number of terms have been used to refer to the re-integration processes and these are such as 're-insertion' and 're-unification.' The very first pitfall, which I avoided from the commencement of my study, was to impose anything on the participants, and the same spirit also stopped me from imposing the meaning of 're-integration' on the street children and no-one raised greater concern than one presenter during our last conference on the 21st of April 2016 when he said:

> ...we have to tell people what we want and what we think and help each other. Those
> trying to help you should listen to you and find out what you want. It's not us who
> should tell you what is normal or what you want. We don't tell you why you are on
> the street, because you know why you are on the street. It means you had a problem
> to whose solutions you are trying to find out now. Let's ask people to help us and the
> other way round (Bourdillon).

Consequently, re-integration meant so many things to the involved children, but let me hasten to say, the reasons behind (pushing factors) a particular child's presence on the street determines his or her perspective of 're-integration.' In other words, there are children who have a better chance of being re-integrated back into their paternal and maternal families, as compared to others, while others' cases are almost hopeless, in terms of getting back into their families, especially those that were born in the street.

Out of their findings in Turkey, Ataov et al. (2006:129) concluded that seeking to remove and sending homeless street children home must not be rule of thumb, since this might be unacceptable or unviable. In-fact, some children will feel betrayed by being sent home at some moment, especially at a time when they would have least expected such a move.
Similarly, and as to be found later in this chapter, re-integration does not follow one pattern, and neither does 're-integration' have one meaning to all children. Children have their own views when it comes to re-integration into normal life. Let me also say that the life of the

street children is so unpredictable that a child who might swear that he or she would have no interest in going back home, might, for one reason or the other, wake up in the morning with a totally different idea, and would request to be re-integrated into his or her family of birth.

10.2 The re-integration process

My findings for this chapter are clearly in accord with the findings presented and examined in Chapter four, where I looked into the possibilities of re-integrating former child soldiers, as well as the vulnerable street children.

Retrak has suggested some of the relevant steps that might have to be considered during the process of seeking to re-integrate street children, which include carrying out the child's assessment and preparation, getting in contact with the family and situational assessment, temporary, permanent or semi-permanent placement, making follow-ups and seeking to provide family support, a step that also provides an alternative to taking back the child if the conditions are not conducive, and the phase-out step, which are elaborated on in Figure 10.1 below,

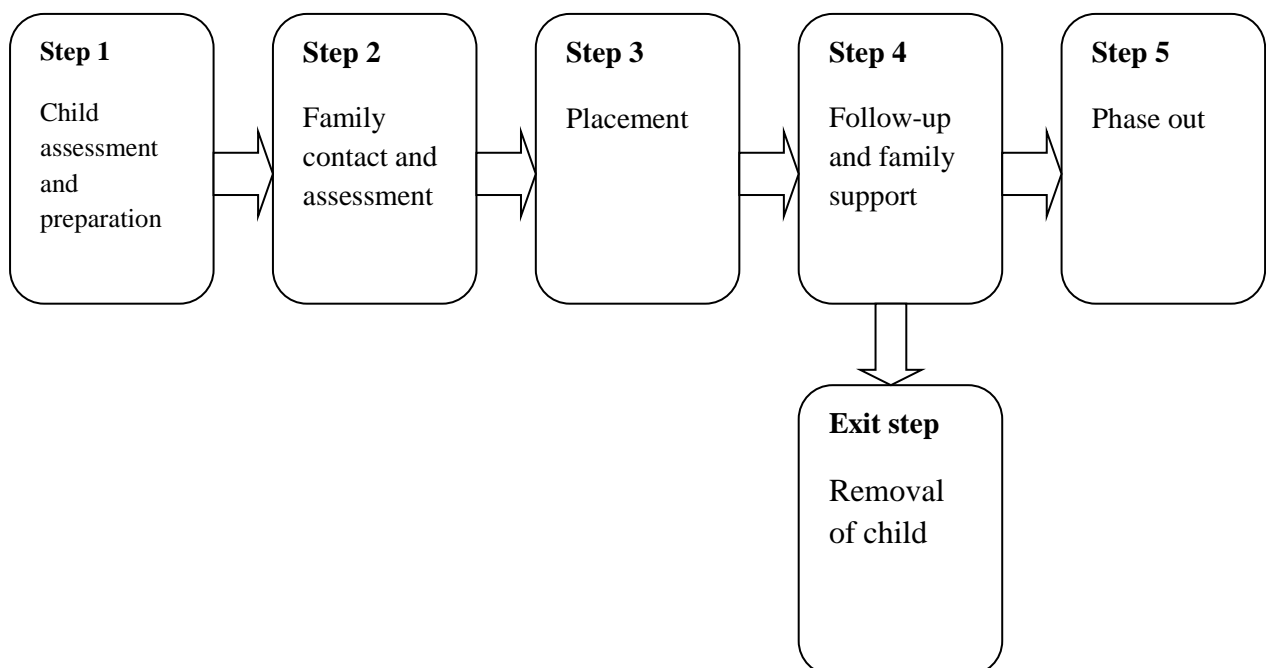| **Step 1** Child assessment and preparation	**Step 2** Family contact and assessment	**Step 3** Placement	**Step 4** Follow-up and family support	**Step 5** Phase out

Exit step

Removal of child

Figure: 10.1: Child re-integration process (adopted from Retrak-www.retrak.org-Accessed on 11/01/16)

In the case of my study and from the outset, it became apparent that there might have been strained relations between organisations that deal with street children and the Department of Social Services (DSS), where the actual re-integration of the children back into their families is effected. This situation was a threat to the very first step suggested by Retrak, which suggested focus on child assessment and preparation. My observation was that the organisations, who on daily basis deal with the children, would have to report their intentions to get a particular child back into his or her family, and in other circumstances, hand the child over to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, which, in turn, might not have enough resources, capacity or will-power to re-integrate the child. Given that re-integration is mostly dependent on the child's request to be re-unified with his or her family, the more the time taken to facilitate this, the more likely it is that such a window of opportunity will be lost. Marama alluded in an interview in September 2014 (See Table 7.3), that early arrivals on the street are easier to work with and, with this in mind, once an opportunity presents itself to get the child back into his or her family, it should be administered at the earliest period possible. At least in the case of Harare, it might be argued that the NGOs and the ministries responsible did not enjoy the best of relationship in order to facilitate the situation.

One of the CESVI workers sounded distraught about so many re-integration opportunities that had been lost, and she went on to say in a reflection meeting on the 08th of December 2015 (See Table 7.3):

> There used to be a time when we could work directly with families and communities towards
> the re-integration of children. That meant we did not necessarily need to go via the Ministry of
> Labour and Social Services, and that was when OVC 1 was in place. That leverage was lost with
> the introduction of OVC 2, which gave the ministry more power, yet the same ministry usually
> struggles due to lack of necessary resources needed for effective re-integration of the children.
> For instance, we recently gave the ministry about 100 children to deal with towards a recent SADC
> summit, but they were all back in the streets before the summit, and it apparently appeared CESVI
> was working in cahoots with the government to get rid of them from the streets. We lost the
> children's trust as a result (Winidzai).

While not all re-integration of street children into their families would not rigidly follow these steps, there is good reason to take note of the fact that both, the child and the family, are taken into consideration and rendered all necessary support before the actual action of re-integration. In addition, there is room for the organisations and/or the state to remove the

child if his or her situation is not conducive, while certain situations are even more difficult to handle, which threatens Retrak's step two.

An example from the children with whom I was involved in my study could be Xavi, Sauro and Chimwene, who were all born on the streets and might. Comparatively speaking, these might have had less hope of ever being re-integrated into their paternal or maternal homes (See Chapters eight, nine, ten and eleven).

Given the strained relationships with the guardians and other family members, some of the children are reluctant to provide genuine information about the location of their places of origin. For instance, the Childline representative at CESVI gave an example during a discussion and feedback session on the 08th of December 2015, whereby a boy-child lied about where he came from:

> I remember there was a time a child told us that he came from an area close to
> Mutare. We went with him with the hope he was telling the truth, only to discover
> that he had duped us and he took us in circles. It was apparent that he might
> have come from that general area, but not from the homestead he took us to. He had
> all sorts of excuses, because the homestead did not have anyone and it was also clear
> no-one had been there in a long time, since some of the huts had collapsed (Edison).

In addition, Success's life story is not an island, as he struggled through his early life before he got onto the street, when it comes to paternal and maternal homes that remain unsafe, and he narrated in an individual interview on the 19th of April 2016 (Also see Table 7.3):

> My personal struggle has always been a mentally ill father, who has so often
> come to the verge of killing me. I stayed in the bush for a long time,
> without a blanket nor a decent meal. I would bath in the nearby river and
> break into homes for food, until through a friend and his family, I survived by
> a whisker from the chilly weather. Each time my father would find me at the
> centres, dupe the authorities at the homeless, take me home, beat me and at one
> time almost killed me. Thank God there have been places, such as CESVI that
> have provided me with most of my needs, including education (Success).

That also meant, unless there were relatives willing to take care of him, it was always going to be difficult for the child to get back home. It also appears that CESVI has faced a challenge to introduce step three, in which the child has to be put in a place of safety. This

has meant that the rehabilitation of the child remains a challenge, since the children are forced to be on the street each time they are not at the House of Smiles, especially in the evenings. It might be here where I also have to highlight that one of the observable weaknesses of most organisations, CESVI included, is lethargic attempts towards rehabilitating the children before their re-integration. While it is assumed that such a process will take place in Retrak's step three, the clinical process though expensive, remains very vital. I also highlighted similar challenges when I looked into the case of former child soldiers in Chapter four.

At the same time, and despite bureaucratic and financial challenges that CESVI faced at the time of my study, the organisation budgeted for the family re-unification or re-integration processes. It seemed the organisation attempted by all means to put in place a financial package each time a child was re-integrated into the family. An officer from the organisation added in an individual interview:

> New entries (of children) are easier to deal with for us and parents. Recently
> we had a mother who came all the way from Bikita following her 10-year old
> boy-child, whom she thought was dead. Depending on the situation, we always
> strive to give financial aid, including putting the child through school by paying
> his or her fees, purchasing uniforms and make them blend with the community
> of origin (Marama).

In addition, this is not to say all re-integration processes that involve having children reconnected with their families are smooth-sailing, nor provide permanent solutions to the situations, which is a threat to step four that involves family follow-ups and family support. Given that most communities in Zimbabwe were facing economic challenges, some of the financial provisions of organisations, such as CESVI were taken advantage of, and got abused or they went on to service families, if not communities, at the expense of the child. Such concern was also raised in the Rwandese situation, where it was discovered that some of the monies did not reach their intended targets, or were never enough to eradicate all challenges faced, either by the child, family or community. All this led to a dependency-syndrome on the part of the child and the family or community (www.migeprof.gov.rw-Accessed on 11/01/16). Such a challenge was also highlighted by my assistant, Harold, in an individual interview. Each child's case is unique and should be addressed in its own unique

way otherwise it is difficult to argue about lack of support from the organisations and or the state.

While there is debate over the pros and cons that arise from giving financial and other kinds of support to street children, their paternal and or maternal families and communities that they come from, there is efficacy in providing the children, and, where possible, families and communities, with necessary skills for self-reliance. A number of centres or organisations that are dealing with street children are providing or facilitating for vocational training. Such training readies them for life after the street and, in some cases, when some of the children face the challenge of reaching 18 while still on the streets. I must also emphasise the need for will power on the part of the child to go through such processes. Entrepreneurial training scored relatively highly when considering what street children would look forward to as part of the expected provision rendered by organisations and in Nairobi, Kenya, it scored joint second at 22 per cent, behind calls for fully equipped schools, colleges and universities (Onyiko et al., 2015: 179).

Apparently, re-integration cannot be too formalised, since a child might claim his or her need to get home at any given moment, and, in an early chapter, I highlighted one such case, when some children requested to be re-integrated after attending a football match. While hinting at some of the challenges faced after re-integration of the children, including relapse and return into the street, the CESVI overseer and co-ordinator, Marama, reported that the organisation managed to re-integrate between twelve and sixteen children from out of Harare and four from within Harare in 2014, but between two and three had gotten back into the street, due to family problems (Interview, September 2015).

For organisations and ministries that deal with the re-integration of children, it is vital to be consistently on the lookout for opportunities that include getting to the child's family set-up and, above all, the root causes of the child's presence on the streets. There are signs that the majority of the street children in Harare, more-so, those who were part of my study, have poverty as a direct and indirect cause of their presence on the street, which make it imperative that the root causes be addressed, especially before there could be calls for their re-integration of the children into their families. This has been highlighted in a number of cases, including a case from Rwanda, where there was a call for state and organisational support before the children re-unite with their families (www.migeprof.gov.rw-Accessed on 11/01/16). Overall,

family or community support could be in the form of donations, and payment of school fees where appropriate, entrepreneurial training, with advantages, such as entire families benefiting. With these, the child is likely to stay at home and in school, as well as have capital to build on (Ibid).

While organisations and the state might provide all sorts of support for the street child and his or her family, certain circumstances could curtail support, which may have to be provided for the child in his or her own right, especially in cases where there are no signs of re-integration into the family and where reconciliation might take long periods. CESVI has attempted to help a number of strong-willed street children and Darty's case serves as an example for such endeavours. In 2016 he was studying towards a Certificate in Graphic Designing with a local Polytechnic. Having lost his parents at a tender age, Darty went on to share this account in an individual interview:

> I have seen it all, from being on the streets of Harare, to those of South Africa
> (SA), via Botswana. I would jump the borders, due to lack of papers; I stole cars
> and traded hard drugs, such as cocaine in South Africa. I got shot in the same country
> and things got worse for me when I got seriously ill, since I was born HIV positive.
> When I got back into Zimbabwe, I was a moving grave, but through the help of Mr
> Marama and CESVI, I recovered and they facilitated for my enrolment for graphic
> designing with Harare Polytechnic. It is all because I pushed and told them all I
> wanted was to be educated (Darty).

By the time of the commencement of my study in September 2014, Darty had just been re-integrated, yet he attended a number of football matches and acted in the capacity of a referee, and he contributed immensely during our April 2016 conference (See chapter ten). Darty's experiences and determination are similar to those of Success, who was getting financial aid for his Advanced Level from CESVI in 2016. Success claimed in an individual interview on the 20th of April 2016 and at the conference that he was so determined to study for his Ordinary Levels that he used to read on the street at Fife Avenue shopping centre.

10.2.1 Children's views of re-integration-focus group

Table 10.1 below is a summary of the fifteen children who attended the focus group discussion, a competitive football match against Chirambadare's junior team and a

conference that took place on the 19th, 20th, and 21 of April 2016, respectively (Also see Table 7.3). All these children were also involved in football at the time. I also deliberately included my assistants in all the meetings. The main objective of the focus group on the 19th of April was to find out how the children perceived 're-integration,' as well as to find out whether or not they still recalled some of the issues that we had shared previously. Having failed to convene at the House of Smiles, a challenge that went on for a while, the focus group discussion was held at Saita Lodges in Harare. The focus group session took place in the morning and at a time that I had discussed and agreed upon with the children, CESVI and the owners of the lodge.

It might be prudent to also mention that the background to the majority of the children who were involved in the study in general and in the focus-group, specifically, were a mixture of those from the countryside and those from the urban centres, with my assistant, Harold, pointing out that poverty was the cause or contributing factor resulting in them being on the streets of Harare. He had said in the feedback discussion on the 08th of December 2015:

> The majority of the street children are from the rural areas, with the main cause of their
> coming into Harare being poverty. From within Harare, the biggest suppliers of street
> children are Epworth (poverty), Mbare (proximity to the city centre), Chitungwiza (poverty
> and prostitution), Highfields (abuse and poverty) and Mufakose (drugs). There is a lot going
> on among the street children than what meets the eye, especially given that so many of these
> children get onto the streets and get back home for the night (children on the street) (Harold).

At the time of my study, poverty was directly and indirectly pushing the majority of the children onto the streets, as compared to other causes, yet it was also difficult to separate most of the causes from each other since they are intertwined. In other words, poverty leads to many family conflicts, some of which push the children onto the street. While it sounds easier to re-integrate children who are on the street due to poverty, if this is defined in terms of reconnecting them with their families, there are signs of resistance on their part, especially for those children permanently on the street (children of the street). Most of them think there is nothing to lure them back home, at the expense of what they get in the streets, including 'freedom.'

	Characteristic	Number	Percentage
Age in April 2016			
	5-10 years	0	100%
	10-18 years	14	93%
	Above 18 years	1	7%
	Unknown	0	100%

Table 10.1: Children involved in the focus group, football match & conference in April 2016

There was consistency in the children who attended the focus group discussion, football match and a conference on the aforementioned days. None (0 per cent) of the children involved were between 5 and 10 years, while 14 (93 per cent), who constituted the largest segment of the group, were between 10 and 18 years. Of the group, 1 (7% per cent) participant was above 18.

The children's definition of 're-integration' into normal life and how they would want to lead their lives mainly came out during the focus-group discussions we had at Saita. We had to segment the activities, since this was meant to be the last focus group discussion for my study.

To begin with, I have to mention that it was always going to be imperative to keep the children involved, so as to curb challenges, such as fatigue and boredom otherwise we would have missed each other. To do this, I would probe the children, with the help of my assistants, into communicating with me, as well as giving them a chance for questions if there were any. It was during the focus-group discussion where I and my assistants used 'edutainment,' so as to keep the children awake (See Chapter nine). At the same time, I requested the children to sign the consent form after I had explained the main agenda for the convocation. The discussion also included my assistants and a few personnel from CESVI.

The first segment of the focus-group was an attempt to find out whether or not they recalled what they had drawn as part of their dreams for the future in the previous focus-group discussions, and those that had taken place in Mbare the previous day, and whether or not they still believed and sought to fulfil those particular dreams. While all the children recalled what they had put on paper, it was Sauro, who might have given a profound response, which was also a hint of how he perceived his future when he said that:

> We face a myriad of challenges as people who stay in the streets, and some of these challenges are worse than the others. I for one have always had a dream, which I also put on paper in December in Mbare. My dream is to be a footballer and am looking forward to the day I can join a football academy that will nurture my talent and gift in the trade (Sauro).

The children narrated what they had drawn, while in the process not only mentioned their perspectives vis-à-vis dreams, but also challenges and how these could be addressed.

The main segment of the focus-group zeroed in on re-integration vis-à-vis the children's perceptions of the concept. It was with this in mind that the majority of the children who were involved in my study suggested that their re-integration into normal life would be facilitated through 'education and training,' 'accommodation,' 'decent clothing,' 'birth certificates' and 'employment.' In other words, a number of them perceive their development without their paternal and maternal homes.

Most of the issues that the children raised during the discussion pointed to their willingness to be given a hand in those areas they thought would address some of their needs.

One of the areas that the children said should be part of their re-integration into normal life was accommodation, to which Wasu had hinted in the September 2014 individual interviews when he said that:

> If it were possible, especially given that we are not in any lucrative business as street children, the authorities (CESVI) should try and organise accommodation for us. To this end, they may need to consider having two players per house or per room, and put those who are in good books in one place, instead of imposing those not interested to stay together (Wasu).

I have already indicated CESVI's lack of accommodation or transit centre for the children and how this has militated against all efforts to re-integrate the children, since they still find their way onto the volatile streets for the night. It also translated into the children's failure to be physically and psychologically prepared for re-integration of any sort. Up until the end of 2016, the organisation's attempts to send some of the children into foster homes and existing transit centres had its own challenges. One of these was highlighted by the Childline representative on the 08th of December 2015 when he noted with concern:

> …we had a case where we took one child into a (foster) home, only to discover that he had
> been there before. We usually give a child, three chances, and in his case, those in the home
> suspected he had returned to get some children back onto the streets, so there was lack of trust.
> This is usually the case for new arrivals at the (foster) homes; they are stigmatised and bullied
> back into the street. Their experience is a vicious cycle, since some of the boys would lie,
> because they would not want to get back to their places of origin or birth (Edison).

Amongst all the fifteen children who participated in the focus group discussion, there was only one who sounded ready to meet his paternal parent when I asked what re-integration into normal life would mean, and he said:

> Of all the dreams I have had, I long the day I meet with my father, whom I never known
> since birth. I am not saying all these matters we are discussing here don't matter, but that
> is the biggest dream that I have (Chimwene).

Unfortunately, the then 15-year-old, Chimwene, was born on the street, so the place he might have called 'home,' and a place he might have met with his father was a mirage. Per chance, I met Chimwene on the 19th of April 2016 and, despite showing an interest in being involved in the focus-group discussion that took place on the same day, he never pitched up. It was apparent that by end of 2016, Harare was facing the challenge of having a new generation of street children.

10.2.2 Conference outcomes

In addition to the focus group discussion, myself and my assistants, representatives from CESVI, Professor Bourdillon, and two former street children, Darty Kashy and Success, met for a short conference at Saita Lodges on the morning of the 21st of April 2016 (See Table 7.3), with the main aim of the meeting being to try and share some of the prevailing trends in

the area that concerned street children, as well as share with the children some of their rights. As already noted, the conference involved the fifteen street children, who had also participated in a focus group discussion and football match the previous day (Also see Table 7.3).

The main presenters were Bourdillon (also see Chapter seven), who has written extensively on the Harare street children and is a former board member of Streetsahead, representatives from CESVI, Darty and Success. While a number of guardians of some former street children had promised to join us for the conference, they all withdraw at the last moment, as well as the individuals I had invited from the football fraternity, Charles Mabika and Robson Sharuko. The presence of the two groups was meant to find out their experiences in dealing with former street children, and provide their insight into the role of football, respectively.

The potential positives of hosting a conference that include the perpetrator and survivor are highlighted by Harris (2014: 1-16) in his examination of restorative justice in Zululand. He believes that a bottom up approach that seeks to reconcile prisoners and aggrieved families can be addressed through family conferences, which have a rehabilitative and restorative objective (Ibid, 4-13). From Harris' findings, we can learn that, such conferences can culminate in control of anger, nurturing of positive behaviour and tend to build confidence and trust in the involved parties (Ibid, 28). Well-organised conferences have a tendency of rebuilding lost relationships and in my case the conference that we convened opened a lot of channels of communication between the presenters, children and other attendees.

The CESVI representative, Winidzai (also See Chapter seven), contributed in a number of areas that pertained to street children, which included the definition of 'homelessness,' causes of homelessness, examples of places where street children frequent and reside in Harare, the programme that CESVI had in place for the children, such as those that lean towards education, identity documents, hygiene, psycho-social therapy, re-unification, medical care, birth certificates and registration, skills-training, sports and recreation and the challenges that the organisation faces. She defined homeless street children as:

> Those children who live in the streets and are not taken care of by a parent
> or other adults and sleeps on the streets, because he/she does not have a
> home (Winidzai).

While this definition might leave out a number of other groups of homeless street children, such as those who come for begging purposes and return home for the night, one common factor amongst all street children is the fact that they either no longer have a responsible adult to take care of their welfare or the adult(s) are incapable of taking such a responsibility.

In addition, the representative also highlighted some of the causes that lead to homelessness amongst the children in a presentation that was pregnant with meaning and she went on to assert that:

> The phenomenon is variedly related to domestic, economic, social disruption, which
> include poverty, family breakdown, sexual, physical/emotional abuse, domestic
> violence, begging syndicates, substance abuse, sexual orientation/gender identity
> issues (Winidzai).

Overall, she suggested that, while poverty was a major cause of homelessness among the children, there are other causes that are usually perceived as results, yet they are causes. In other words, for other children, the fact that they end up appearing to smoke, drink, use drugs and indulge in prostitution on the street, does not mean they would have inherited a street behaviour, but such tendencies would have pushed them from their paternal and maternal home, therefore, the street not only gives them a chance to continue with the behaviour, but with more liberty as compared to the time they were home.

During the question and answer segment, the children, as in the focus group the previous day, pointed out the need for accommodation, especially in the form of a foster home and a transit centre, which also connected to how they had defined re-integration. It was in this context that that the CESVI representative suggested that:

> We have to understand what you really want, because we are not to guess
> nor impose anything on you. You need to open up, talk to us and should be
> able to get accommodation in cheap areas, such as Epworth. By end of the
> day, we want you to participate in football and get into a comfortable place of
> accommodation. All I am saying, you are the ones to change your own lives,
> so don't stay in the box (Winidzai).

It appears on any given day, a transit centre or a foster home will go a long way in curbing the street children phenomenon. In addition, such a place may need to be run by the

organisation that identifies or is closely working with the child, as compared to a situation where organisations hand over children to each other. This leads to mistrust from the point of the child, especially those who will be looking for genuine aid.

Another topical issue raised as a need into the re-integration process into normal life by the children pertained to birth certificates and national identity cards. From what I observed, one of the biggest challenges that all children on the street face is that they do not have these documents, and neither do they know how to acquire them. In most cases, this is due to lack of security over their belongings, lack of interest from one or both parents, both paternal and maternal families, to be involved in document acquisition, as well as refusal by the relevant state ministries to render the documents in the absence of a known relative(s) or reliable source(s) or guardian(s). The worst scenario is a situation whereby the child would have been born and bred on the street as in Xavi's, Sauro's and Chimwene's cases, which led Chimwene to ask during the conference:

> To begin with, I want to say my dream is to be a driver, but I don't know how to
> drive and do not have a licence, which in turn, calls for me to have a birth certificate.
> Let's say I do not know where my relatives are, but would like to be in school,
> or acquire a birth certificate or a drivers licence, how do we go about it? (Chimwene)

Chimwene, just like a number of other children, was born in the street, never had a birth certificate in his life, and, to make matter worse, knew none of his relatives who might have been encouraged to try and help. At the same time, the windows of opportunity for the children to get documents included corruptly paying officials at the relevant ministries. In response, the CESVI representative also looked into other alternatives that the children could also maximise when she asserted that:

> In normal circumstances, there are more chances when the mother is the
> one to get the documents for the children. It is unfortunate that when parents
> begrudge one another or attempt to settle scores, it is the child who suffers.
> Naturally, social welfare will also say they will only help those who grew up
> in the formal foster homes or places of safety, because they would know that
> they have no parents, as compared to those who arrive in the street from, say,
> paternal homes. The assumption is that the latter group has relatives who
> should help the child to get the documents. In addition, it's easier to acquire
> documents in cases where one of the aunties shares the same surname with the

child's mother. These could help a child to get documents. Another chance
arises in the case where a document was lost, stolen or burnt, because the relevant
ministry would have the data in their system (Winidzai).

While the information was an eye-opener, which created a constructive debate and led to an assurance from CESVI that they would try by all means to help, it was also clear that the children did not know much about the existing opportunities that would lead to their acquisition of the birth certificates, national identity cards and other relevant documents that they might have lost or never had or to their 'reintegration,' as how they had defined it.

For security reasons as well, the children might still need to access the aforementioned documents. A situation was presented by one of attendees in the discussion whereby:

Sexual abuse becomes rampant in times when there are no identity documents
for the children. The policy implementers also have a certain negative towards
the children without proper documents. So, I would like to encourage that we
look into ways that the children could get the relevant documents (Edison).

During the conference, Bourdillon also highlighted the on-going research or study that is emanating from Geneva, Switzerland, to which there has been a request for submissions from authorities that are dealing with children, as well as those that have written extensively in the area of street children. According to Bourdillon, so far the study has shown that there are children who started their lives in penury, but ended up very rich, while others commenced theirs very rich, yet ended up being poor. One of those from a poor background ended up occupying the United States of America's presidential seat. Bourdillon declared that, while there are so many lessons that have been learnt so far concerning street children, the biggest lesson is:

…children were asked what they looked forward to occurring in the near and far future.
Some said they looked forward to having lots of money, while others said they wanted be
famous; some had particular dreams at the end about their future; at the end, it was found
out that people who lived happily and longest are those who had friends. It did not matter
whether one was famous or just an ordinary person. All it called for were good friends;
this provided for happiness and robust health; I want to say to you, have good friends and
be faithful to the people around you…help each other through football or in football and
despite our differences, remember, you are part of a larger society and have friends. Each
one of us is God's child; I'm not more than you and you are not more than me; self esteem

is not about having lots of money or living richly, but being faithful to the people
you live with (Bourdillon).

As critical as they are, children's rights are not always as clear-cut as is generally assumed. While examining the Brazilian cases vis-à-vis children's rights, Grugel et al. (2012: 828-829) discovered that international bodies, such as the United Nations through the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), emphasise such rights as comprising 'freedom from' and 'rights to,' but the biggest let-down is lack of implementation of the courses of action that are on paper. Out of the data collected from Minas Gerais, results showed the lethargic nature of most of the national and international organisations, most of which are attributable to inherent structural problems (Ibid, 831). It is with this in mind, that the multifarious remedial suggestions from the authors include institutional changes, legal reforms and tax and budgetary reforms (Ibid). In other words, the writers lobbied for a mind and policy shift in order to understand and address the concerns of the children, but critically, they also suggested giving a chance to the children to shape their own destiny, because the structures take cognizance of the fact that children are also human beings or persons in their own right (Ibid).

As I have already highlighted, one of the biggest challenges when dealing with street children is keeping them on track and awake, given the nature of their life. It was with this in mind, as I also mentioned in the previous chapters, that we mixed play with the presentations. Signs of dizziness and fatigue were constantly evident, especially in the later presentations to which our response was to involve them in some exercises, which proved effective. At the same time it was vital that the children were provided with a chance to ask questions any time they felt they had them.

Education was another focal area that the children repeatedly emphasised and I have partly looked into some of the proceedings pertaining to this in chapter nine and partly in other chapters. The presence of Darty and Success (Also see Chapter seven for their credentials) was meant to motivate and clearly show the children that they did not only have a right to formal education, but were also capable of succeeding, despite their negative backgrounds. While I have mentioned the cases of Darty and Success in the earlier chapters, the former challenged the children to have the will-power to get out of the woods when he declared:

> If I had remained where I was, I could be dead. To me, what I am doing now
> is a dream come true, but I had to move. Fostering begins with you; everything
> begins with you; there is nothing like 'I'm too old and I cannot change.' I was
> fostered at 23 years and I came to humble myself like a child and listened
> to the grandmother I was staying with. She would send me to the fields and I
> would do what she asked or me, because I knew what I wanted by end of the day. I
> told myself that I wanted to change and I don't wanna be what people use to call me…
> now I can see light at the end of the tunnel (Darty).

At the end of 2016, there were a number of former street children who had gone through a number of corridors, including CESVI, who had managed to, or were in the process of acquiring information-power via academic accomplishment, including Darty and Success, yet there were echoes that the children also needed to have the will-power to develop in challenging situations. One of the presenters, Winidzai, asserted that:

> As CESVI, we ask ourselves whether or not the children are pushing us to
> get school fees. For example, if a few of you indicate that you want to go to school,
> I will push for those to go to school. Mapendere recently graduated with a Master's
> degree in South Africa and is from the street. He even was part of a student
> representative council at his university. The opportunity is there, utilise it!
> (Winidzai)

Out of the findings of my study, especially in the area of formal education, some of the children showed little motivation towards it. Reasons might vary, and these might include fear of duplication and regurgitation of what might have pushed them from homes into the street, short concentration span and lost time for other business. This means they might prefer to live from hand to mouth rather than sacrifice for the future. At the same time, organisations would also not want to be perceived imposing do's and don'ts on the children. The consequences translate to lack of motivation from either side.

One of the attendees also echoed similar sentiments towards the children, with the motive of encouraging them to be pro-active and to take chances when they present themselves. He went on to challenge the young people:

> Change begins with you and when people see that you are determined, you will get help.
> Quits never win! You are lucky, because we are still here-how many would to you in our
> society? If you were myself, I would think how I would change my life (Edison).

Embracing the idea of education of one kind of the other is a process that needs to be given a chance in the life of the street children, which means the opportunities should always be in place, yet the children themselves should think outside the box and grab the opportunities.

The conference also proved vital in that the majority of the children, who showed that they were not aware of some of the opportunities, got a chance to find out what the organisations, such as CESVI and Childline could do for them.

While there is efficacy in promoting formal education and skills training amongst the street children, Winidzai's assertion on the 08th of December 2015 was important when she said that communities that will end up handling the children also need training on parental skills. This will always be relevant, especially in the attempt to prevent the vicious circles that some of the children face when they try to get back into their paternal and maternal homes.

10.3 Re-integration through football

It will be relevant to begin by looking into how there were attempts to use football as a vehicle towards the children's re-integration from the inception of the study, but without necessarily following any timeline-sequence of such attempts.

Of the first generation of street children or males whom I involved in the football project or those I met for individual interviews in 2014, and according to Table 10.2 below, (Also see Tables 7.3 and 9.1, and chapter eight, nine and ten), 4 (31 per cent) Medzo, Machinda, Father Junior and Chipo were fostered; 1 (8 per cent), Mndau, was re-united with his paternal families; 1 (8 per cent), Wasu, was expelled and given a life ban for disciplinary reasons; 3 (23 per cent), Patrick, Mugo and Joe disappeared, while 3 (23 per cent), Rooney, Xavi and Ian, were still on the streets in 2016. As I have already highlighted, Rooney had relapsed after the support that came from a well-wisher, Mabhawu, was withdrawn. The technically-gifted footballer, Xavi's case is quite unique as highlighted previously, since he asserted in the individual interview in September 2014 that he did not have the faintest idea about his paternal family (born in the street). Consequently, paternal and maternal re-integration was always going to be difficult hence the attempt to re-integrate him via a football academy. Like Xavi, Sauro was not only gifted as already alluded to, but he was also one of the few

children who were born on the street, and re-integration into a football academy was also viewed as the best alternative. Mndau had already shown signs of wanting to be fostered during the September 2014 interviews, which was typical of some of the children, especially those that had been pushed into the street by, say, poverty (See Chapter eight).

Pseudonym of the participant	Status in 2016
Chipo	Fostered in Dzivaresekwa and back in school in the area
Father Junior	Fostered by an individual well-wisher
Graham	Still in the streets, but found a place of safety in Harare
Ian	Still in the street and his life was considered inconsistent and had now been joined by his twin brother
Joe	Disappeared and his whereabouts is unknown
Machinda	Fostered by a church
Mndau	Re-integrated back into his paternal family in Bindura
Medzo	Fostered in Dzivaresekwa and back in school in the area
Mugo	Disappeared and his whereabouts is unknown
Patrick	Disappeared and his whereabouts is unknown
Rooney	Was still in the street and had relapsed after the person who paid for him withdrew her financial aid
Wasu	A life ban was imposed on him after friction with CESVI over distribution of funds after a documentary exercise by a group of foreigners
Xavi	Still in the street and his life was by then considered inconsistent

Table 10.2: Status of the 13 males that were involved in the individual interviews in September 2014 as of December 2016

One of my assistants, Harold, observed in a feedback discussion we had on the 08th of December 2015 (See Table 7.3), that allowing the children to choose their own uniforms, as well as merely putting on uniforms gave them self-confidence on-and-off the field of play, as exemplified by them coming second in an eleven-team tournament during 2015. Yet it is his

assertion that football has been successfully used to re-integrate some of the children, which was even more profound. Harold said of Success' influence on the field of play after his re-integrated into a foster home, whose football team he now represented:

> These children's lives become monotonous and when they engage those of their
> age group, specifically those who used to be on the street, they interact and
> realise there is life out there. Football gives them exposure that no other
> activity can give and it keeps them busy-if they don't go for football, they spend
> time drinking and selling drugs, snatching bags. Drugs make them hungry, so
> they can end up doing anything to feed themselves. It was through football that
> the likes of Chipo were fostered in Dzivaresekwa, where he is attending school,
> while two others were fostered in Mabvuku and Muzarabani. They met one of
> their former street colleague, Success, who was now at Yamurai School and after
> the match and having conversed with him, they said they had had enough of the
> street and wanted different lives (Harold).

The CESVI football project exposed children to alternatives to street life, which might explain the passion that the young people usually showed whenever there was a football trip. Further research might be needed into the impact of the game on their behaviour, as well as them retaining such behaviour, especially in relation to Harold's further view that:

> Those children within the football project are better in terms of discipline than
> those without the project (Harold).

As already highlighted, Success had been involved in the football project, and was one of the very first children to get re-integrated. He went on to play a significant role during our April 2016 conference and inspired three children, including Chipo, who was involved in the individual interviews in 2014, to be re-integrated. According to Harold, "…they had seen enough of the street and one boy was so touched that on the day of the match he pushed to get back home." In other words, and as I have already highlighted, football exposed the children to certain corners of life that they had never dreamt of in their lives, and Success' re-integration encouraged others to follow suit.

In my 20th of April 2016 interview with him, Success highlighted on the role of football toward his re-integration:

> I was involved in football prior to being a street child, but after getting into the
> street my perspective of the game changed all together. Football gave me a face

when I needed one. I would not want to say 100% it was football that led to my
re-integration and neither do I want to dispute the role it played. For instance, I
had personal will-power to do and not do certain things, some of which I have already
 mentioned, yet football worked wonders for me in that it brought us together as
street children to a platform where we could share our experiences with one another.
It also presented me with a chance to learn the negatives of street life from other
children. I told you I avoided smoking, whose effects I learnt from the field of play,
when our facilitators would take us through certain lessons before and during the
matches, which could not be taught from any other classroom then. You know what,
the football pitch was a classroom without walls for me. This might also explain why
I also continued with the game after I was re-integrated into Yamurai foster home (Success).

Success, whom I also helped through his 'A' Levels and acquisition of a visa for his further
studies in Turkey, where he enrolled for an International Relations degree programme in
2017, went on to say in early 2018:

I have no doubt that football contributed to by re-integration in that, it occupied that
part in me, which could not be occupied by will-power or passion for studying. Will-power
drove me; passion for education drove me hence I studies under street lights, but I could
not always depend on will-power nor passion for education, since I also needed to
associate and exercise. I still remember when my former colleagues, who were still at
CESVI, after I had joined Yamurai, saying at the end of a football match that I was an
inspiration to them. This gave me impetus and a better view of the impact of football.
You can imagine, we could not anywhere else, beside the field of play. Merely seeing them
might have been enough, but you can imagine how I felt when they said I was their
inspiration. I have not stopped my passion for the academics, but neither have I stopped
playing football hence even here in Turkey, I am already part of my university's team (Success).

Vis-a-vis the future of the CESVI football programme, Success asserted that:

Without doubt, the CESVI football programme should be in the re-integration mix, but
a number of things also need to be taken into consideration. For instance, you will discover
that for the majority of the children, the biggest challenge are behaviours that are
influenced by intoxicants and so forth. I would suggest that while football plays the
role of luring the children to one place, other areas, such as the sources of drugs and
other intoxicants are addressed, because so long they are still exposed to these on the
streets, such efforts might be futile. I would say the same with the need to address
the children's accommodation and document issues, as what came out in the conference
that you facilitated. Overall, I'm saying that football project, I love it, is unique

and should be promoted as much as possible in a bigger re-integration mix for the street children (Success).

One of the three children who were inspired by Success after witnessing him playing for Yamurai went on to be re-integrated in the Mashonaland Central Province in late 2014. Nash hinted in early 2018 that since his re-integration, his life had been up and down and he also highlighted on some of the challenges, which a number of other re-integrated children might be facing. The child said his biggest challenge was the lack of rehabilitation, which witnessed him being on the receiving end of his paternal family, since he would still get involved in smoking *marijuana* with a number of young people from his village in the early days of his re-integration. He also added that the fact that he was not in school meant he was idle most of the time, and could only occupy the gap by being involved in illicit activities. Nash said his uncle's and aunt's Christian faith helped him in the early days, and the child went on to say, pertaining football:

> To start with, I was re-integrated after I saw and spoke to Success, who was playing for
> Yamurai. By then, we did not have uniforms nor football boots, which meant we
> were totally the opposite of Yamurai, but what caught my attention was the presence
> of one of our former friend and colleague, Success. You know what my brother, I told
> myself that I did not want to spend another day in the street, because of what I saw.
> Football exposed me to a new world and I remember whispering to my friend, Ian
> that we had to leave the street as soon as possible. At the end of the match, I took time
> to talk to Success, who sounded as if he could do anything he wanted in his crisp uniform.
> While I told Harold and Mai Murasta that I wanted to go home at the end of the match,
> I followed up this by communicating with Mr Marama the following day that I wanted
> to go home, despite the anticipated challenges. Unfortunately, I was not rehabilitated,
> and resorted to smoking dagga in the first few weeks I got home. I was not and am
> still not in school, despite the fact that my uncle and aunt have promised that I will
> start school very soon. I found football very helpful when I was in Harare and the game
> has also occupied much of time since my re-integration. I have joined a village team,
> so I am still involved in the sport. I have quit smoking; my uncle has a brother who
> is working in Harare and he has been supplying me with some chewing gum-like stuff,
> which I use at different intervals (Nash).

When I asked the child whether or not he would like to see the CESVI football project proceed, Nash said:

A while ago, someone told me that Mandela and others were kept sane by football
when they were in prison (Robben Island). In my case, I never chose nor did I intend
to stay on the street forever. I'm no longer on the streets, yet I would like to say, football
also kept us sane and I believe that there are still a lot of children who will need it. At
the House of Smiles, I did not get involved much in anything else, beside football. I knew
my academic challenges and football became my alternative; each time I got a chance
to play, I gave it my all, which is why I was part of the team. That project much not die,
since it has and might continue to save a life (Nash).

Chipo is one of the few children who were fostered by well-wishers in Harare in early 2015.
Due to having been out of school a while, he was forced to resume school at grade 5, despite
being 15 years old in 2017. He highlighted in early 2018 that the family that he had been re-
integrated into took it upon themselves to have him go through the rehabilitation and
psychotherapy processes, soon after he joined them in 2016. He highlighted that his one-year
programme at a Harare rehabilitation centre involved physical and psychological exercises,
such as detox, meditation, therapy and nutrition. The family also assumed the responsibility
of paying for his school fees and all other necessities. When I asked him how football might
have played part towards his re-integrated, he went on to say:

I want to appreciate the efforts made by the likes of Mr Marama, Sister Winnie, Harold
Mai Murasta, for some of the programmes that they have at the House of Smiles, including
the football project. There were a lot of lessons that have made a difference in my life
today. These included those on health, safe sex, and others, and you know what, most of
these were also learnt during training. In addition, I remember, I was an introvert and
if there was one big lesson I learnt during football, it was communication. We used to
share ideas, as young people from the different bases on the field of play. The opportunities
we got to do that could not be found at the House of Smiles, since we would get there,
take a bath, wash clothes, before most of us started dozing. At times we would get into
formal lessons, but still, the environment would not present us with an opportunity to
communicate the way did during football training or football matches. It was even
worse in that it was not every child who would participate in the formal classes. Yet
when it came to football, all of us liked to be associated with House of Smiles. The
game took us to a lot of places we could only dream of. If you check, all street children
who fed and bathed at the House of Smiles would all pitch up whenever there was a
football match, which was something they would not always do. It was from the field
of play that I got inspired by Success after he had joined Yamurai. I remember,
along with Nash and another boy, telling ourselves that we had to leave street life
and the following day we made sure we were sober enough to approach Mr

> Marama with our proposal to leave the street and we did. The point is that, I am not
> sure how we could have gotten inspired that way if there was no football, and since
> we did not have many programmes that involved meeting street children from other
> organisations, such as Yamurai. Currently, I am part of the school team, as well
> as a Dzivaresekwa community team. Overall, football has been and will always
> be part of my life (Chipo).

As already highlighted, Darty was not involved in football in a playing capacity, but as a referee, and I was surprised by his knowledge of the game. In my interview with him on the 20th of April 2016, he hinted that despite not being involved in the game as a player, he was fond of the game and also knew its rules and regulations. He proceeded to say:

> I have been involved in the game from the street and there are a number of lessons that I
> have derived from it of which the biggest ones are never to give up when down, patience
> and tolerance. Being referee in a match that involves street children is like being in a lion's
> den. For instance and as you might have already witnessed, you should be ready for the
> abusive language that goes with being the middle-man, but you also need to be patient and
> be consciously tolerant. As I have narrated, I have been through thick and thin and I do
> believe that football silently taught me the endurance that took me through all the experiences
> that I have mentioned to you. From the lessons that I got from the game, I believe my
> determination to be someone in life got shaped-up and today I stand as testimony of the
> positives of football (Darty).

Coincidentally, Darty, who all along had been involved during training games, handled a competitive match between the CESVI team and Chirambadare's juniors in Mufakose later in the day on the 20th of April 2016 (Also see Table 7.3). The first half would have been a nightmare experience for the fainthearted, but I observed that he handled it with great dexterity and diligence.

From the outset, we attempted to make sure that the situation of the involved street children was always going to be more than football. For instance, the Alaska trip was mixed with the children's visit to the Chinhoyi caves, which was a life-changing experience for most of them, since all of them had never been there. It was in this context that one of the substitutes asked me during the match:

> So, *Bigaz* (brother), you have been Chinhoyi caves before? I have heard about it and
> would wish go there on daily-basis, if possible. I am sure all things are possible; that's

what you have always told us (Child).

In other words, the majority of the programmes ended up creating an interest in them to get involved.

Given the capricious nature of street children's lives, as well as their impulsive decisions, such as the one above, there was always going to be the challenge of consistently working with the same group, yet there was a chance of meeting some familiar faces now and again. Despite this, the likes of Xavi, Rooney and Ian, were the most consistent, while the later generations remained with the majority of familiar faces, such as those of Sauro, Nash, Blacky, Osama, Shera, Chimwene, King Eddy and Tindo, among others (Also see Table 9.1).

A major stride for some of the children was made in July 2016, when I facilitated the re-integration of Xavi and Sauro whose gift and passion for football have already been mentioned. These two had been highly recommended by Chirambadare (Also see Table 7.3 and chapter nine). They went for trials at the Aces Youth Soccer Academy (AYSA) in Harare, and were meant to be integrated into the youth football teams if they succeeded in the trials after I had negotiated with one of the academy's representatives. AYSA is renowned for having produced some of the current international footballers, such as Knowledge Musona (KVOostende-Belgium), Khama Billiat (Sundowns-South Africa), Silas Songani (SonderjyskE Fodbold-Denmark), George Chigova (Polokwane City-South Africa and Eric Chipeta (Chippa United-South Africa). The highly-regarded academy focuses on sport and academic development for under-18 boys and girls and was established in 2001 and is an arm of the Aces Youth Sport and Soccer Foundation Trust (AYSSF) (www.aceszimbabwe.com-Accessed on 12/01/17). AYSA's main mandate is to provide social development to the country's disadvantaged children through sport, as well as academic education, especially those affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic and extreme poverty, lest they end up in the streets and bear the brunt of drug-abuse and crime (Ibid).

Xavi and Sauro, who are both orphans, went for the trials on the 08th and 09th of July at a local Sports Club, but could not go for further trials, since CESVI would be closed during the weekends, a time the two were meant to go for further trials. While this might have ended up being a successful re-integration through football, the challenge of lack of a place of safety

for the young people meant such an opportunity had gone past them, possibly to be revived some other day.

10.4 Summary of the findings

Data analysed in this chapter was obtained through the focus-group discussion, observation, and a conference. Overall, the chapter addressed issues around reintegration, whose meaning I deliberately avoided imposing on the children, since I had discovered that the term 're-integration' meant a lot of different things to different people.

During the course of the focus group discussions, and conference in April 2016, the children pointed to the fact that re-integration into normal life would look into topical issues, such as education, health-care, fostering, transit homes, birth certificates and identity cards, among others. It may also have to be added that, overall, the street children involved in the study might not necessarily have had a clear plan about how their near or distant future could be shaped, therefore, they appeared to appreciate it when the sun rises and sets with them having to live another day, yet through this study they managed to visualise what was ideal for them.

I also discovered that each of the street children is unique in his or her own way in as much as there is no one way or formula to re-integrating them. Despite the unpredictable nature of their lives, there was proof that they were willing to embrace one form of re-integration or another, especially fostering, while others might still have ended up getting re-integrated into their families, despite not highlighting this during out discussions. Additionally, a number of the children were easily swayed by the new life of those who used to be on the streets, such as Success and Darty, who were successfully re-integrated and made presentations during the conference of April 2016.

From the conference also, a call was made for the children to have the will-power to transform their lives through behaviour and attitude change, which would, in turn, lead to the betterment of their lives.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: EVALUATION OF THE INTERVENTION

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the outcomes from the football intervention project that was set-up in September 2014 and wound up with the evaluation and reflection discussions that were carried out in the morning of the 13th of December 2016 (Also see Appendices 6 and 7). The ending of my study involved the evaluation and reflection meetings that I had with my assistants, officials from CESVI, and children who were still to be re-integrated in one way or the other. From the outset, the idea was to also have a similar meeting with some of the children who had been re-integrated into foster and paternal or maternal homes, but this intention was not achieved due to the fact that some of the guardians were reluctant to allow the engagement, while some of the children were unreachable. In addition and typical of action research, some of the original plans for the evaluation and reflection exercises, for instance, to have a football match with Chirambadare's junior team on the 15th of December could not be accomplished, due to CESVI's year-end party preparations for the children, which took place on the 16th of December 2016. Despite such challenges and those that were faced earlier and have already been highlighted, my study went a long way to creating a path that could lead to more children being re-integrated via sport in one form or the other.

11.2 Outcomes and impacts of the intervention

When it comes to evaluation of interventions, outcomes, and impacts are often used interchangeably. It is, however, useful to use outcomes to refer to the more immediate consequence of an intervention and impacts to refer to longer-term changes. A definite delimitation of research of this type is that these outcomes have to be submitted long before the full consequences of intervention can be known.

Impact of research means a lot of different things to people. Consequently, there is no universal perspective of how research impact should be like. Nutley et al. (2003: 11) distinguishes between the use of particular research conceptually, which brings about alterations in levels of understanding, attitudes and knowledge, and the use of research instrumentally, which results in changes in practice and policy formulation. As a result, the authors use these distinctions to identify and to differentiate impacts of research in terms of

how it can be accessed, how it should be viewed, and referred to. This leads to changes in comprehension and knowledge and changes in beliefs, attitudes and behaviour (Ibid). Penfield et al. (2013: 21) have referred to the Research Excellence Framework's (REF) definition of impact as "an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or service, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia." In addition, impact could be viewed alongside outputs, such as publications, knowledge-generation and value addition (Ibid). With this lack of one definition of research impact, it also means there are a number of challenges in measuring it, even in those researches where the impact would have been well defined. In other words, there are always difficulties in evaluating impact in the short-term, since most researches do not have direct impact on policy, while the participants might also have conflicting views.

Overall, Penfield et al. (Ibid, 25-26) declare that the biggest challenges faced by impact evaluation are a result of the following:

Time lag
The argument is that the beginning of a research, and when it could be said to be sufficiently benefitting society, is difficult to be time-lined, and might vary from one field to the other and from one area of concentration to the other. One that might spring to mind is the short flight of the Wright brothers and the time when planes became a common form of transport.

Developmental nature of impact
According to Penfield et al. (Ibid, 26), impacts are never static, but they develop and change upward and or downward over time, temporarily or permanently. This might entail the involvement of experiments and pilot-studies in some fields of study, which might translate to a number of impacts being taken into consideration.

Attribution
Penfield et al. (Ibid) posit that targeted research is complex, and the mere fact that it involves a number of individuals and organisations, the result can depend greatly on good or bad fortune and the ability swiftly to grab complex opportunities that crop up unannounced. This makes research not only exciting, but also very unpredictable.

Knowledge creep

New data can be absorbed and found to be useful over a period of time, and this might translate to a period, whereby findings influence policy change or policy debate (Ibid). The biggest challenge might be to view findings that are considered not to influence policy as not having had an impact.

Gathering evidence

Evidence of the link between research and impact might not be as distinct if considered in retrospect. Due to lack of evidence, baselines and measurements might not have been collected or are no longer available (Ibid, 27).

11.3 Evaluation of my study

I have to testify that it was always going to be a mammoth task to evaluate the outcomes of the football intervention that I helped to put in place between September 2014 and December 2016, especially given the volatile nature of the life of the street children that I worked with. It was also with this in mind, that I found that having the assistance of people who worked with the children on daily-basis was enriching. While less time could have been taken between my visits to the research area, so as to keep a consistent group of the children in the research, this often proved impossible due to a number of challenges, including the failure to engage Dynamos Football Club, and the closure of the House of Smiles for renovations in 2015. In my small way and out of the narratives that came out on the 13th of December 2016, I am of the firm belief that the interventions that we put in place made a difference in the lives of a number of the street children who were involved. In addition, there was apparent optimism for the project from the children, my assistants and CESVI workers, most of whom might have sounded pessimistic in the earlier engagements.

It has to be mentioned that the main objective of this study was to promote the re-integration of street children into their paternal and maternal homes, until I discovered that a number of children were reluctant to take that step, while others were born on the streets and had no knowledge of their parents or relatives. At the same time, football was meant to prepare them prior to their re-integration. In addition, I also discovered that re-integration cannot be formalised, especially the one that involves children getting back into their formal homes. In

other terms, such kinds of re-integration proved to be too spontaneous and unpredictable to be formalised.

My evaluation process could be divided into having myself and the CESVI Chief Executive Officer, myself and my assistants, myself, seven un-re-integrated children, and myself, the children and a few other workers from the organisation. 5 (71 per cent) of the 7 children had been involved in the football project for a while. While more children could have been involved, I later discovered that, usually, they would be having other engagements in other places during the festive season. The evaluation was in the form of narratives, which are presented according to themes and not necessarily according to the particular meetings. According to Penfield et al. (Ibid, 29), narratives can be very useful to describe impact, despite facing some challenges, and the authors assert that:

> …the use of narratives enables a story to be told and the impact to be placed in context and can make good use of qualitative information. They are often written with a reader from a particular stakeholder group in mind and will present a view of impact from a particular perspective. The risk of relying on narratives to assess impact is that they often lack the evidence required to judge whether the research and impact are linked appropriately [or not].

Despite the faced challenges, the narratives from those who had been involved in the football project are presumed to be genuine and relevant, and the involvement of the aforementioned groups was intended to get true reflections of the study.

As a researcher, I had a couple of lessons that I learnt as I, together with a number of other players, made an effort towards the re-integration of street children via football. Most of these lessons were learnt from my association with the main stakeholders, the street children themselves. To start with, society appears to have lost hope on the majority of the street children, which in turn also close opportunity doors for a number of capable children. During my research I discovered that with adequate and properly channelled love, some of the children can be helped towards re-integration of one form or the other. There were no children who proved that there is hope amongst some of the children more than Darty and Success, whom I also involved in my April 2016 conference (see Chapter ten). While there was no sign of their re-integration into paternal or maternal homes, they managed to excel in their academic pursuit, which was an alternative re-integration for them.

I also learnt that not all children are involved in certain behaviours that are associated with street life. At the commencement of my study I had the conviction that all street children were involved in all the negative behaviours, such as promiscuity, drinking, fornication and smoking. Darty's and Success' new leases of life showed that, with a strong will power, certain negative behaviours can be eradicated. Both were living clean lives as of 2016, in addition to their influence on a number of children who were still on the streets of Harare. Their well-articulated presentations, emphasis on developing the will power and impact during the April 2016 conference, were a testimony of how negative thoughts or attitudes could be changed for the betterment of the children's lives.

One other lesson also was that there were effective communication channels between the children themselves, as well as between the children and the NGO that I worked with. Though it might be argued that it was because of their passion for football, so often I found out that each time I visited Harare for my research, the children would be punctual, would all come for what we would have agreed upon, and they would also carry the responsibilities of organising for transport. In addition, I also discovered that this was also based on the trust that one would have developed with the children. Such trust was more than the conventional meetings that I convened with the children, as the biggest stakeholders, and the other players. For instance, I would meet a number of them in the streets of Harare and they would recognise me. I also remember at point one of the children promising me security each time I passed through the Harare Gardens, to which my response was for them to provide security for all the citizens of Harare, instead of just myself.

One other lesson that I got during my study was that street children have a space, which they tenaciously defend each time they feel threatened. This might explain why their attitudes and behaviours are very unpredictable. On numerous occasions, I witnessed a number of children suddenly turn from being jovial to being aggressive. It was in such moments that whoever was responding to them needed to be careful in his or her response, so as to let them deflate their emotions.

11.3.1 My research vis-à-vis the main objective

The main objective of my study was an attempt to find out the possibilities of using community football towards the re-integration of homeless street children in Harare. The four convened meetings that I had with the different personnel showed that most of those who had been involved still remembered the main objective of my study. Marama attempted to summarise it when he said:

> This project was not a one man effort, but a concerted effort of collective ideas. For instance, we would bring ideas, and you would also try and implement them, like what you did on the uniform issue. I vividly remember the re-integration efforts through the football project and how it influenced some of the children to go back home after they had seen one of our children who was involved in the game, who had been re-integrated into a foster home (Success). In all essence, football led to their meekness and humbleness to cherish life on the other side of life. Re-integration is a process, and I believe might have impacted on a number of other children, whose stories I might not be able to tell in the meanwhile; this is a very good start. So, in the long run, I believe, instead of saying 'the project was a success,' let us say, 'it is proving to be a success,' because the process is still in motion (Marama).

Measurability, in terms of the study's impact on the children's behaviour and attitude will be difficult. One of my assistants, Margret, lauded the difference and great potential that she noted, especially before, during and soon after the matches:

> We would always notify the children, despite the challenges, that there was to be no smoking, drinking and gallivanting just before, at half time and at the end of the football matches, and to this end, the children have observed and respected our stance. If they can do it during the matches, I believe they can still do it during other times, yet the biggest challenge that remains is that they have to still retire for the night in the same old streets (Margret).

Margret's assertion might hold water, because during my last reflection meeting that involved myself, the children and two CESVI workers, one the children argued that:

> (*Madrugs anondipa simba, kunyanya paya pandinenge ndiri paMshikashika*)
> Drugs give me energy and endurance, especially during the time I am

> helping kombis (taxis) get passengers at Mshikashika (illicit taxi ranks)
> (Child).

What was interesting about the last meeting was the fact that the children opened up more, while the two workers attempted to lead the children's will-power towards positive behaviour despite their challenges. It was in the same discussion that the child who had asserted that drugs gave him energy and endurance had a quick change of attitude and said, "…now I am thinking of going to hospital (for rehabilitation)."

It was also in the last session that some of the children raised concern about how they were ignored and shunned by society and by CESVI workers when out of the House of Smiles premises. It was against the assertion that one of the workers told a chilling ordeal that she had with one of the children who was part of the football project in the streets of Harare:

> We always come to your bases, isn't it? If we were ignoring you, we wouldn't be doing
> that. In-fact, some of you take advantage is such gestures. For instance, I and Harold lost
> a hat and a bottle to one of you, after he snatched these from us in the city centre, and it was
> such a scene. In such cases, society ends up thinking that we work in cahoots with you, yet
> we will be trying our best (Charlene).

The last session mainly focused on the children's behaviour and attitudes. This was at a time when some of the children were trying to justify their action, including taking toxins, while the workers were attempting to persuade them to own-up to their actions. Apparently, there were signs that certain conditions were exacerbating their situation. On top of the list was their stay on the streets and it was against this backdrop that one of the children admitted that, "chinoita ndidhakwe istress" (I get drunk because of stress.)

Success, whom I also helped through his 'A' Levels and acquisition of a visa for his further studies in Turkey, where he enrolled for an International Relations degree programme in 2017, later went on to say,

Possibilities of re-integration

Re-integration was the main objective of this study, and its fulfilment is tied up with changes in behaviour and attitudes of the children. Yet, given the spontaneous nature of their

responses, it does not necessarily mean that those who were re-integrated had changed their behaviour, nor attitude. The children projected different feelings, if my previous findings in April 2016 were anything to go by. For instance, all the seven children that I met in my third session on the 13th of December 2016 said they wanted to go back home at some point, but on condition that whatever had pushed them onto the streets had been addressed. This was a divergent view from what they had said in April 2016, when they had perceived their 're-integration' differently (Also see Chapter ten). In addition, they also similarly raised concerns over lack of identity cards and birth certificates, which they had mentioned as part of what they considered 're-integration' in April 2016. From what I noted, the situation differs from one child to the other, because one of the children hinted that his birth certificate was at home, where he was not going to set his foot any time soon.

One of the challenges faced in re-integrating the children came out during my third session, when I met with my assistants, especially with regards to how re-integration might have been conducted, which is also, both, a niche and a challenge that I also raised in Chapter ten. My assistants raised a big concern:

> At times we take too long to push for the re-integration of the children, until it's too late,
> and until those that would have been re-integrated abscond due to lack of rehabilitation.
> On most occasions, other organisations help with counselling, but without rehabilitation,
> it will always be difficult for a child to be put back in society, and in cases where they are
> put back, they capitulate and will find their way back into the street. This merely creates
> a vicious circle in the lives of the children that we deal with. By the way, even the community
> itself might need to be trained on how to handle children from the street through workshops
> and conferences. Currently and arguably, much of the re-integration that is being made is
> remote controlled by the relevant ministries hence there is no communication with the parents,
> guardians and communities. The situation is equally not helped by the lack of space in the
> home. Recently, we sent a number of kids to a home, but it was a struggle for them to be
> accommodated (Margret and Harold).

Most of the findings in the evaluation show a number of gaps that might not have been of help to the children, but which created a clear opportunity, especially if the role of sport is to be taken seriously and I have already highlighted its rehabilitative and re-integration potential. The biggest challenge might emanate from how and when rehabilitation of the street children might be done. For instance, if they go through rehabilitation and get back into the street, the exercise will be futile, and if the exercise is not carried out, they are merely

pushed into the deep end of negative life. Their re-integration can also be so spontaneous, so that there is no time for rehabilitation, which might only mean these children will be back on the streets from paternal and maternal homes due to addictions.

One of my assistants gave a comprehensive narrative of the ideal situation for those involved in the rehabilitation of the children:

> We can't have a kid back into community when he or she are still abusing drugs etc; at least we have to keep them at the rehabilitation centre for three to six months, while we're flushing out his or her system; during that time, they could still be going for football training, which I think can still be part of the rehabilitation process. Currently, there is counselling, which despite being necessary, is not enough. Drugs are major challenge…rehabilitation is the only way out before the children are reintegrated (Margret).

It is with these concerns that there are a lot of efficacies in utilising a holistic ex-combatant social re-integration approach. Positively, the approach is all inclusive and augers well with my recommended Figure 12.1 below, as part of the way forward towards the re-integration of street children. As shown in Figure 11.1 pyramid below, social re-integration calls for a concerted effort of a number of players, such as the policy-makers that include the government, civil society, NGOs and Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs), as well as the communities in which the family is embedded,

As observed by Bowd et al. (2013: 464), social re-integration is usually difficult without an all-inclusive approach that comprises of the macro-, meso- and micro elements being factored as highlighted in Figure 11.1 below. If one read between the lines of the approach, which they suggested for of ex-combatants re-integration, the authors seem to suggest that a number of actors should put their effort together for effective re-integration to take place, so as to have an interdependence stance being put in place. I found a lot of positives in the proposal, which might also make a lot of sense towards the re-integration of street children in that the process should not only be a family effort, but a community one. The same community should work in tandem with other relevant players from the private and public sector. As I highlighted in Chapter four, when I looked into the re-integration of former child soldiers, there were a number of countries, such as Mozambique, that benefited from using the Western and traditional clinical methods in the rehabilitation of the children. My observation is that there could be related ways that could also be used towards the re-integration of street

children, and these methods do not only need further research, but would also reduce the burden from the relevant ministries, NGOs and NPOs involved in their re-integration, and might also prove cheaper.
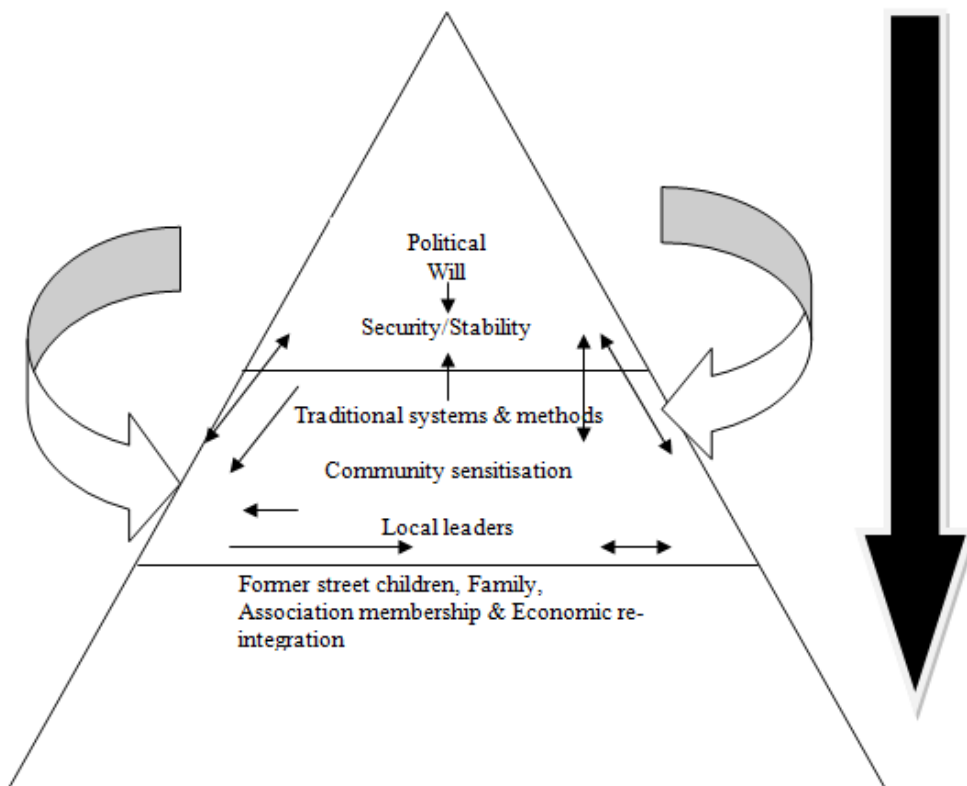

Figure 11.1 Useful ex-combatant social re-integration pyramid (adopted from Bowd et al., 2013: 465)

Evaluation of the role football

The majority of the personnel that were involved in the evaluation and reflection sessions felt there were efficacies in the role of football in their lives or in the lives of the children. Some of the issues that were topical such as how it helped others get re-integrated in one form or the other and are a repetition of what I covered in the previous chapters, but it might be beneficial to look into some major highlights, especially those that were most popular.

Marama gave an overarching perspective of the role that our football project had played when he said in the first session discussion:

> It is a pity that some of the children remain in the streets up to this day,
> yet this has been a very powerful intervention. It took them to places they
> never dreamt about, such as Chinhoyi, Dzivaresekwa, Mufakose, among
> others. The game brought them together, not only as players, but even the

supporters were present for the others. They love the game, along with music, and they are a group that I think would have said 'no' if they did not see any positives (Marama).

During my third session discussion with the children there was one who pointed to one of the challenges of the game when he asserted that:

Football presents those with grudges with a chance to revenge on one another, especially when the players are from different bases (Child).

Otherwise, most of the children had positive perspectives of the role that it played, despite the fact that they were still on the streets when I asked about how football had impacted on their behaviour and attitudes. One of them went on to say:

Most of the times, out blood streams will be full of *mbanje* (marijuana). If you play football, you release body fluids and drugs are not spared. In addition, it taught me discipline. It also taught me effective communication against a background of our shouting, cursing and insulting of each other (Child).

One of the children also added how community football had an impact on his behaviour when he asserted:

I remember, there was a time I was impulsive, but in one game someone from the opposition stamped into me. The old me would have reacted negatively, but I discovered, for the first time, that I could control my temper. In addition, I really liked the fostering of relationships with our coaches, Harold, *Mai Murasta* (Margret) and yourself (Child).

One of the children tried to juxtapose the on and off-field personalities that they had to impact, especially during their games against other children and teams:

This project of football taught me that when you meet other people, you have to leave *unhu hwemustreet* (the street personality) (Child).

One child attempted to connect the lessons he learnt via football to the AIDS/HIV pandemic:

When we were in Goromonzi, my mind and attitude towards promiscuity was changed when *Mai Murasta* (Margret) taught us that we had to take life seriously; you have to shield it from so many dangers, including AIDS (Child).

The participants of this project also shared what they had liked most in the project, and Marama shared how it had opened their (CESVI) mind, as well as opportunities for future projects. This is also similar to what my assistants went on to allude to later in the day:

> As an organisation, sport was taken for granted and now eyes have been opened. For instance, after its establishment, it inspired the country director to fork-out money from his pocket to purchase the children socks, football boots and other football paraphernalia. In addition, it also inspired us to allow for the establishment of a netball team, which mainly caters for the girls from Mukuvisi (Marama).

I first came across the netball project in December 2015, and briefly shared notes with the director, but there had not been much in terms of how our projects could collaborate in the short and long-term at the end of 2016.

The children shared what they had found to be relevant and what they had found to be beneficial, when they responded about their new experiences, such as visiting new places. One might have summed it up when he said:

> We felt involved when we came up with the name and made decision on the uniforms. This in turn gave us confidence. You can imagine for once we had uniforms and wearing football boots. We definitely felt enriched. Uniform gave us identity, especially on the field. Previously, we used to confuse ourselves, since we had no numbers and it even worse if the opposing team didn't have uniforms. We used to just run all over the pitch (Child).

As I have already mentioned, getting access to the re-integrated children proved difficult, and the challenge was exacerbated by the fact that most of the former children did not have access to forms of communication, such as mobile phones. In addition and as also highlighted to me in December 2016, some of the guardians were not willing to give me access to the children under their roofs. With the help of CESVI, I managed to get contacts of some of the guardians who looked after the children. Of the guardians who I approached in early February 2017, so as to get the perceptions from some of the re-integrated children, three were reluctant that I should talk to the children.

Despite the challenges, I managed to have fruitful follow-up discussions with five former street children of under-18 in February 2017, who had been involved in the football project at different intervals (Also see Appendix 7). Four of the children were children who can be

deemed to have been children permanently on the street, while one would occasionally go home. Of the five children, three and one were re-integrated in Harare and Mutare, respectively, while one was re-integrated into the household of his grandmother in the rural area. Two of those re-integrated in Harare were fostered into well-wishers' homes, while one went back into his paternal home. Most of the discussions revolved around my study's main objective, their perceptions of the role of football towards their re-integration, as well as their current status. All the children still recalled the main objective of our project and the majority of them opined that the project had helped them physically and emotionally. One of the children highlighted that football had helped him physically and to see things clearly when he said:

> My re-integration had to do with a number of issues, including having resolved my differences
> with my parents through the efforts of CESVI. I participated in the football project and I firmly
> believe it helped me in that, street life is a prison life in itself. In other words, we were in our
> own jail, when we were in the street, and all of us had some kind of different sentences. We used
> to drink and smoke and for me, football used to clean drugs from my system each time I participated
> in it. I stayed in the street for two years, and for those years, I could always think clearly after the
> game, otherwise most of the times *ropa rangu waingova msombodhiya kupera*! (my blood stream
> was always intoxicated) (Child).

One of the children asserted that it was through football that he got exposed to alternatives in life and he confided that:

> When I got into the street I was very young and was there for three years. I am mentioning
> this, because I had not seen much in life then, and when I was there, my basic life was based
> on survival of the fittest and I lived on hand-to-mouth; I could not save anything, and I literally
> would lose the bit I thought I had. Basically, my life just revolved around OK, Kwame and for
> three years that was it. When I joined the football team, I thought it was just to occupy myself,
> until I got exposed to alternatives to life through it. I went to new places and played against
> fellow young people, whom I easily noted, had a better life. What I recall is that each time we
> went for the match, I tried by all means to be more sober the previous night to the game, so
> everything I observed about alternatives to life was not blurred at all. In any case, *Mai Murasta*
> and Harold would not allow us to drink or smoke during training and during matches, which
> has also helped me after my life on the street. As a result of football, I was exposed me to
> seminars, where we discussed about HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, relationships
> and was also exposed to new places, such as Bindura and stadia during tournaments (Child).

One of the children gave a slightly different version of how football almost made him want to stay on the street for more time than was necessary, which is one of the challenges that I covered in the previous chapters. In other words, exposure to new life through football apparently appeared better to what he would get at home. He alluded:

> For me, the biggest challenge was that, I was in the street mainly for poverty and economic reasons. Workshops facilitated by CESVI, as well football took me to places I had been to only in my dreams. When time came for me to seriously think about my life, due to my age, which was now close to 18 years, I feared alternatives to what I tasted in Harare. I thank God, because CESVI counselled with me through such fears, because I don't think I would have opted to get back into my paternal home (Child).

Some of the children also spoke about some of the challenges that they faced in their new lives, with some pointing to how football has continued to help them. I have already mentioned the fact that the majority of the children are spontaneously re-integrated with the majority of them without having gone through any clinical rehabilitation processes. A number of the children explained what they had been doing to cope with their new environment. The child who was re-integrated into the rural area pointed to how football and the grandmother helped him:

> *Mdhara* (Elder), the early days were very difficult, because it was not easy to all of a sudden find out that you can't drink or smoke anymore. Adjusting was more difficult than I expected. I knew I had to be home at some moment in my life, and that time arrived in 2015. *Bhabharasi* (hangover) was bigger than you can imagine, and to make matters worse, I knew where I could get something to drink and smoke in my village and at school, since I am now helped me to cope with the early challenges of adjusting. In addition, my grandmother gave me some roots to chew, and this helped me a lot. I have been re-integrated for more than a year now, and I can say football and my grandmother have proved my pillars (Child).

Similarly, one other child hinted at the challenges of adjusting to new life after being fostered by well-wishers in Harare, and these examples show how difficult it is for the children, especially in the early days of their re-integration. The child went to say:

> I was fostered by well-wishers in early 2016 and the early days were very difficult for me and the foster family. I should say football helped me a lot, since I joined a community team, and the school team soon after my re-integration. This was because I knew how football used to clear my system when I was playing for the CESVI team; this helped in the very early days, when I need to adjust to a new life. I have to testify that I still used to get drugs in my suburb

to keep going in the early days. Thankfully, the family that fostered me finally took me for clinical flashing and I can say so far I have managed to cope with my new life (Child).

Despite failure to get access to all the re-integrated children, it might be concluded from my findings vis-à-vis the perceptions of the re-integrated children, that a number of them found the football project helpful, and, as a result, some of them are still engaged in the game. The re-integrated children faced a lot of difficulties to adjust to their newly-found lives, especially in the early periods, with most of these challenges emanating from the lack of rehabilitation prior to their re-integration. With this backdrop, football can prove a vital alternative.

11.4 Vision for the future

I also had a chance to discuss the overall prospects with the participants with whom I engaged in December 2016 when I sought to find out whether or not they would like the project to proceed, as well as to see if more similar action researches could be possible. Their responses were positive, and they hinted at a number of thoughts and suggestions.

One of my assistants said during the evaluation discussion, "…given time, this project would become one great way of rehabilitating and re-integrating these boys (Margret)." My other assistant added during the same session:

> We should focus more on resource mobilisation, so that we have more games, foster homes, and access to rehabilitation facilities, so as to counter some of the challenges that we have already highlighted (Harold).

One of the CESVI workers highlighted during fourth and last session that also included the children:

> I was not there when the project started, but I would like to say, I have noted the fruits of it and I think it be nice to also come up with a girls football team, so that they also feel accepted (Charlene).

The discussion around giving an opportunity to the girl-child was discussed at length with one of my assistants, who had just joined the discussion, highlighting challenges faced in trying to involve them, including challenges of trying to convince the 'husbands' that they stay with, in areas, such as Mukuvisi. She also added that the majority of these, especially

those from Mukuvisi were not necessarily girls, but adults, who were pre-occupied with other 'businesses' that gave them money and resources.

In the session that I had with the children, they raised their concern over the lack of birth certificates and national identity cards, which they said was continually putting them at loggerheads with the national police. One of the children went on to add that:

> We would like to have more training, even daily. It's just that currently some of the children
> have had a problem with CESVI, which has meant we cannot have as many sessions and games
> as we would have wanted. Otherwise, we would like to continue to participate in this and other
> projects that might be introduced (Child).

11.5 Summary

Chapter eleven comprises of the evaluations and reflections of the impact of this study. Despite the challenges faced by evaluating and reflecting on action research, those with whom I engaged in the sessions on the 13th of December 2016 highlighted the benefits obtained from the research, as well as the potential positive outcomes towards the rehabilitation and re-integration of street children. My findings show that some of the children, who had not hinted at wanting to get back into their families in April 2016, had a different opinion in December of the same year, though they wanted certain issues addressed before that could happen. Through the engaging nature of the evaluation process, I noted a great potential to re-integrate some of the children through the use of football, though some had fluctuating opinions over a number of issues. It was also heartening to discover that my research has already influenced the setting-up of other sporting projects under the auspices of CESVI, such as netball.

Despite the challenges that I faced in reaching a number of re-integrated children, with some of the guardians reluctant to allow such access, I managed to engage five of the children who had been involved in the football project at the different intervals in February 2017, and they also highlighted how football benefitted them during their time on the street and how it might have exposed them to life out of the street, thereby leading to their ultimate re-integration into foster and paternal homes.

Part V CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part of the research is comprised of Chapter twelve, which focuses on a summarised conclusion of the study. It goes further in providing recommendations that are meant to facilitate further research, as well as suggest how sport, in particular, football could be harnessed for the benefit of the homeless street children before their re-integration into different areas of life.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

12.1 Introduction

This action research study was the result of the data that was collected between September 2014 and December 2016, in which more than thirty children were involved at different intervals. In addition to the homeless street children, it involved two assistants, a former professional football player, while the later stages of the research also involved invited guests and former homeless street children. The data collection methods used attempted to cover all gaps, included observation, individual interviews, focus groups, a conference and questionnaires, which were filled in by my assistants. Given the unpredictability of action research, I faced a number of challenges, such as failing to engage Dynamos football club for organised matches, losing key participants due to their problems with CESVI, which also, in turn, meant I lost space to conduct interviews and other meetings, which I then had to conduct on the football fields or alternative places, failing to have a consistent group of children to work with, failing to have a well-structured re-integration process for the children, and closure of the House of Smiles for renovations. From the evaluation and reflection discussions that I had with the CESVI personnel, my assistants and the involved children, I am of the firm belief that my study went a long way in fulfilling my main objective and in playing an intervening role in the lives of the street children, despite my attempting doing this in a vast and difficult field.

12.2 Outcomes of the action research project

The study sought to examine the possibilities of using the game of football as an intervention before the re-integration of street children into society and foster homes. The possibilities towards accomplishing what this study sought out to do was given impetus by some of the experiences derived from research, which showed that football, especially at community level, could be used as a vehicle for social change. In the process of this action research also, I discovered that it can only work alongside other endeavours, such as education, skills training and so forth.

A number of data collection methods, such as observations, individual interviews, focus groups, a conference and questionnaires were utilised, and these brought out a number of themes that proved relevant, especially in the data analysis.

Out of the findings of this study, it was discovered that community football in its simple form can be utilised and used as a vehicle for behaviour and attitude changes among the homeless. The game was discovered to be therapeutic and opened different channels of opportunities to a special group, whose concentration span would limit other endeavours, due to drug and substance abuse.

As a result of this study, it was proved that re-integration of one form or the other is very possible in the life of a street child, especially if there are concerted efforts from the private and public sectors.

As found from this study, there is efficacy for researchers to find out the appropriate re-integration suitable for each child. In this study, especially through the focus group, the children highlighted that re-integration into normal life would depend on an address in the areas that include fostering and transit centres, education, birth certificates and national identity cards.

In addition, it has been asserted in the research that the life of a street child is capricious and spontaneous. Through exposure and opportunities brought about by football, some children who were involved in project 'Destiny,' opted to be re-integrated or re-unified with their paternal and maternal homes during and by the end of the study. However, there was also evidence that most of the homeless street children had no clear plan of ever leaving the street, and no-one could coerce them into putting such a plan into operation. There was also evidence based on experience, each one of them had the potential to change his mind at any given opportunity.

It was also discovered in this study that re-integration is not an event, but a process in the life of a homeless street child. Therefore, it might be fallacious to paint their lives with a single brush. Consequently, there is need to avoid over-generalisation of the findings of this study. That means, there may even be a need for further research, especially on the prevailing behaviours and attitudes of the children who used to frequent the CESVI-run, House of

Smiles, and who have now been re-integrated either back into their families or placed in foster homes.

I have a firm belief that further studies will bring out similar results to mine.

12.3 Recommendations

The Venn diagram in Figure 12.1 below summarises a number of recommendations to CESVI and other players that are involved in the attempt to re-integrate the homeless street children. At the centre of every child's well-being is re-integration, which, as defined by the children themselves, would entail a number of things. The exercise might mean them getting back into paternal and maternal homes, foster and transit homes, football academies, as well as acquisition of relevant documents, such as birth certificates and so forth. As shown by the Venn diagram, there are a number of feeding points for there to be successful re-integration.

To begin with, I discovered during the time that I have worked with the children that they had respect for invitees and role models, such as Stanley Chirambadare and Professor Bourdillon, as well as those who have made it out of the street, such as Darty Kashy and Success. I recommend that deliberate programmes that involve inviting their role models and those that have made it in life be promoted more.

There was evidence that society has tendency to shun the homeless street children, despite sporadic workshops that have been conducted to bridge the gap. This was after I discovered that there appeared to be lack of a symbiotic relationship between the different policymakers and policy implementers. My recommendation, as shown in Figure 12.1, is that more such workshops be conducted with the deliberate participation of attendees from relevant areas, such as the police, the city fathers and government, among others.

It is in similar light that there appeared to be a chasm between the Department of Social Services and CESVI in particular, on how re-integration of the children could be facilitated, which meant there were a lot of lost opportunities towards their re-integration, especially into paternal and maternal homes. I recommend that the NGOs be given more leverage and

autonomy to facilitate for child re-integration at the appropriate time or that the government departments and the NGOs come with a more user-friendly integrated approach.

A healthy relationship between such authorities might lead to the building of collective trust and accountability with the children, which in turn, have the possibility to boost the will power of the children, as well as leading to their change of behaviour and attitude. This is in response to the fact that children's change of behaviour and attitude do not occur in a vacuum, but is a process that portray cooperation between those responsible for their welfare.

One of my recommendations according to Figure 12.1 is that all football sessions, especially during training, be punctuated with short lessons that are related to the children's past and present experiences and future expectations. These could be related to what CESVI offers as an organisation, reproductive health, safe sex, education and so forth. This was also after I realised that some of the children were more interested in football, more than they were interested in the more conventional programmes that are run at the House of Smiles, including education. Such a culture would mean the children are not necessarily taken away from the game they have affection for, yet such huge opportunities that can be utilized towards behaviour and attitude change.

In similar light and as reflected in Figure 12.1, more practically and professionally administered programmes related to education could be introduced during the time that the children are at the centre. Such programmes might have to work in harmony with the football programme. Such deliberate moves, if administered by role models of the children, might prove effective towards re-integration.
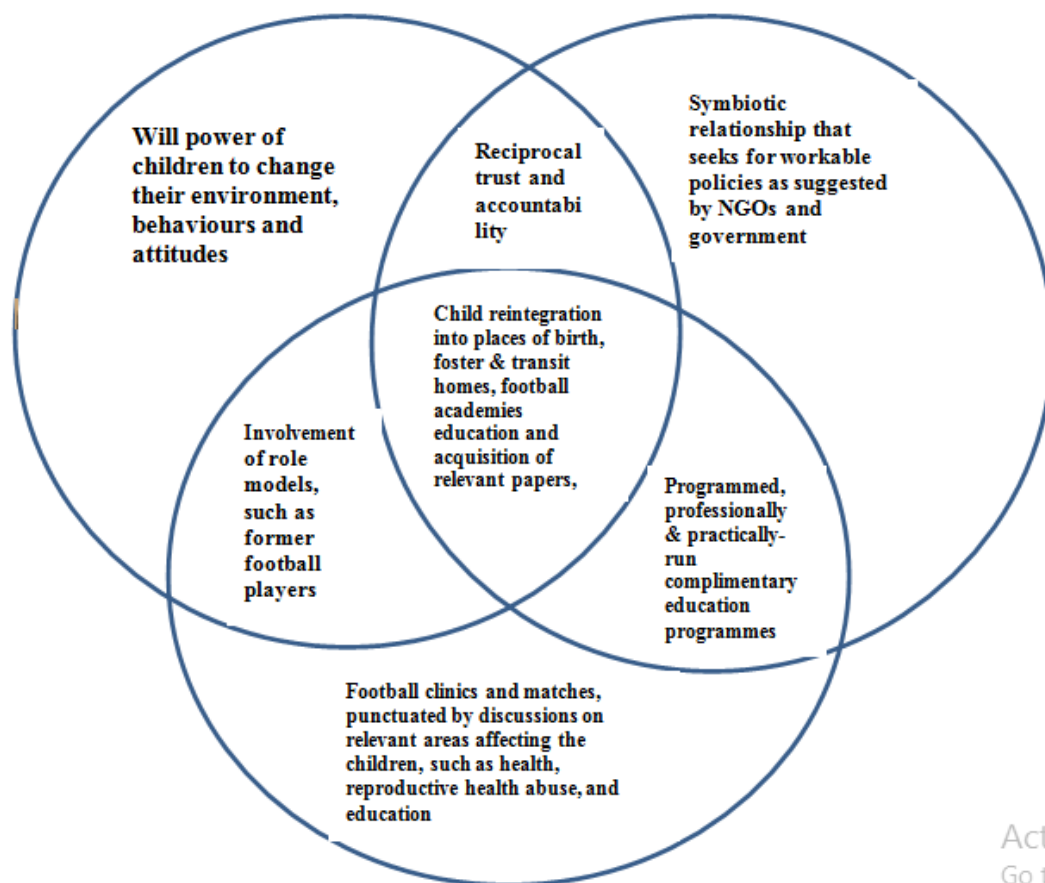
Figure 12.1: A recommended integrated approach towards the re-integration of the CESVI street children

There are a few other recommendations without Figure 12.1, which are as critical as those I have highlighted in the Venn diagram. To start with, I found out that the biggest drawback was the fact that the street children who were part of my study, and with whom CESVI was dealing with, would sleep on the street after spending the day at the House of Smiles and that this would expose them to the lures of drugs and other ills. Consequently, one of the most critical recommendations is for the organisation to examine the possibilities of setting up foster and transit homes. This will also curb cultural shock, which was experienced by some of the children when they were placed in the homes under other organisations. In addition, the children also highlighted that re-integration into normal life included living space, among others, which, in turn, can be taken care of by this recommendation.

At one point I came across a child who had a sexually transmitted disease and he claimed he had received traditional medication from the railroad area. I would recommend that a cheap health-care facility be sourced, and that there should be an assessment of developing a

memorandum of understanding with such a facility, possibly a government-owned one, which might be cheaper. Similar arrangements could also help the rehabilitation of the children.

During my different visits and participation in the different activities with the homeless street children, I discovered that their concentration span is limited to a maximum of about 30 minutes. I would recommend attempts at using videos and staggering formal education lessons to approximately 30 minutes per session.

During the focus group and conference sessions, the children asserted their need for documents, such as national identity cards and birth certificates. I would recommend that CESVI deliberately engage with the relevant ministries in an attempt to put in place mechanisms to acquire the aforementioned at the appropriate time.

Drug and substance abuse are a big challenge in the life of the homeless, yet there was evidence that in most cases, rehabilitation was not taking place amongst the re-integrated children. Consequently, I would recommend periodic detox and rehabilitation processes for the children, especially just before any form of re-integration. Along with this endeavour, the homeless street children have an insatiable love for football; a game, that has opened up their horizons and has proven to be therapeutic. The football team was meeting once per week for training sessions and had only one competitive match after a while. This meant that the homeless street children still spent some time idle, especially in the afternoons. During this study we successfully experimented by increasing their participation in more training sessions and competitive matches. In similar fashion, the children called for more game time during the Alaska trip, at the end of the last match that I organised against Stanley Chirambadare's junior team, and in the evaluation and reflection discussions. Consequently, I recommend that CESVI looks into the possibilities of increasing the training sessions to, say, thrice per week and have competitive matches against children from other organisations once per, say, every two or three weeks.

From the findings of my study, the purchase of uniforms, football boots and other football paraphernalia, boosted the moral and confidence of the children. The recommendation could be to facilitate for more football equipment, such as more balls, sets of uniforms and football boots. In similar vein, since the football team had to travel to Mbare for training, I would

recommend for the organisation to facilitate for stadia that are closer to the House of Smiles, so as to cut the cost of travel.

Playing football and being able to play it will always be different. I observed, and Stanley Chirambadare also alluded to the fact that some of the players, such as Xavi and Sauro were better than so many players who are playing in the Premier Soccer League (PSL), and I also subsequently organised for the aforementioned to go for trials at the Aces Football Academy. I recommend that CESVI deliberately invite personnel from relevant soccer academies and football clubs to attend the children's matches and games, as to give a chance to those who are gifted. In similar vein, such children could be deliberately taken to relevant football academies for trials.

During the focus group and conference sessions, there was proof that a number of children were ignorant of some of the provisions that CESVI could help them with in the areas of education opportunities, document acquisition and so forth. I would recommend that there be more effective ways of communicating such information to their benefit.

Still in the area of communicating, the presentations by former homeless street children seemed to provide a sense of belief for those still on the street. I am recommending that such presentations be done more often.

Overall and as a result of the findings of my study, there is need for an integrated approach that builds bridges for there to be a more effective re-integration of the homeless street children.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF HOMELESSNESS AMONG CHILDREN IN HARARE

KEY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE (Homeless street children) (Useful at the commencement stages of the Actions Research and also useful during focus group)

Introduction

My name is Rodgers Dumizulu Manungo. Currently, I work for Solusi University in Zimbabwe. I am also a student at Durban University of Technology (DUT), South Africa, where I am enrolled in the Doctorate (PhD) programme in the Faculty of Management Sciences Public Administration-Peacebuilding. I am carrying out a research on homelessness among children in Harare and how your situation can be helped through the use of football. I am looking at the nature, extent and causes of homelessness and how community football can be used as an entry point towards alongside other relevant programmes towards your re-integration into normal life. Overall, I seek to acquire information that would help in building sustainable peace in your life as children. I also hope that this study will help our parents and guardians, the government and organisations that deal with children within and without Zimbabwe. I am requesting that you answer a few questions that I have, with the hope that this is going to be a fruitful and interesting experience to both of us.

Explain to them that they are willingly accepting to be part of the exercise and can withdraw any time. In addition, inform the participant that he or she can use his or her real or a pseudo name during the interview and during the action research. Make sure the key participant gets into the interview by signing an acceptance form.

Thank you for accepting to have an interview with me. Before we go ahead, do you have any questions?

Answer the participant's questions

Topic 1
General information of key participant
Name
Age
Area of origin or birth
Level of education
Length of period on the street

Topic 2
General information on the reasons for being on the street
Establish whether they are children of, or children on the street
•   Can you describe the circumstances that led you to the streets of Harare? (Probe)

- Looking at the circumstances today, do you think you could have tried to resolve your differences with your guardians in a better way? (In cases where the reasons were relational)
- Generally, how long have you been on the streets?
- Have you been to any other city/town where you found yourself on the street?

Topic 3
General information on the life of a child on the street
Can you share how you usually spend the better part of your mornings, afternoons, and nights?
- Do you do any budgeting?
- What have been the results of your budgeting so far?
- Who looks after the resources that you would have gathered?
- What is the general relationship like between boys and girls?
- Are there any advantages held by boys over girls? (Probe)
- How are the relationships of people of different age groups?
- Do you recall any case which reflects such a position?
- Who were the parties involved?
- What was the outcome?
- What are some of the challenges that you have faced?
- Can you cite one incident that springs to mind?
- Before you retire for the night, do you often participate in any activities?

Establish those who usually lead the day's and night's activities (forms of leadership)
- Where do you usually put up for the night?

Conclusion
I want to thank you for your time and information that you have given. This is in the hope that the information will go a long way to help all those involved in the re-integration of street children through sport in Zimbabwe.

Notify the participant that there is a chance of your contact in the event that some games/matches are organised.

In the same breath, notify him or her that there is a chance of your contact in the event that there are same gaps that need to be filled in.

APPENDIX 2

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE FOR THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY FOOTBALL, OTHER CESVI PROGRAMMES/ACTIVITIES AND WHAT RE-INTEGRATION WOULD MEAN TO THE CHILDREN

KEY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE (Homeless street children towards the end of the Action Research)

Introduction

Explain to the homeless street children that they are willingly accepting to be part of the exercise and can withdraw any time. Inform the respondents that for the purposed of the study, pseudo names and/or nicknames are going to be used. Make sure the key participants sign an acceptance form.

Thank you for accepting to have an interview with me. Before we go ahead, do you have any questions?

Answer the informant's questions

Topic 1
Information on the past, present and the future
Refer to the homeless street children dreams, which they put in pictures during the last interview and assure them they can live those dreams
•   We called our project DESTINY; find out if they still remember?
•   What did we have in mind with the name DESTINY?
•   Do you still remember what you drew as your dream future the last time we met?
•   What has happened to your dream since?
•   What chances are there for you to live your dream?

Topic 2
Perception of role of football in life
In a nutshell, what do you think is the role of football that has been facilitated by CESVI?
•   In our last focus group interview, someone said football has opened up our mind; what did we mean by that?
•   What other benefits have we derived from being involved in football?
•   The last time I met up with you, went to play a junior team in Alaska Mine; what impact did the match have on you?
•   Do we know of someone who used to be on the street who was helped by football? (Probe)

Topic 3
The impact of other programmes that are being run by CESVI
Refer the children to some of the programs that CESVI has in place such as education, sexually transmitted diseases and the impact they have had on their lives.

•   Beside football, which other programs run by CESVI have we participated in? (sexually transmitted diseases)

- What have been the benefits of participating in such programmes?
- Do you know of someone who used to live in the street, and benefited out of such programmes?
- Who was it and when did they benefit from such a programmes? (Probe)

Topic 4
The meaning of 'reintegration' to them (Upenyu hwatinotarisira mberi kwedu-eg. chikoro, pokugara, utano, kudzokera kumba)
Refer the homeless street children on what 're-integration' would mean to them (probe)

Conclusion
I want to thank you for your time and information that you have given. This is in the hope that the information will go a long way to help all those involved in the re-integration of street children through sport in Zimbabwe.

Notify the participants that there is a chance of your contact in the event that some games/matches are organised.

In the same breath, notify them that there is a chance of your contact in the event that there are same gaps that need to be filled in.

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NATURE, EXTENT AND CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS OF CHILDREN IN HARARE AND ROLE OF COMMUNITY SPORT/FOOTBALL BEFORE RE-INTEGRATION

KEY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE (Organisation representatives and Assistants at the commencement of the Action Research)

Introduction

My name is Rodgers Dumizulu Manungo. Currently, I work for Solusi University in Zimbabwe. I am also a student at Durban University of Technology (DUT), South Africa, where I am enrolled in the Doctorate (PhD) program in the Faculty of Management Sciences Public Administration-Peacebuilding. I am carrying out a research on homelessness among children in Harare and how the children's situation can be helped through the use of football. I am looking at the nature, extent and causes of homelessness and how community football can be used as an entry point towards alongside other relevant programmes towards the children's re-integration into normal life. Overall, I seek to acquire information that would help in building sustainable peace in the life of children. I also hope that this study will help our parents and guardians, the government and organisations that deal with children within and without Zimbabwe. I am requesting that you answer a few questions that I have, with the hope that this is going to be a fruitful and interesting experience to both of us.

Explain to them that they are willingly accepting to be part of the exercise and can withdraw any time. Make sure the key participant gets into the interview by signing an acceptance form.

Thank you for accepting to have an interview with me. Before we go ahead, do you have any questions?

Answer the participant's questions

Topic 1
General information of key participant
Name
Age (if the participant is comfortable)
Name of organisation/association
Job title
Length of service and duties/responsibilities

Topic 2
General information on the organisation
• Can you describe what your organisation/association stands for?
• Vision
• Mission
• Activities
• Areas of focus

Establish the organisation's response to social responsibility and re-integration of the disadvantaged

Topic 3
General information on the role of the organisation vis-à-vis the disadvantaged
Can you share how your organisation, usually relate with the disadvantaged of the society?
- When you perform your chores in community, do you collaborate with any other players/organizations in looking into child care?
- Can you cite an example where you collaborated?
- What was the outcome?
- How did this affect your perception on the role played by your organisation in society? Cite evidence.
- How sustainable have been these relationships?
  Can you recall any time when your organization faced bureaucratic, administrative and judicial challenges, during the time of performing social responsibilities? (Probe)
- When was that?
- What were the issues at stake and who were the parties involved?
- How was the case resolved?
- How did this affect your relationship with society?

Topic 4
In relation to perceptions of homeless street children
Do you recall of a time when your organisations attended to any cases that involved the homeless street children?
- When was this?
- How were you involved?
- What was the outcome?
- How did this affect your role in society as an organisation?
- Currently, is your organisation involved in issues that involve homeless street children?
- What kind of children have been dealing with? (Gender, number, age and whether they are children of, or children on the street)
- What is the size of the constituent covered by your organisation?
- What have been some of the outcomes of your relationship with homeless street children? (Rehabilitation and re-integration)
- Can you cite any collaboration with other organizations, or institutions in your efforts? (Probe on the relationship with sister organizations, state, the police, home affairs, city council and so-forth)
- What has been the outcome of such relationships?
  Can you cite any particular challenges that your organisation has faced when attending to issues that involve homeless street children?
- Can you cite any incident that shows strained relationships on the field when dealing with children?
- What was the outcome?
- How did this affect your role as an organisation dealing with the disadvantaged of society?

Topic 5
Perception of role of sport in society
  In a nutshell, what do you think is the role of sport in societies?

- Has your organisation facilitated any sporting activities for the homeless street children?
- When was that?
- What have been the outcomes?
- How did this affect the organisation's perceptions of the influence of sport on the young people's attitudes and behaviours?

Topic 6
Recommendations
What would you recommend towards how children can benefit out of sports/football?

Conclusion
I want to thank you for your time and information that you have given. This is in the hope that the information will go a long way to help all those involved in the reintegration of street children through sport in Zimbabwe.

Notify the participant that there is a chance of your contact in the event that some games/matches are organised.

In the same breath, notify him or her that there is a chance of your contact in the event that there are same gaps that need to be filled in.

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NATURE, EXTENT AND CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS OF CHILDREN IN HARARE AND ROLE OF COMMUNITY SPORT/FOOTBALL BEFORE RE-INTEGRATION

KEY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE (Research assistants-CESVI representatives-towards end of the Action Research)

Introduction

As you might recall, my name is Rodgers Dumizulu Manungo. Currently, I work for Solusi University in Zimbabwe. I am also a student at Durban University of Technology (DUT), South Africa, where I am enrolled in the Doctorate (PhD) programme in the Faculty of Management Sciences Public Administration-Peacebuilding. For a while now, we have carried out a research on homelessness among children in Harare and have looked into how their situation of these children can be helped through the use of football as an entry point. So far we have looked into the nature, extent and causes of homelessness among a number of children and how community football can be used before these children are helped back or re-integrated into normal life. Overall, I sought to acquire information that would help in building sustainable peace in the life of street children with the hope that this study would not only benefit the discipline, but also other players, such as parents, the government and organisations that deal with children, especially the homeless street children within and without Zimbabwe. I am requesting that you answer a few questions that I have, with the hope that so far, the study has been beneficial.

Thank you for accepting to have an interview with me. Before we go ahead, do you have any questions?

Answer the participant's questions

Topic 1
Pros and cons of contact time with the street children
• What has been the impact of football so far in the lives of the children that we have been dealing with in the Destiny Project?
• Did I get it correctly that CESVI has reduced meeting times with the children for football to once per week?
• What are the pros and cons or advantages or disadvantages of meeting with them once?

Topic 2
Specific children that we have worked with and where they are now
• We have worked with a number of street children, and the first time I came here in 2014 we had some of the following in the individual interviews and we have worked with a number of others at different intervals. Where are these children now? (Probe by referring to specific names of the children)
• There has been a hint that a number of those involved in football have been exposed to encouraging environments, some of which have led to requests to leave the streets; can you give more light with examples of such children (probe)

Topic 3
Children's general behaviours and attitudes
- What are the chances of being in the streets and not get involved in activities, such as prostitution, drinking and smoking? (probe)
- Are there examples of some children who are not on drugs?

Topic 4
Other activities run by CESVI
- I have overhead comments about school, computers and practical programmes; along these lines, which programs are being run by CESVI for the benefit of the children?
- Which of the children that have been involved in the Destiny Project have benefitted from such programmes?
- A number of the children have highlighted on lack of birth certificates and national identity documents, what is your comment?

Topic 5
Re-integration
- It appears the majority of the children hinted 're-integration' to mean 'education,' 'accommodation (transit centre),' 'professional football,' and 'health.' Does this suggest lack of interest in going back home?
- Do we have any recent cases when children that have also been involved in the football project have requested to be re-integrated into their families?
- What are your comments on the introduction of a 'transit centre' and 'fostering homes'?'
- A few children suggested looking forward towards meeting their biological parents, which suggest them might be interested in going home. What are your comments?
- Who does the actual reintegration of the street children between your organisation and Ministry of Social Welfare? (probe)

Conclusion
I want to thank you for your time and information that you have given. This is in the hope that the information will go a long way to help all those involved in the re-integration of street children through sport in Zimbabwe.

Notify the participant that there is a chance of your contact in the event that some games/matches are organised.

In the same breath, notify him or her that there is a chance of your contact in the event that there are some gaps that need to be filled.

QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR BEHAVIOURS AND ATTITUDES OF STREET CHILDREN IN HARARE AND ROLE OF COMMUNITY SPORT/FOOTBALL BEFORE RE-INTEGRATION INTO NORMAL LIFE

KEY PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE (Administered by my research assistants somewhere in the middle of the study)

Introduction

Name of child_____

Age of the child_____

Date_____

Partially or always on the street?_____

Period in the street_____

Length of period in the football team_____

BEHAVIOURS

Drug abuse	
Smoking	
Sniffing of glue	
Drinking	
Prostitution & sex indulgence	
Bathing	
Violence	
Communication	
Crying	
Stealing	

ATTITUDES

Hurt	
Intolerance	
Teamwork	
Arrogance	
Fear & restless	

APPENDIX 6

The re-integration of homeless street children through football in Harare, Zimbabwe

EVALUATION AND REFLECTIONS-FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE (With un-reintegrated street children)

Introduction

As you might recall, my name is Rodgers Dumizulu Manungo. As you are also aware, we have been involved in an intervention project that we named DESTINY, which we have been involved in between 2014 and 2016. I have a few questions that are related to the same project that we have willingly participated in during that time, as a way of evaluating and assessing its impact. As agreed at the commencement of the study, all information gathered will be treated with the utmost confidentiality it deserves in addition to your (real) names not being revealed. Are there any questions before we start?

Answer the participant's questions

Give the participants a chance to introduce themselves and give details of the kind of re-integration they were involved in.

1. In brief, do you remember what this project was all about (main objective)?
   Give the participants a chance to share (probe)
2. Since its inception, do you think we managed to meet our main objective?
3. Which attributes of the project did you enjoy most and for what reasons?
   (Probe on any aspects of the project that benefitted them as individuals, those that they felt empowered them and give them a chance to highlight any attributes that they found beneficial to their attitude (mafungiro) & behaviour (maitiro))
4. Which are some of the relevant aspects you got from the football sessions? (probe)
5. Do you think we could have improved our project in any way? (probe)
6. Given the opportunity, would like to continue with this or similar action research projects?

Conclusion

I want to thank you for your time and information that you have given. This is in the hope that the information will go a long way to help all those involved in the re-integration of street children through sport within and without Zimbabwe.

APPENDIX 7

The re-integration of homeless street children through football in Harare, Zimbabwe

INDIVIDUAL EVALUATION AND REFLECTIONS-(With the re-integrated children)

Introduction

As you are also aware, we have been involved in an intervention project that we named DESTINY, which we have been involved in with the homeless street children between 2014 and 2016. I have a few questions that are related to the same project, as a way of evaluating and assessing its impact. As agreed at the commencement of the study, all information gathered will be treated with the utmost confidentiality it deserves. Are there any questions before we start?

Answer the participant's questions

Give the participants a chance to introduce themselves and give details of their role in the project.

1. In brief, do you remember what this project was all about (main objective)?
    Give the participant a chance to share (probe)
2. Since its inception, do you we managed to meet our main objective?
3. Did you find the football project that we set up at CESVI beneficial? Probe on its impact on their attitude (mafungiro) & behaviour (maitiro))
4. Would you say football has benefitted you in the post-reintegration period? (probe)

Conclusion
I want to thank you for your time and information that you have given. This is in the hope that the information will go a long way to help all those involved in the re-integration of street children through sport within and without Zimbabwe.

APPENDIX 8

The CESVI Homeless Football Team that participated in the Destiny Project (December 2015)

APPENDIX 9

Registered Trust 555/2012]
Enhance Safe Communities for ALL Children
57 Livingstone Ave
Cnr 6th Street
Harare,Zimbabwe
Email; zuvabernard@gmail.com
Phone: +263 772456514

30 May 2014

To Whom It May Concern

Volunteers for Vulnerable Children is a registered trust (55/2012), working with children and youth living and working on the streets of Harare.

The trust was approached by Rodgers Dumizulu Manungo (PhD candidate) to assist him with his research. We are aware of the aims of the project and are in agreement with the methodology to be used.

In all activities that we do with the children there is always adult supervision ensuring the children's safety and that all actions are in the best interest of the children.

The selected children's names will be forwarded to the Department of Social Services to notify them that they (the children) will be working top flight soccer teams.

Yours Faithfully
Bernard Zuva (Project Manager)
VVC