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THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN IN MARONDERA DISTRICT, ZIMBABWE

By

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DECLARATION OF OWN WORK

I, _____ the undersigned candidate, declare that the content of this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously been submitted to any other University for the award of a degree, either in part or in its entirety.

Signature……………………………………..

Date……………………………………………

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Orphans and Vulnerable Children.

ABSTRACT

The diminishing provision of services by the state, coupled with the escalating numbers of Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Zimbabwe, represents a crucial concern for Non-Governmental Organisations. The socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe has created a vacuum for social service provision. In this gap, Non-Governmental Organisations have stepped in as alternatives playing a critical and positive role in caring for Orphans and Vulnerable Children. Notwithstanding the generally valid critique of the imperialist role of Non-Governmental Organisations as agents of multi-lateral institutions and dominant western governments, the repressive despotism and the consequent socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe has necessitated that Save the Children play a prominent role in caring for Orphans and Vulnerable Children. This study builds upon fieldwork undertaken in the Marondera district in Zimbabwe. This fieldwork was conducted amongst children who have been left orphaned and vulnerable because of various reasons, and investigates the interventions of Save the Children in the lives of these orphans. Ethnographic research, encompassing three kinds of data collection methods, was used. These data collection methods are interviews, observation and documents. This, in turn, produced three kinds of data namely, quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of document on the basis of which narrative descriptions where derived. Interviews were transcribed and later analyzed through content analysis. The findings indicated that, as a consequence of the failure of the state in Zimbabwe, Save the Children has played a primary role in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children despite the idea that non-governmental organisations have expanded and consolidated the neoliberal hegemony, at a global level, in the name of mitigating the social and economic dimensions of Structural Adjustment Programmes (Kothari, 1993). Save the Children's interventions for orphans and vulnerable children take many forms, including educational assistance, legal protection, HIV/AIDS mitigation programs, psychosocial support and material support. The formal and informal systems also act as safety nets for Orphans and Vulnerable Children. However, these have failed to appropriately assist the Orphans and Vulnerable Children with sustainable initiatives. The vacuum created by the Zimbabwean context has however necessitated the growing importance of the activities of Save the Children in caring for Orphans and Vulnerable Children.

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ACRONYMS

ACC	African Charter on Children's rights
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ART	Antiretroviral Treatment
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
CHH	Child Headed Household
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DACs	Development Assistance Committies
DCPC	District Child Protection Committees
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
SC	Save the Children
SCT	Social Contract Theory
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations program on HIV/AIDS
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund
USAID	United Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwe has a high prevalence of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) and the National AIDS Co-Ordination Program estimates that the OVC population grows by 60 000 children per year, thus causing the total number of orphans to rise to an estimated 1.8 million in 2012 (UNICEF, 2008). The OVC crisis has awakened the need for an alternative solution to these problems. The new world order gave prominence to the growth of NGOs. The principal justification behind this growth of the role of NGOs is state failure. It is surmised that the state and the public sector were not able to deliver development to the presumed beneficiaries and NGOs as development agencies must step in and fill in the gap (Berg, 1987). Zimbabwe has suffered a severe political and economic crisis characterized by rising market prices coupled with poor harvests which have resulted in food shortages (UNICEF, 2009). The HIV/AIDS epidemic and the reduction in the caring capacity of the state for OVC are major concerns in Zimbabwe (Stiff, 2005). It is against this background that the role of NGOs ought to be investigated since they have become an alternative in the provision of services to OVC. Owing to the socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe, Save the Children (SC) has played a primary role in addressing the needs of OVC. Notwithstanding the generally valid critique against NGOs, the failure of the state to provide for this vulnerable group has necessitated that Save the Children play a positive and critical role in the provision of services.

The main focus of this study was to explore the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC, particularly in the case of SC in the Marondera district of Zimbabwe. Marondera known as Marandellas until 1982 is a town in Mashonaland East, located about 79 km east of Harare with a population of 49,384 (Central Statistical Office, Zimbabwe. Census of population, 1992.The population was estimated at 79 000 in 2008, Harare, Governmental Printer). The background of Marondera was further discussed in Chapter 6.

There have been a number of sweeping statements concerning the success and failure of NGOs (Fisher, 1997). Not all NGOs operate in similar cultural, economic and social contexts nor do they have the same political significance. Generalizations regarding the role of NGOs do not take into account the context in which these actors operate in. As a consequence of the vacuum created by the state, SC has stepped into that gap and taken up the role of caring for OVC. In Zimbabwe, the combination of an HIV/AIDS epidemic, worsening socio-economic situation and political crisis has left children vulnerable to poverty. It emerged, through qualitative research, that despite their limitations in addressing the needs of OVC, NGOs have managed to play a pivotal role in the livelihood of this marginalised group.

1.2 Background of the study

WHO and UNAIDS (2008:13) reported that by the end of 2007 the number of OVC had increased to 30 million, with AIDS orphans constituting 60% of the total number of orphans in sub-Saharan Africa. Of these, 33% were children under the age of 15 years. In sub-Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe is the fifth country that has been severely affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. UNICEF (2008:16) estimates that of the 1.3 million OVC in Zimbabwe in 2008 about 980,000 or 78% were orphaned by AIDS, a number projected to surpass 1.4 million by 2010.

The negative demographic impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on Zimbabwe's population growth cannot be overemphasised. Matinhure (2003 cited in UNDP, 2003) projected that without the effect of HIV/AIDS Zimbabwe's population would have grown from 10.4 million in 1992 to an estimated 14 million in 2002 and to 16.6 million in 2010. In fact the population now stands at about 12 million. The decline in the population annual growth rate from 3% between 1982 and 1992 to 1.1% for the period 1992 and 2002 (CSO, 2002) suggests an increase in HIV/AIDS-related morbidity and mortality and/or a decline in fertility (UNAIDS, 2006). Population projections suggest a change from a broad-based population pyramid typically of most sub-Saharan Africa to a 'population chimney' (Germann, 2005). Life expectancy at birth has been reduced from 61 years in 1990 to about 43 years for the period 2000-2005. The estimated life expectancy in Zimbabwe is about 26 years lower than it would have been without HIV/AIDS (Matinhure, 2003 cited in UNDP, 2003). Forecasts predict a further decrease in life expectancy to 35 years or even lower by 2010 (UNDP, 2003) and this will impact negatively on children particularly the OVC who are left behind to cater for their needs.

There are an estimated 1.3 million orphans in Zimbabwe. In 2007 alone, 130,000 children were projected to lose one or both parents, and orphans to account for 25 per cent of children (UNICEF 2007). Children orphaned and made vulnerable by AIDS are often seen as amongst the most common vulnerable social groups in Zimbabwe. These children are subjected to a wide range of social and economic difficulties: psycho-social distress, grief, stigma, discrimination, and isolation, and economic deprivation, loss of educational opportunity, burdensome domestic responsibilities, and fear for their own future" (GoZ 2004:8).

Regarding OVC programmes, there is acknowledgement of the need for a range of interventions in Sub Saharan Africa. Most guidelines and models stress the central role of mobilising community based projects to keep OVC within the extended family. The 2006 National Health Accounts Study in Zimbabwe revealed that the household continues to bear a significant burden in looking after orphans and people living with AIDS (NAC, Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, UNAIDS, 2006). This household and community support is not only important to meet material needs, but to provide caring, and relationships of trust and solidarity (Loewenson, 2007; Decosas, 1999; Barnett and Whiteside, 2002). Nearly 40 per cent households with children reported to have received at least one form of external support in 21 surveyed districts. The most form of assistance was medical care, including medical supplies and medicine (GoZ and UNICEF, 2005). Non government support also includes food, medical care and education costs. Although there are initiatives from the government, it has failed to appropriately cater for most OVC. The National AIDS Council (NAC) offers support for school fees and school stationery, supports the Zunde Ramambo programme to support food security, while the Department of Social Welfare administers the Basic Education Assistance Model (BEAM) through the Ministry of Education. A large number of OVC still lack basic needs for survival despite the above efforts by the state. NGOs are therefore considered an alternative provider. Consequently, this study sought to investigate the role of NGOs in attending to the needs of OVC.

With regard to the OVC crisis this particular group faces many challenges because of their unstable circumstances. The lack of an adult in the home to advocate for their rights can prevent them from claiming the support available to them. In order to understand the problem that this study addresses it is of paramount importance to look at the international

statutes affecting OVC, that is the international context in which this phenomenon is embedded. The next section will discuss the international conventions affecting OVC.

1.3 The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The concept of children's rights is fundamental because it expresses the idea of universal entitlements. These, in turn, imply clear political, moral and legal responsibilities to ensure that they are met. A child's rights framework also helps to view developmental rights in a holistic manner. National governments have the initial responsibility for making sure that human rights are respected, protected and fulfilled (Tolfree, 2004). The Zimbabwean state has failed to undertake its role for social provision and NGOs have stepped into that gap and taken up the role of caring for OVC. Although the government of Zimbabwe has established a baseline for its National Action Plan (NAP) for OVC, it has failed to meet its obligation of caring for OVC. There has been a disjuncture between theory (the policy framework) and practice (catering for OVC), therefore giving way to NGOs to take up the role of serving OVC. It is against this background that the role of NGOs is investigated so as to understand how they address the needs of OVC. The UNCRC provides a framework for addressing the rights of OVC (Sloth-Nielsen, 2004). The convention builds on four general principles by Tolfree (2004:14-15) as paraphrased below:

- **Non discrimination** (Article 2) - all rights apply to children without exception. It is the State's obligation to protect children from any form of discrimination and to take action to promote their rights. However, the idea that the law singles out orphans infected or affected by HIV/AIDS is discriminatory in nature.
- **Best interest of a child** (Article 3) - all actions concerning the child shall be in his or her own interest. Although this article may positively impact on OVC, the challenge resides in who decides on what the best interest of the child is? As an

overarching principle, this instrument is powerful to support OVC if the right of children to be heard and participate is guaranteed.

- **The child's right to survival and development** (Article 6) - every child has a right to life. The state has the obligation to see to the child's survival and development. However, this is often not the reality as competent statutory child agencies are given authority in certain cases so as to know the best interest of the child, even if it is against the child's will (Goldblatt, 2004). The provision is needed, but may negatively affect OVC.

- **Participation** (Article 12) - Children have the right to be involved in decisions affecting them. However, participation is more than a rhetorical flourish and is not reflected in the actual goals. In reality there has been top-down planning, top-down funding and upwards accountability which negates child participation. The pursuit of participation by the state frequently fails to live up to their rhetoric which seems to promote participation and yet can amount to no more than restructuring of control. Thus, there has been an inconsistency between theory and practice. OVC rights are greatly violated as they are not even able to participate in the programs initiated for them. Worse still, they cannot access the meagre existing social welfare support grants on their own.

OVC are among the members of society that have had their rights denied by the societies they live in. They are highly susceptible to abuse for example neglect, exploitation, discrimination, denial of the right to education, loss of rights to pleasure and recreation due to work. These instruments do not go far enough in protecting OVC. The lack of consistent revisions to align legislation, lack of financial resources and lack of commitment in the implementation of the commitments outlined in the

above documents have, to some extent, affected OVC negatively in terms of their needs being addressed.

1.3.1 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

Zimbabwe became a signatory and ratified the African Charter (AC) on the Rights and Welfare of the Child on the 19th of January 1995. Zimbabwe has not, to date, domesticated the rights provided for in the Charter so as to make them justifiable. As such, there is a gross violation of human rights, particularly those of children who are innocent and dependent and are the most vulnerable in most societies. The AC has been crucial in capacitating parents, guardians, caregivers and children to broadly understand human rights with a particular focus on children's rights. One of the roles of SC is to capacitate and empower children to utilize the law, which is, getting to deeply understand it and make use of the regional and international human rights instruments which protect children, especially OVC. The Charter defines a child as every human being under the age of 18 and, like CRC, covers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. This, however, poses its own challenges, as some rights that OVC need to access, such as property ownership and accessing welfare grants, cannot be accessed by a minor. There is a need within the national legislation to ensure that OVC have access without removing their protection under the CRC. The failure of the Zimbabwean state to protect the rights therefore rendering some children vulnerable, has led to NGOs taking a more a proactive role in addressing the needs of OVC.

1.4 Research Problem

The Zimbabwean state has failed to undertake the role of social provision and has not been able to deliver development to the presumed beneficiaries and as a result NGOs, as a form of development agencies, have stepped in and filled the gap. The global meltdown, socio-

economic and political crisis, has created a vacuum of social service provision by the state to OVC. This has seen an increase in the numbers of OVC. OVC potentially represent a group of highly vulnerable children in a community. Their circumstances thus require a better understanding of the interventions initiated by NGOs. The HIV/AIDS epidemic, the socio-economic environment and the escalating numbers of OVC have threatened the state's capacity to handle the situation. The above mentioned factors have necessitated the growing importance of NGOs as a channel for the delivery of social services. The gap created by the state in social service delivery has been filled by NGOs. Despite the generally valid critique of the imperialist role of NGOs as agents of multi-lateral institutions, the Zimbabwean context has necessitated the growing importance of the role of Save the Children and various NGOs in caring for OVC.

1.5 Research questions

The researcher seeks to address the following questions:

- What role does SC play in addressing the needs of OVC?

- Has SC managed to meet the needs of OVC?

- What are the challenges faced by SC in the provision of services to OVC?

- How can SC improve service provision to OVC?

1.5.1 Research objectives

The research objectives of this study are to:

- To investigate the role played by SC in addressing the needs of OVC

- To assess whether SC has managed to successfully meet the needs of OVC

- To examine the challenges faced by SC in the provision of services to OVC

- To suggest ways in which SC can improve service provision to OVC

To answer some of the research objectives above it is essential to have a clear and working definition of orphanhood and vulnerability.

1.6 Challenges in defining orphanhood and vulnerability

The most accepted definition of an orphan is a child who has lost both parents through death. In this study, the definition of an orphan includes all children under the age of eighteen who are maternal (an orphan who has lost only their mother), paternal (an orphan who has lost only their father) or double orphans. UNICEF (2008:1) notes that the vast majority of children are single orphans, maternal or paternal. Defining an orphan as a child under the age of fifteen who is a maternal, paternal or double orphan confers with the once mainstream definition of orphan used within the international community and found in much of the literature; however, it failed to account for children who are orphaned and just as vulnerable between the ages of fifteen to eighteen years of age.

In the Zimbabwean context, the National Orphan Care Policy defines orphans as those aged between 0-18 whose parents have died. It has to be noted that UNAIDS (2000: 14) defines an orphan as a child under the age of 15 who is either a maternal, paternal or double orphan. However, this definition was extended amongst most of the groups to include the loss of parents through desertion and the inability of parents to provide care for their children (Smart, 2003). An initial concern that was raised was whether a child who has lost one parent should be regarded as an orphan. A second concern was whether a child who has lost both parents but has caregivers should be considered an orphan, since they still have an extended family. In this study, OVC constituted children under the age of 18 whether single, double orphans or non orphans who lack the basic needs for survival. From an African perspective there is no such thing as an orphan in the context of the extended family (Foster, 1997). A final concern is that the estimates regarding orphans do not

adequately reflect children who are vulnerable. In this study an orphan is defined as a person below the age of 18 who has lost either or both parents as a result of death.

1.6.1 Vulnerability

The definition of vulnerability is very broad and encompasses a huge proportion of children. Defining vulnerability does not only include such concrete indicators as age and parental loss. Instead, vulnerable children are those who belong to high-risk groups, they lack access to basic social amenities or facilities. The World Bank and UNICEF (2002) point out that the main sources of child vulnerability include HIV/AIDS and conflict. Vulnerability in Zimbabwe spans neglect, abuse, unregistered births, malnutrition, mental and physical handicaps, and poverty, precarious socio-economic situations which have a negative influence on family circumstances and other high-risks that may involve material, social and emotional factors. The highest risk of vulnerability continues to be orphans and street children.

According to the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2000), children are also defined as vulnerable if they have had specific experiences, such as: withdrawal from school, discrimination and stigma, emotional need and grief over illness or death of parent(s). Vulnerability may lead to increased poverty, loss of property and inheritance rights, loss of shelter, inadequate health care, as well as vulnerability to physical and sexual abuse. The other precarious living situations are further described as those which include children living with old and/or ill caregivers. According to the SADC Regional Vulnerable Assessment Committee (2007), vulnerability means the degree of exposure to factors that threaten one's wellbeing and the extent to which the capacity (of the individual, household and social groups) to cope with those factors that has been

eroded. Addressing vulnerability, therefore, requires a proper understanding of the causes of marginalization.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study made use of the Integrated Model of addressing the needs of OVC which is composed of the Basic Needs, Max Neef's theory of needs, the Performance Failure theory and the social contract theory. This section discusses those aspects of the theories that were combined to create a framework and the various combinations that were made without creating unnecessary contradictions. This model is an attempt to gain a greater understanding, beyond one specific theory, and allow us to understand how different basic tenets of the theories can resolve the problem at hand. While one theory could suffice to describe a phenomenon, using other theories was necessary to explain how these various elements of related theoretical approaches can be combined to produce a new theoretical model to analyse the complex issue of OVC survival needs and how these are catered for in Zimbabwe. The integrated model, in addressing the needs of OVC, utilizes the principle of state failure and the surge of NGOs. The Public Goods or Performance Failure theory was utilised in exploring the issue of state failure. Esman and Uphoff (1984) contend that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing the people for participation in projects aimed at improving their lives. Furthermore, NGOs are profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged people in society. In this regard, NGOs could be considered as alternative institutions through which OVC and the underprivileged sections of society are better served.

Since the failure of the state, in terms of social service provision, has created a gap, there is need for NGOs to fill in the vacuum and understand the needs of OVC which should be addressed. Concerning the needs of OVC, the model utilised the Basic Needs Approach

(BNA) and the Max Neef theory of needs. The BNA is directed at the alleviation of poverty through services such as education, health and social welfare programs (Haines, 2000). Within this model, NGOs have been theorized as being the preeminent forms of organization that can implement the global commitment to bottom-up development. NGOs are seen as rational actors capable of acting upon matters related to poor and marginalized sections of the society. The basic tenets of the BNA, which this new model integrated, are popular participation and value judgment; essential to BNA is the specification of what constitutes basic needs. The content of the present BNA seems to be influenced, most directly, by the humanistic approach of Max Neef's theory and was explored because it comprehensively describes the needs of OVC. Max Neef's theory of needs uses a holistic approach of attending to the needs of OVC through identifying their needs and the generic satisfiers (formal and informal systems) which satisfy these needs. The basic principles of Max Neef's theory are subsistence, protection, participation and identity.

Cooperation among all sectors involved in assisting OVC might lead to poverty alleviation. The integrated model on the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC utilises the concept of collaboration of all sectors concerned with addressing the needs of OVC from the Social Contract theory. In this way, NGOs and other sectors act as alternatives by filling in the gaps left by the state in social service delivery. The concept of collaboration amongst sectors is also utilized in the BNA and the Max Neef theory of needs. To achieve the fulfillment of the basic needs of OVC in the BNA there exist a need for the sectors responsible for service provision to work together and involve the intended beneficiaries in "popular participation". Bottom-up development cannot be dismissed as rhetoric; it has established itself within the role of NGOs in development programs by making the poor the centre of development. From the above mentioned theories, it is clear that NGOs stand as an alternative in addressing the needs of the rising numbers of OVC.

According to Chambers (1986), NGOs are well placed to develop and implement the new paradigm.

In summary, the basic tenets of the integrated model of addressing the needs of OVC are child and community participation, collaboration amongst stakeholders, state failure and NGOs as filling in the gaps left by the state, and specifically regarding basic needs. Widespread pressure for popular participation and a decline in the capacities of governments to solve the interrelated problems of social welfare development has led to the upsurge of NGOs. Despite the view that NGOs consolidate the neoliberal hegemony, the non-profit sector has grown increasingly in importance in its efforts to alleviate societal problems.

1.8 Research design and methods

This study used a qualitative research design which allowed the researcher to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. In order to understand and to interpret the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC, the researcher made use of ethnographic research. Ethnographic research involves personal experience and involves an intensive study of the phenomenon being researched. This study made use of three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation and documents which led to narrative descriptions. In-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were ideally suited to obtaining relevant data on the realities and experiences associated with the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The FGDs assisted the researcher in obtaining information on the needs and living conditions of OVC as well as the challenges faced by NGOs. In-depth interviews allowed the informants to express their realities, experiences and interpretations of the phenomenon of NGOs and OVC. This enabled the researcher to gain thick descriptions and multiple interpretations of NGOs and OVC rather than the

imposition of one dominant interpretation (Mouton & Marais 1990:175). Qualitative research assisted the researcher in gaining a broader understanding of the needs of OVC and the roles of NGOs. The aim of the Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) was not specifically to gather information on individual reactions, as was the purpose of the in-depth interviews. Rather, the group approach was used to get a feel for the language, the values expressed by this language, the range of meanings and to test the reactions of the people to the services provided by NGOs.

1.8.1 Sampling procedure

The research study utilized two non-probability sampling methods: purposive and snowball sampling. The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied (De Vos, 2005). Purposive sampling targets a particular group of people so the researcher purposefully selected the research participants. Purposive sampling is particularly relevant in exploring and deeply understanding the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2005). In order to trace additional participants, the researcher made use of snowball sampling. Snowballing is a method of expanding the sample by asking one informant to recommend other suitable informants for interviewing. The sample frame included representatives of OVC (some of them participated in FGDs), community mothers and representatives from various stakeholders, who include representatives from SC, the Ministry of Child Welfare and Department of Social Welfare, to ensure adequate representation from all sectors. Participants were selected on this criterion: willing participation, informed consent, seniority for social workers and NGO employees who have been in contact with OVC as well as OVC who have either benefited from SC's programs or who where not beneficiaries of SC's programs.

1.8.2 Data analysis

The researcher used content analysis to bring order, structure and meaning to the mass of data collected. According to De Vos (2005), qualitative data analysis transforms data into findings. This involves reducing the volume of raw information, sifting for significant patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals. Content analysis allows the researcher to discuss the common themes from the thick descriptions of the roles of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. It is important to relate these findings to an existing body of theory, as set out in Chapter 5, by providing a theoretical background which will enhance the understanding of the roles of NGOs in Marondera.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The research contributes to the knowledge specifically that of the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. Many researchers have noted, and commented on, the growth of NGOs in development (Edwards and Hulme, 1999; Farrington and Lewis, 1993; Fisher 1993; Kothari, 1993). The research has also centred on the innovative, increasingly complex and wide ranging formal and informal linkages with donors, communities and the state. These relationships have begun to have a profound impact on globalization and local lives. This research revealed that certain contexts may affect the successes and failures of NGOs in development. Although research has been conducted on the problems faced by OVC (Hunter and Williamson, 2000; Smart, 2000; Foster, 2004 and Skinner, 2007), most studies have focused primarily on orphans rather than all vulnerable children, or lumped the needs of OVC with studies that focus primarily on women. At present, there is a limited amount of information regarding the efficacy of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. This research fills the void consequent of issues pertaining to OVC and NGOs,

which have been glossed over. It provides recommendations and suggestions of alternative or improved strategies that will assist NGOs in working towards helping OVC. In addition, this study provides a foundation for further research in this domain.

1.9.1 Ethical Issues

This study has crossed some ethical issues that included sensitive topics, the right to privacy and the right to answer questions. The researcher made sure that all ethical guidelines have been adhered to. This was done by seeking the permission of the organization, as a whole, and the respondents, individually, to conduct the research. Sensitive issues revealed by respondents during data collection were kept confidential and were used only for purposes related to the study. The researcher will not reveal the identities of the respondents and all the data collection instruments and collected data will not be disclosed. The study also ensured that confidentiality and anonymity of all the details of the research and the personal particulars of the respondents were maintained.

1.9.2 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One serves as a background to and contextualization of the study, as it states the purpose and aims of the study to the reader. An overview of the research design, methods of data collection and analysis are provided in this chapter.

Chapter Two presents an in-depth discussion of the literature consulted in order to ground the inquiry academically. This chapter explores the role of NGOs in development.

Chapter Three offers a thorough discussion of the nature of the Zimbabwean state, its retreat from service provision and the country's socio-economic crisis. This chapter also explores existing OVC policies and examines the limited welfare provision for OVC so as

to understand how NGOs have become an important alternative for development in the context of the state.

 Chapter Four discusses the theoretical framework abstracted from the literature review. This chapter establishes the conventional wisdom of NGOs in the provision of social welfare services, particularly in areas in which the state has failed, and how the theory has been used to analyse the dynamics being studied.

Chapter Five discusses the methodology used in the study. It provides an indication of the data collection instruments, sampling method and the type of data analysis employed in the study.

Chapters Six and Seven discuss the dominant themes derived from the study by specifically focusing on the conceptions of OVC in Marondera and the role of Save the Children in addressing the needs of OVC.

Chapter Eight summarizes the inquiry as a whole. It also provides relevant insights from the framework and allows the researcher to reflect on the limitations of the research.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

The role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), in the development world specifically, has been transformed even though it was originally situated on the periphery of the development community (Zaidi, 1999:260). The increasing prominence of NGOs is regarded, by many, as a potentially transformative force in promoting more equal, participative and sustainable development. The NGO sector established itself as a channel for the delivery of economic and social development. NGOs are increasingly considered to be a better channel for the dissemination of new ideas and concepts regarding development. At the same time, they have been co-opted by neo-liberalism, functioning in ways that maintain systematic inequalities. The common assertion is that NGOs have arisen in the face of external and internal exigencies and where state directed change has failed or faces severe limitations. Ndegwa (2000) argues that NGOs have become an important alternative in the development of the state under certain circumstances. Not all NGOs operate in similar cultural, economic and social contexts nor do they have the same political significance. The biases ignore the diversity of the NGO field or context. Understanding the heterogeneity of histories and processes through which NGOs emerge and contexts within which they operate, the role of NGOs cannot be generalised. The following section will explore the various definitions of NGOs from other scholars.

2.1.1 Dilemmas on the definition of Non-Governmental Organizations

Before the roles of NGOs are discussed it is of paramount importance to explore the uncertainty in conceptualising NGOs. Korten (1990) argues that for an organization to be an NGO, in its true sense it should fulfil the following criteria:

a) It should be self-governing rather than depending substantially on the state for its funds; however, it must be argued that some NGOs receive a proportion of their funds from other sources.

b) It should be a non-profit organization.

c) The major part of its funding should come from voluntary contribution.

The classification of these NGOs poses new problems for these concepts e.g. the concept of civil society has been used interchangeably with NGO but their objectives differ, some are merely charitable, some pursue a common goal and others are political (Frantz, 1987:127). The optimism of the proponents of NGOs derives from a general sense of NGOs doing good whilst remaining unencumbered and untainted by the politics of government or the greed of the market. This is reflected in the insistence on describing these associations in terms of what they are not: nongovernmental and nonprofit. NGOs are idealized as organizations through which people help others for reasons other than profit and politics.

Most sociologists define NGOs as organizations which possess four defining characteristics that distinguish them from Civil Society. They are voluntary, dependent, not for profit and self-serving (Edwards and Hulme, 1996). Although the term NGO remains conceptually elusive, in this study it refers to organizations existing apart from governments, operating on a non-profit basis with an emphasis on voluntarism, and

pursuing a mandate of providing development services. Different sources refer to these groups with different names, such as NGOs, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), charities, non-profit charities/charitable organizations, third sector organizations and so on.

2.2 Neo-liberalism and the surge of NGOs

With the ascendancy of the neoliberal ideology of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and related market reform policies, there was an emphasis on the need to promote private markets (Fowler, 1991). The oil crisis of the mid-1970s resulted in the creation of a finance capital glut in a world economy already suffering from recession. The 1980s saw significant increases in the cost of borrowing. The anti-state policies, the fiscal and administrative crises of Third World countries, the overall retreat of the state and the end of the cold war are seen as processes which have led to the renewed prominence of the roles of NGOs (Bebbington and Farrington, 2000). The new world order gave prominence to the growth of NGOs. The principal justification behind this growth is state failure. It is surmised that the state and public sector were not able to deliver development to the presumed beneficiaries and NGOs, as development agencies, would have to step in and fill the gap. This also coincided with the end of the cold war in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The institution of SAPs contributed to the emphasis on NGOs. Structural adjustment is a term used to describe the policy changes implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in developing countries. These policy changes are conditions for getting new loans from the IMF or World Bank, or for obtaining lower interest rates on existing loans. In general, loans from both the World Bank and the IMF are claimed to be designed to promote economic growth, to generate income, and to pay off the debt which the countries have accumulated (Matenga, 2003).

Although this program was designed for individual countries, it had common guiding principles and features which include trade liberalization, export led growth, privatization, and efficiency of the free market. Adjustment programs also required that countries devalue their currencies, lift import and export restrictions and reduce state interventions. They expect a reduction in the provision of basic services like education, health and social care as well removing subsidies. SAPs negatively impacted the vulnerable groups of these societies. In this context, donors began to channel money to NGOs for programs that would minimize the inequalities perpetuated by neo-liberal policies. According to Salamon and Anheir (1996), the ascendancy of neo-liberalism in the late twentieth century also created a global environment of the 'third sector'. The effect of SAPs on particular social groups led to the growing involvement of NGOs in the development process, on the understanding that the latter contributes to the social requirements of SAPs. It is believed they have qualities that are necessary for the effective delivery of services and have a greater ability to target poor and vulnerable groups. However, the role of NGOs in this context has been significantly criticized since NGOs were regarded as agents of multi-lateral institutions and western governments. In a sense, they consolidated the neoliberal hegemony since the policies widened the internal disparities and actually caused much of the growth in poverty and inequalities.

2.3 State Retreat from social welfare provision

Another factor which contributed to the surge of NGOs in development is the anti-state interventional nature of structural adjustment policy measures, whereby governments were forced to withdraw from socio-economic spheres of involvement due to governmental budget constrains (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). The state's role in the social sector had been effectively scaled down in the process of SAPs. The anti-state policies, the fiscal and

administrative crisis of Third World countries, the overall retreat of the state and the end of the cold war are seen as processes which have led to the renewed prominence of the role of NGOs (Bebbington and Farrington, 2000). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the rapid rise in the number of NGOs has not been matched by an increase in quality, resulting in many problems regarding accountability. The most distinct contrast between the state and NGOs is in the manner in which they pursue development, which underlies the justification for increasing dependence on NGOs as conduits for development delivery. The performance failure theory, in the theoretical framework chapter, explains the justification of the surge of NGOs in development with regard to state retreat. In this context, NGOs were acknowledged as a preferred channel for service provision in deliberate substitution for the state.

2.4 NGOs delivering social services

The deregulation of the state to provide social services under the neoliberal hegemony gave rise to the prominence of NGOs. Many NGOs are adept at providing certain goods and services because they have gained technical expertise and experience by working in difficult settings. Bebbington (2003) contends that NGOs grew out of their desire to cure social ills, which is to transform the conditions that yield exclusion and disadvantage. NGOs also tend to enjoy greater public trust than their government counterparts. Given their expertise and trusted position, they are often best suited to provide high-quality services at low costs to the public whose needs are not met. In addition, their proximity to local clients affords NGOs the opportunity to expand their range and mix of offerings to diverse public groups beyond standard service packages offered by firms and governments (Brinkerhoff, 2003).NGOs may be well positioned to understand the needs of the people and give them an effective voice (Stromquist et al, 1998), especially when market

mechanisms ignore the needs of the people (Korten, 1990) and governmental regimes are deemed too repressive, too weak, or too resource-strapped to serve the marginalised sections of society(Keck and Sikkink, 1998). However, it is important to evaluate the successes of NGOs due to the nature and context of the NGOs delivering social services, rather than making generalizations based on a few failed or successful NGO projects. Kaimowitz (1993: 139) asserts that "when dealing with a heterogeneous and complex phenomenon as NGOs, one is forced to make generalizations that may not apply to each individual and to present general tendencies more schematically than they occur in practice". In other words, the reasons for the failures or successes of NGO projects are relative; making sweeping statements might thus hinder scholars to examine the real problems behind the failures or successes of NGOs.

2.5 NGOs and Community Participation

There is widespread recognition, in development research, that NGOs play a significant role in helping the poor to break out of poverty through sustainable projects in communities. NGOs consistently run innovative social programs with a commitment to grassroots participation and social justice. This is not to say all or most NGOs are progressive. At their best, NGOs act as a progressive element in the dialectic of global and local contexts by empowering individuals and communities to face, resist and transform the unequal relations of neo-liberalism (Fisher, 1997).There has been increasing emphasis on the crucial significance of local participation for understanding poverty and the implementation of effective poverty alleviation programs. The beneficiaries are expected to play a pivotal role in these programs. According to Cooke and Kothari (2001), the validity of participation in development can be questioned although other scholars hail it as the panacea for achieving sustainable development. NGOs in development are guided by

the principle of putting people first in their work, particularly the poor. Rahman (1993) has defined community participation as an active process in which beneficiaries take initiatives and take action that is stimulated by their own thinking. It is of importance to note that such an approach instils a sense of ownership and responsibility towards the program and, in turn, leads to the sustainability of programmes (Chambers, 1997). A more closely related definition of community participation is given by Brown (1990) who has regarded community participation as the active process by which beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of the programme rather than merely being consulted. NGOs organize people so that they are able to make better use of their own local resources, promote equity, alleviate poverty and establish new instructional frameworks that will sustain people. This could be termed 'actor oriented development' (Hart,2000). This new direction in thought and approach to characterizing NGO work is a reversal of conventional approaches that focus on technology or financial resources alone, and deal with development from a humanistic approach. Brown and Korten (1999) also recognize the centrality of people in development and the importance of self organization. They emphasize the articulation of the NGO developmental approach that reduces dependence on foreign charity. It seems reasonable to suggest that NGOs aim to empower indigenous people through the equitable distribution of political and economic power, so as to achieve broad based development participation.

However, participation is more of a rhetorical flourish and is not reflected in the actual goals. Chambers (1997) has noted that top down planning, top down funding and upwards accountability negates participation. The pursuit of participation by development agencies frequently fails to live up to the rhetoric surrounding it, which seems to promote it and yet amounts to no more than the restructuring of control. Cooke and Kothari (2001) contend that the design of these projects is supposedly directed towards the development of ideas

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yet is often far removed from genuine community participation. NGO personnel might find it difficult to fully understand the realities of poverty experienced by the intended beneficiaries. Similarly, they are unlikely to have much contact with the poorest sections of those communities in which they do work whatever the stated aims of their organization (Nyamugasira, 1998). Grassroots involvement or participatory development might further exclude specific groups, this is not to say that NGOs that work with the poor and excluded are inefficient; there are documented examples of effective work in such contexts (Alebikiya, 1993: Kolbilla and Wellard, 1993) for Ghana, but common hindrances need to be recognized. These include heavy report demands of donors, which inevitably encourage NGOs to select educated field staff who are able to write fluent and careful English reports. Vivian (1994) argues that the myth of participation is exposed and NGOs are less participatory than they are expected to be and NGO staff end up "thinking for" the intended beneficiaries, often overruling popular decisions.

In some instances the intended beneficiaries of these development programs merely serve as passive recipients without much leverage to alter the content of this agenda. Besides the lack of fit between the NGO's agenda and the needs of the poor, there is often virtually no participation by the latter; this leads to a lack of ownership, misdirection of resources, wrong choice of priority areas, lack of sustainability, and poor coverage. In many instances, this has created suspicions about NGOs as self seeking entities, instead of being perceived as caring for the interests of the poor. This may also, in part, explain why NGOs are regarded as proxies acting on behalf of their funders. Arnold (1998) contends that, contrary to popular belief, NGOs do not do what they do for the reasons of altruism. They are not in the business of providing charity, even though their activities may appear humanitarian and lead people to regard them as altruistic. These developmental activities could be seen as a front which allows them to carry out their own hidden agenda.

Therefore, we can infer that some NGOs working with the poor have their own interests which differ from those intended to benefit the marginalised populace.

Although NGOs are said to work with grassroots organizations that are often comprised of poor and marginalized groups, the survival and sustainability of projects hinders them from attaining the expected results. In some instances the projects are successful; they usually remain rather small, especially when compared to the scale of their challenges. The issue of uneven development will be discussed in the next section.

2.6 NGOs and uneven development

This involves the uneven presence and activity of NGOs across space. In a sense, the transnational and other flows of knowledge, resources, ideas, values and power that sustain and are channeled by NGOs touch ground unevenly (Bebbington,2004). To understand the nature of this unevenness and how it is generated, it is critical that one understand NGOs as a phenomenon and their place in uneven development. Mercer (2002:13) refers to the proliferation of NGOs and civil societies in urban over rural societies and the tendency of NGOs and civil societies to be stronger in development hotspots. While there is likely to be some truth in such critical observations, there are many dimensions of unevenness in NGO activity. Quite probably there are many socio-historical and political-economic factors driving the unevenness and those that lead to the uneven NGO effects of immanent political economic processes in these different locations. This uneven development calls for contextualized and historicized accounts of the interaction between immanent and intentional development. Taken together, these observations echo recent calls for greater detail in analyzing NGOs (Igoe, 2005). Mohan (2003) argues that what should be studied in terms of NGOs in development is actually existing civil society not just the civil society

that is presumed to exist (Mercer, 2002). The uneven development of NGOs, thus, might lead to the scaling up of activities.

2.7 Scaling up of NGOs

The expansion of NGOs beyond the local level has become an important issue of NGOs in committing to social change (Zaidi, 1999). Even if the social delivery of NGOs is successful the scale of achievement remains small, especially when compared to the numbers of beneficiaries and the scale of the challenges of poverty they face. NGOs are not evenly or systematically distributed in geographical terms. Rather, in some areas, they are concentrated but in others they are virtually absent, as is the case of rural and urban disparities. Therefore, there exists a need for NGOs to expand their activities in terms of coverage and expansion. NGOs scale up by becoming larger organizations, managing larger budgets and reaching more beneficiaries. While this is one of the possible ways to expand the impact of NGOs, they can scale up their activities without necessarily becoming large. NGOs can expand by increasing their size, taking on new activities, influencing the behavior of other organizations and assuring their own organizational sustainability.

Expanding size and coverage: an NGO increases impact by becoming a larger organization, managing more funds, employing more skilled personnel and covering a large number of beneficiaries, typically a geographical area. This was termed quantitative scaling up (Uvin, 1999).

Increasing Activities: this is termed "functional scaling up" which entails expanding the total menu of activities undertaken by an NGO. Diversification or horizontal integration consists of an expansion in the diversity of the activities undertaken. Vertical integration occurs when organizations add upstream or downstream activities that complement their

original program, seeking to ensure the sustainability of impact (Mnaji, 1999). For instance, if an NGO focused its activities on the advocacy of HIV/ AIDS mitigation programs it may add programs like provision of antiretroviral drugs, which would assist OVC in accessing treatment and tests.

Enhancing organizational sustainability: this involves enhancing sustainability, indicating a movement from the uncertainties of entrepreneurial beginnings to the long term solidity of programs. Sustainability, which is a critical component in the criteria for defining the success of NGO projects, has also not been fulfilled in many cases (Zaidi, 1999:266).Scaling up might not necessarily achieve the desired rights, hence there is a need to understand the context in which NGOs work. NGOs scale up by becoming larger organizations, managing larger budgets and reaching more people. While this is certainly one possible way to expand impact, NGOs have to understand the relationship they have with the state and donors in that particular context.

2.8 NGOs and Donor agencies

NGOs have not only increased in numbers, but they have forged innovative and increasingly wide ranging formal and informal linkages with donors and government agencies. These relationships have profound effects on globalization and local lives. The emergence of the new world order in which market and private organizations were expected to play a greater role in economic activities led to a significant increase in official aid to the NGO sector. Donor assistance in promoting people centred development is critical as far as NGO development work is concerned. The recent increase of donor interest in NGOs may be more harmful than helpful to the NGO community (Zaidi, 1999).As a compromise between funding social programs through governments and a complete laissez-faire policy, NGOs became an important vehicle for development funds

with consequences that seriously undermined their progressive potential. NGOs that received donor funding sometimes took a more compromising, apolitical stance, if not an openly right wing one. Alternatively, there were those which met the development agenda of their funders, or at least did not directly challenge it. Edwards and Hulme (1996) are of the view that NGOs become contractors implementing the funders' agenda in the economy. NGOs therefore become the new temporary workers of development, useful to national and international agencies for specific tasks, but easily discarded as circumstances change and, consequently, limited in their ability to challenge the development practice. NGOs are recommended for furthering the 'New Policy Agenda' of efficient growth, democratic governance and sustainable poverty alleviation. But, from a critical perspective, these goals are camouflage for policies that benefit a few. The World Bank, a major donor to NGOs, which had poverty elimination as a founding mission, after decades now argues that it does not have enough money to contribute towards development, but can offer good advice to poorer nations. Rather than contributing to sustaining poverty alleviation, NGOs, despite their efforts, have at a systematic level contributed to sustaining poverty. Maintaining poverty and inequality is an integral part of the new policy agenda of capitalism. The NGO phenomenon has supported this by contributing to the deregulation of the state (Bebbington, 2004).

The contribution of international donors in enabling the growth of NGOs has been widely acknowledged. However, the support by donors has been a double-edged sword in so far as organizational growth and the impact of programme activities can be matched (Anheir, 1990). While donor support has enabled the building up of a critical mass of civil society actors, the over-reliance on external funding has forced organizations to refocus their activities so as to address the programmatic interests of the funding agencies. One of the key results of this is that many NGOs cannot claim independence in their choice of

activities and focus. Thus, by imposing an agenda and objectives, "the donors can distort the links between an NGO's value base, organization and development, and thus ultimately weaken the NGO even at the same time as increasing its financial, technical and human resources in the short term" (Bebbington and Farrington,1993:16). This also suggests that 'partnerships' that are mediated by money are characterized by tension and inequality, and inequality never builds capacity. Mnanji (1999) is also of the viewpoint that, since NGOs are always in dire need of financial resources, it is easy for them to become co-opted by donors and consequently mimic their agenda. To guard against this, NGOs should be careful and not lend legitimacy to organisations and programs that are, inherently, a part of the problem (Korten, 1987). NGOs should seek to secure positive international assistance that does not threaten to dilute their voluntary care for the poor. NGO-donor cooperation is important in addressing the social and environmental problems of development, and in meeting the basic objective of reducing poverty. In summary, the donor and NGO relationship is criticized on the grounds that it diverts these agencies from pursuing development as they strive to meet and satisfy donor priorities. The large sums of money made available to them by donors gives rise to a patron client relationship which is donor-driven.

2.8.1 NGOs and the State

NGOs, whether deservedly or not, have gained a reputation as the leading practitioners of development in Africa. NGOs have had a comparative advantage over the state; therefore, they tend to contribute to institutional pluralism by complementing the government. African governments have responded ambiguously to the presence of these new agencies. On the one hand they value the economic resources that NGOs can raise but, on the other hand, they resist the political pluralisation implied by popular development action.

Traditionally, the relationship between NGOs and the state has been characterised by benign neglect and outright hostility. The reason for this state of affairs is not hard to find. Most governments, at least in Africa, perceive NGOs as a threat to their power and influence over the populace. According to Edwards and Hulme (1992: 16), two factors which, it is suggested, control the nature of relations between NGOs and the state are regime type and the function served by NGOs. The NGO-State relationship has been a major bone of contention in the area of development. In Zimbabwe, whatever assistance these organizations might offer ought to be channeled through the relevant government ministries. To that end, the government has to approve their projects before they are allowed to operate on the ground. This requirement has been a source of friction between the government and NGOs. This can lead to delaying the implementation of projects since some NGOs do not have control as to when they revive funds. NGOs have managed to work closely with department heads who then act as their link to the relevant authorities who might be interested to know what they do on the ground.

On the other hand, NGOs see government as corrupt and ineffective beyond any hope, in terms of development of the poor. The latter view has prompted many scholars, like McRobert (1991:3), to say: "it is my firm belief that the government must keep out of the development field". However, there exists a need for NGO and government collaboration to ensure effective development for poor people. Edward and Hulme (1996) argue that "there are sound reasons for NGOs to enter into a positive and creative relationship with the institution of both the state and the government. Governments remain largely responsible for providing health, education, agriculture and other services on which people rely… NGOs ignore government structures at their peril". NGOs should work with the government and challenge it when it strays from its stated commitments. There are some instances, like the third generation, that Korten (1987) refers as development which occurs

within national boarders and is thus subject to state control. Graff and Louw (1992) point out that conflict is inevitable where different classes, interests, strategies and target populations are represented by their state, on one hand, and NGOs on the other. Governments have found ways of controlling NGOs' involvement in development by formulating ways of maintaining and policies for the registration and coordination of NGOs operating within their countries. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

2.8.2 Registration and coordination

In many countries there have been methods for registering either foreign or local NGOs. Governments are often informed of what each NGO is doing, whether they are actually carrying out their stated objectives or whether these objectives fit government policy, their own overall development plans, or even address priority needs (Korten, 1999). For example, Rwanda's law goes much further than any of the others by requiring that NGOs demonstrate the involvement of the beneficiary community in defining its own needs and in planning the project before the NGO can be registered. It also requires that the impact of projects be evaluated and approved by the responsible ministry before the NGOs' registration can be extended.

The NGO Bill in Zimbabwe is a draconian piece of legislation. The NGO Bill essentially maintains most features of the Private Voluntary Organisations' Act but goes further by introducing new provisions that expand the range of organizations required to register under the law while, at the same time, banning a broader range of NGO activity. The bill also provides the government with direct and excessive control over all NGOs. It increases Government representation on the NGO Council, requires that NGOs reapply annually for registration on the NGO council and requires that each NGO submits a three year activity plan when applying for registration (Moyo, 2005). This will affect NGOs that work with

OVC, especially in cases where the activity is not approved by the government. NGOs have to suspend their services until they submit a plan which is supported by the government. The bill thus gives the government absolute authority. The legislation of most countries provides for the registration of NGOs. In some instances, if NGOs are found to be in breach of the rules of registration they can be fined and members would face stiff terms of imprisonment. In Kenya, disqualification can lead to a sentence of ten years (Zaidi, 1999). In summary, the context in which NGOs operate might affect the quality of service delivery in development.

2.9 Conclusion

Regardless of the criticisms of NGOs, these organizations play a critical role in development. The anti-state policies, the fiscal and administrative crisis of third world countries, the overall retreat of the state and the end of the cold war are seen as the processes which have led to the renewed prominence of the roles of NGOs (Bebbington and Farrington, 2000). The new world order gave prominence to the growth of NGOs. The key justification behind this growth is state failure. It is surmised that the state and public sector have not been able to deliver development to the presumed beneficiaries and NGOs, as a form of development agency, must step in to fill the gap. The next chapter explores the nature of the Zimbabwean state by unearthing how the socio-economic and political crisis has necessitated the growing importance of NGOs in caring for OVC.The vacuum created by the government, in providing for the needs of OVC, has been filled by NGOs. Against this backdrop, NGOs have played a significant role in catering for the needs of OVC, despite being considered agents of multi-lateral institutions and dominant western governments and their imperialist motives.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATURE OF THE POST INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWEAN STATE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief analysis of the political and economic transitions that Zimbabwe has undergone. This analysis helps to contextualize the study because, during the time of data gathering, significant changes in the political economy took place. These changes directly affect Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).Owing to the socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe, NGOs have played a prominent role in caring for OVC.The vacuum created by the government, in providing for the needs of OVC has been filled by NGOs. Against this backdrop, NGOs have played a primary role in catering for the needs of OVC despite being considered agents of multi-lateral institutions and dominant western governments, and their imperialist aims. There were four main phases in the development of social and economic policy of an independent Zimbabwe (Gibbon, 1995). The first, stemming from independence to 1982, was accompanied by an economic boom. A second phase, from 1982 to around 1986, contained two major economic recessions, a check on redistribution policies and continuing good relations between the government and the capitalists. The third from 1986 to 1990 involved the resumption of a degree of economic growth and a downplaying of redistribution. The fourth was that of structural adjustment, which began in 1990, and which was characterized by severe drought and economic contraction.

3.2 State and Political Economy in Zimbabwe 1980-1986

Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980.At independence the government inherited a dual economy characterized by a reasonably developed infrastructure and industrial sector

and, in contrast, poor rural communities (UNDP, 1998). There was white domination over many sectors of development given that, prior to independence, Zimbabwe was a white settler colonial state (Mlambo, 1997). In rural areas, where approximately 77% of the population lived, small scale farming was characterized by arid conditions, poor soil quality and low productivity. On the other hand, 4 000 Europeans owned most of the productive lands, where large scale commercial farming and ranching dominated (Alwang et al, 2000). Social divisions also reflected the pattern of urban settlements, where low-density suburbs were almost exclusively white areas. Most black people stayed in high density residential areas which were characterized by poor infrastructure, limited access to high quality public services and overcrowding. Zimbabwe had to deal with the role of international finance capital (De Waal, 1990). In 1982 it was estimated that at least 70% of private sector capital stock was foreign owned. Following independence, the government embarked on a program of centralized economic planning and social oriented policies. Priority was given to poverty reduction and government spending was directed towards social sectors.

Bond and Manyaya (2002: 9) and Herbst (1990: 222) are of the view that the Zimbabwean state used socialist rhetoric without changing the pre-independence structures, in addition to which economic power relations such as access to productive land remained unchanged. This was partly due to concessions of the "willing buyer" and "willing seller" land agreement that were made during the Lancaster House talks (Kaseke 1993). By 1989 only 45 000 families had been resettled, with 4000 white commercial farmers still owning over 95% of commercial farm lands (Moyo, 1997). The country's landholding patterns where highly skewed in favor of the minority white population. In other words, the economic growth (increase in productivity) was not necessarily accompanied by development for the majority of the population.

These disparities also existed in the post-colonial state since there was both an economically disenfranchised majority and a new black ruling elite and international oligarchy (Mandaza, 1986). The dictatorial rule of the ruling party produced ambiguity, contradiction and fundamentally opposing interests between the poor and the ruling elite ever since independence (Baker, 1984). The point being made here is that the role of the ruling elite be it of the white minority and former colonialists or the new black ruling elite, had a deleterious impact on the poor. The socialist rhetoric re-imposed colonial inequalities whilst, at the same, they were publicly at the forefront of a struggle to combat neo colonialist imperialism. The following section will look at how these inequalities where furthered in the Structural Adjustment era.

3.3 The Descent into Economic Structural Adjustment Programs

The pre-independence financial debt combined with government spending in key service sectors such as health and education led the government to adopt the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP). The emergence of ESAP in the early 1990s, designed to liberalize and reinvigorate a highly regulated and stagnating economy, subsequently had a negative impact on social development. Accordingly, this worsened the situation of children in comparison to other vulnerable groups. ESAP called for, among other things, the removal of subsidies for social services and basic commodities, an introduction of cost recovery measures in social sectors such as health, education and housing by limiting the government's role as a service provider, and the liberalization of foreign exchange and foreign trade rules (UNDP, 1998).

The social and economic impacts of these policies cannot be overemphasized. ESAP saw soaring rates, increased costs of living, rising inflation, job losses leading to unprecedented levels of poverty. Even with the existence of the Social Dimension Fund (SDF) to mitigate

the effects of ESAP, the majority of the population continued to live in poverty, with women and children accounting for a significant number of those affected (75%). The negative neoliberal economic impacts of ESAP have been increased by poor political decision making, political instability, the land invasion, and the hyper inflationary environment (Germann, 2005). While there is little literature on the impact of ESAP on children, Mupedziswa (1997) suggests that it had a negative impact on children's education, health, nutrition and other basic needs.

The impact of ESAP in other developing countries clearly demonstrates that the pattern of impoverishment since the 1980s in Zimbabwe is similar. Dashwood (1996) disputed the fact that reform programs inherently caused hardships for the poor. With regard to Zimbabwe specifically she contended that it was in fact the ruling elite that furthered neoliberal hegemony. In the light of the argument of this study, notwithstanding the generally valid critique of neoliberalism, the Zimbabwean ruling elite could have handled the situation differently and put in place measures to protect the interests of the poor and minimize the effects of neoliberal policies on the poor. However, it is important to note that the state was operating within the constraints of IMF/WB conditions and implemented a reform package which was informed by policies which, by nature, were repressive towards the poor.

Although there was a strong sense of disconnection between policy statements and policy implementations, many policies in the 1980s presaged the neoliberal nineties. There were strong undercurrents of neoliberalism beneath the state's socialist rhetoric from the outset of independence. Finally, the erosion of many of the control measures that the government had operated since independence moved towards structural adjustment. The break in neoliberal policies was coupled with a continuity of political power. The same ministers who had previously extolled the virtues of socialism and economic controls now adopted

market forces and liberalization therefore creating that paradox (Raftopoulus and Savage, 2004).

Why the government adopted the reforms at the time in which they did is a cause for concern. Davies (2004) points out that one possible explanation is that there was a need for change because growth rates were low and the binding constraints of foreign exchange earnings had to be broken. SAPs followed the conventional economic wisdom for dealing with the problems that the government was trying to address at that point in time i.e. raising the rate of growth in the face of foreign currency constraints. Davies (2004) attests that the government in fact proceeded to implement some aspects of SAPs faster than the program documents spelt out, for example; the pace of import liberalization was faster than initially stated.

To emphasize the negative impact of neoliberal policies on the poor is not to say that the reform program negatively impacted all sectors of the population or that all its results were wholly negative. Clearly some sections of society benefited. It is, in fact, the very nature of such programs to promote uneven development. Indeed, one of the repeated charges against SAPs is that they were beneficial for a few minorities at the expense of the poor. It can be confidently asserted that even some ordinary Zimbabweans did benefit from these programs. Nevertheless, it is maintained here that the overall impact of the programs, in the lives of the poor, is negative (Mlambo, 1997).

3.4 Zimbabwe's economy 1997 onwards

Although ESAP had many faults, the early 1990s saw some growth and by 1996 there appeared a possibility that the SAPs where bearing fruit. However, 1997 saw a reversal of the trends and marks the start of the current economic and political crisis. From 1997, the economy of Zimbabwe decreased dramatically and had radical land reform characterised

by land invasions, hyper inflation over 8 000 % and corruption (German, 2005).The dramatic decline in the standards of living affected the liberation war veterans. After the war, the majority of them ended up either unemployed, self employed or in low paying jobs in the government sector. Although they were assured access to land in the liberation struggle, such access did not materialize so they decided to revolt and protest. They were given payouts and stipends which were aimed at controlling their dissent. There was no budget for these payouts so the national budget had a deficit leading the World Bank to suspend balance of payment support. In this process, Zimbabwe was reviled as a dictatorial and authoritarian regime (Stiff, 2000). This serves to portray how the historical context of Zimbabwe led to the growing prominence of NGOs.

Starting around the year 2000, white-owned farms were seized and redistributed by the war veterans. With little experience in large commercial farming and difficulty in obtaining bank loans, the new farm owners were unable to properly cultivate the land and food production in Zimbabwe declined rapidly. This is significant because agricultural crops, namely tobacco, soy and corn were the country's leading exports and the new farmers were not capacitated to maintain the commercial farming previously dominated by whites. What followed were a series of events that plunged the country into desperate poverty.The period since 2000 has seen Zimbabwe slide into a complex socio-economic crisis which has precipitated household and individual poverty as well as vulnerability and consequent social exclusion. Several factors have been responsible for the worsening state of affairs. Chief among them are severe macroeconomic instability resulting in continuous economic decline, characterised by hyperinflation, chronic shortages of basic commodities and the decline in essential social facilities. Overall real economic performance has been negative since 2000 with a cumulative decline of 33.5 percent. International political isolation and economic sanctions, as retaliation for its land reform program, has severely

crippled the country's productive base (UNDP,2009).This unprecedented economic downturn has indeed brought about increased poverty which, in turn, increasedthe social and economic marginalisation of already disadvantaged groups. The social categories whose marginalisation and exclusion have been exacerbated include OVC.

A positive development came forth in 2009 when the government authorized the use of more stable foreign currencies (US Dollar, Euro, South African Rand etc). The government itself has now adopted the US Dollar for all of its transactions (USAID, 2009). Although these measures helped to stabilize the economy, ordinary Zimbabweans for whom hard currencies are hard to come by have largely been ignored. The Red Cross estimates that 220,000 people (predominantly from rural areas) have no access to foreign currency at all (Red Cross, 2009). In the political arena, although there was power-sharing agreement between ZANU PF and MDC, there is still a repressive despotism and dictatorship since the ruling party is always overriding decisions made in parliament. This has negative repercussions for the already disadvantaged groups. The major development indicators, which continue to paint a sad picture, reveal that life expectancy is 37 years for men and 34 for women. Unemployment is around 80% (UNDP, 2008).

At the macro-economic level, Zimbabwe's real Gross Domestic Production growth rate decreased from 7% in 1990 to minus 6% in 2007 (IMF and WBO, 2008). The Zimbabwean economy is at odds with the average development of other African economies, which showed increasing growth since 2000. In Zimbabwe, the official rate of inflation increased from a mere 15% in 1990, to 525% in 2003, nearly 8000% in August 2007 and 231 million in July 2008.At that time, the economy had a one hundred trillion dollar note circulating. This was regarded as an indication of the economic crisis. Below is a picture of a one hundred trillion bearer cheque which circulated around 2008 demonstrating the hyperinflationary environment.

Fig 3.1 A one hundred trillion bearer cheque.

Kaufmann (2008) reports a downward trend in all governance indicators from 1996 to 2007, with the most pronounced deterioration in government effectiveness, rule of law and control of corruption.

These macro economic developments have clear repercussions on child welfare dimensions. Child malnutrition increased from 13% of those under the age of five in 1999 to 20% in 2002(GOZ, 2004). Infant mortality is on the increase from 49 per 1000 children in 1990 to 58 per 1000 in 2006 (World Bank, 2007). The decrease in life expectancy from 62 in 1990 to 33 in 2006 is closely related to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS and the low coverage of Anti-Retroviral Treatment (ART) (only 17% of those who are infected have access to ART programs). In 2009, UNICEF estimated that school attendance plummeted from 80% to 20% in 2008 and nearly all rural schools remained closed until early 2009 (UNICEF, 2009).

3.5 Devastating impact of HIV/ AIDS in Zimbabwe

The impact of HIV/AIDS on children in Zimbabwe is compounded by and integrally linked to broader socio-economic issues, mainly the result of years of inequitable resource distribution and lack of investment in human capacity development. Although these factors affect all sectors of the economy, the impact will be much greater among the poor. About 45% of the children in Zimbabwe live in poverty and a substantial proportion of these children are likely to experience orphanhood (German, 2007). The current impact of Zimbabwe's situation on OVC remains unknown apart from the existing devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. By 1990 there were 150 000 OVC; this increased to 1.4 million by 2005 (UNICEF, 2007). Faced with the OVC crisis, the Zimbabwean government developed a National Orphan Care Policy to mobilise resources for the support of OVC through institutionalisation, fostering and community based care. It is worth noting that, despite its good intentions, there exists a wide gap between theory and practice, the policy has not been fully implemented.

The negative demographic impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on Zimbabwe's population cannot be overemphasized. Matinhure (2003) projected that, with the effect of HIV/AIDS, Zimbabwe's population would have grown from 10.4 million in 1992 to an estimated 14 million in 2002 and 16.6 million in 2010. In fact the population now stands at 12 million; the decline in population suggests an increase in mortality and morbidity amongst the active population. Without the care of parents or an appointed caregiver, children are likely to face extraordinary risks of malnutrition, poor health, inadequate schooling, homelessness and abuse. In response, governments and NGOs have initiated programs designed to address the needs of OVC and to provide support and care to OVC. The Central Statistics Office (2002) suggests an increase in HIV /AIDS related morbidity and

mortality. The estimated life expectancy in Zimbabwe is about 26 years lower than it would have been without HIV/AIDS (Matinhure, 2003).

3.6 Deregulation of the State and the Surge of NGOs in Zimbabwe

The new policy agenda led to the growing importance of NGOs and civil society in Zimbabwe due to the gradual retreat of the government in public service delivery. Tendler (1997: 1) notes that the state developed a weak public institution with inefficient operations, incapable of combating poverty. Budget cuts during this time left the state increasingly unable to cope with its basic function of providing social services. NGOs stepped into this gap as alternatives to enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness in the provision of public services. Despite their best efforts in contributing towards sustainable development at a systematic level, they have merely contributed towards sustaining poverty. The first historical trend of NGOs in Zimbabwe can be considered welfare activities which rose from the philanthropy that flourished from the 19th century onwards (Korten, 1990: 15). The second historical trend sees the emergence of development NGOs from the Independence era which Zimbabwe experienced in the 1980s. The 1990s was a different period which witnessed Zimbabwe making a serious shift from its socialist policies to market driven policies. This will be discussed below as cited by Mutizwa (2006: 4-5) in the *Zimbabwe NGO Cooperate Governance Manual PVO 221/6V.*

- **First Generation NGOs (Relief and Welfare)**

These NGOs were popularly known as Welfare organizations because they have their origins in charity and concern for the welfare of disadvantaged groups. Most NGOs were formed by religious groups because this was considered part of putting into practice their religious teachings and beliefs. Much of their work revolved around giving hand-outs to

and taking care of the needs of orphans, vulnerable children, abandoned babies, the disabled, homeless people and the elderly.

- **Second Generation NGOs (Development NGOs)**

The attainment of independence in 1980 ushered in a new era of development NGOs in Zimbabwe. In the first two to three years after independence, the work of NGOs was to complement the efforts of the black majority government in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country as it emerged from war. Thereafter, NGOs moved to development work which was in line with a series of government transitional development plans. Such work included providing support to resettled people, agricultural skills in rural areas, programs to advance women in development, local income generating projects, natural resources management and the integration of disabled people into communities. A lot of international NGOs came to Zimbabwe to assist in the development since there was a lot of infrastructural development taking place in terms of the construction of dams, clinics and schools.

- **Third generation NGOs**

The 1990s was a period which witnessed Zimbabwe making a serious shift from its socialist policies to market driven policies. Zimbabwe participated in a lot of United Nations Global conferences on children, the environment, women, population and human rights. This had a significant bearing on a new group of NGOs that began to engage in policy advocacy activities. Whilst not all NGOs were involved in policy advocacy, a rights based approach to development work could be referred to as the characteristic feature of third generation NGOs. According to Foster (2000), the FOCUS (Families, Orphans and Children under Stress) program, Save the Children, OXFAM and the Red Cross amongst other NGOs in Zimbabwe supported community based orphan initiatives at urban and rural

sites. People at grassroots level are given the basic training they need to identify and register orphans in the community. After discussing issues of NGOs in Zimbabwe, the following section concentrates on the dimensions of Vulnerability in OVC in order to determine if the legislation affecting this particular group is achieving it purpose of child protection.

3.7 Dimensions of Vulnerability in OVC in Post Independent Zimbabwe

The dimensions of vulnerability in OVC in Zimbabwe are varied. While Zimbabwe has high levels of primary school enrolment (90% in the 2005/6 ZDHS survey), transition to secondary school is much lower, and with only 24% of children aged 13- 18 attending secondary school (CSO, 2007). Drop out from schooling is highest in poorest households, with drop out attributed to inability to pay school fees, need to help with house labour, or caring for a sick parent or younger siblings (CSO, 2007; USAID, 2009) While some assessments report children affected by HIV and AIDS to be twice as likely to drop out of school (UNICEF, Government of Zimbabwe, 2005; ZIMVAC 2005), the 2005/6 ZDHS suggests only slight disadvantage in orphaned children with respect to primary school attendance, with 89% attending school compared to 91% of other children.

Table 3:1 Comparison of needs surveyed OVC generally and for OVC affected by HIV and AIDS

Specific Needs	General Level of OVC who access the need	Specific Level of OVC affected by HIV and AIDS who access the need	Source
Birth Registration	70%	No data	GoZ, UNICEF, 2005
Access to Education	91%	89%	ZDHS 2005-2006
% Children <5 yrs underweight	16%	21%	ZDHS 2005-2006
% eating less than	34%	67%	USAID 2000

45

3 meals per day			
Basic Material needs for personal care	49%	35%	GoZ, UNICEF ,2005

(Source: CSO 2007; Government of Zimbabwe and UNICEF, 2005)

These population surveys are a key source of evidence on OVC as many other facility based routine data sources may exclude vulnerable children, given poorer uptake of these services in poor households in both urban and rural areas (GoZ and UNICEF, 2005), and poor reporting of sexual offenses and other abuses (UNICEF, 2006). With such a high level of orphan hood and vulnerability in children, it is important that the stakeholders concerned with child welfare map and measure the distribution of needs associated with child vulnerability as comprehensively as possible, to inform planning and the distribution of resources for the response.

The vulnerability of children is now in the limelight because of the breakdown of the various coping mechanisms that have existed in the past, when it was easily and readily addressed through community coping mechanisms, such as the Zunde raMambo, and community coalitions where members of a community pooled resources to assist a family in need by providing it with food from the community granaries (Mushunje, 2006). Orphans were absorbed into extended family networks. However, today, because of deepening poverty, it is a challenge for households to absorb extended family members when they cannot afford to provide for their own basic necessities. As a result, the orphan crisis has become more amplified (Ayala, 2007). The following section will look into the existing policies in Zimbabwe in order to contextualise OVC in this study. Zimbabwe has a policy framework which was meant to protect the rights of children, yet there is still a

disjuncture between theory and practice. The laws and policies have not been able to adequately protect the rights of children.

3.7 Legislation affecting OVC in Zimbabwe

Notwithstanding the fact that Zimbabwe had a legal system which was meant to protect the OVC, the above mentioned socio-economic factors and lack of commitment in the implementation of the policies, to some extent, affected OVC negatively in terms of addressing their needs. Children's laws in Zimbabwe are based primarily on the welfare approach. Zimbabwe has a legal system with relevant statutes such as the Children's Act Chapter 5:06 of Zimbabwe, the Guardianship of Minors Act 9 Chapter 5:08 and The Birth and Death Registration Act which are meant to protect children. It is worth noting the discrepancy between policy and practice because, to date, most of these policies have not been implemented. Therefore, in essence, there has been a disjuncture between theory and practice.

3.7.1 The Children's Act (Chapter 5:06) of Zimbabwe

The Children's Act Chapter 5:06 of 2006, previously known as the Children's protection and Adoption Act, is the most relevant and comprehensive statute governing the rights of abused and neglected children who need protection. It provides categories of children who need care as: those who are destitute or even abandoned, whose parents are dead or cannot be traced, those with parents who are unfit to exercise proper care over them and those who are denied proper health care. Foster (2000) contends that the Act obligates the department of social welfare and development to specifically deal with matters pertaining to children. However, due to a lack of financial resources, the department of social welfare is not capacitated to deal with issues related to OVC. This instrument is powerful in

supporting OVC, if children's rights to be heard and to participate are guaranteed. However, the challenge here lies in who decides what the best interests of the child are.

3.7.2 The Guardianship of Minors Act of Zimbabwe

This Act was adopted in 1997 deals primarily with matters related to the custody of children whose parents separate/divorce and clearly outlines the "best interest of the child" as its basis for making decisions. It stipulates, among other things, that on separation the mother of the child must take custody of her children until a court order to the contrary is made. It also allows for the other parent to appeal for arbitration by the courts. **The Birth and Death Registration Act** mandates that parents register the births of their children within 42 days of birth. There are, however, certain obstacles to this. These obstacles include the uncertain marital status of parents, births outside of a medical facility, and the transport costs or time needed to affect the registration process. The lack of registration impacts on every aspect of a child's life, including access to education, health care, inheritance, employment and identity. Many OVC have their right to identity violated by a bureaucratic registration authority and find it difficult to acquire any form of identity (Dhlembeu, 2004). These Acts were in place before the era of HIV/AIDS and the prominence of other factors like poverty, as well as the economic and political crises which led to the OVC phenomenon. Therefore, they have serious loopholes that can lead to the violation of the dignity of the child. Statutory systems need to give formal recognition to factors leading to the OVC phenomenon so as to protect the rights and the welfare of OVC. Therefore, the laws do not, in essence, go far enough to protect the welfare of OVC.

3.7.3 Current social protection mechanisms for OVC in Zimbabwe

The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) is a component of the government of Zimbabwe's social protection policy. It aims to reduce the number of vulnerable children dropping out of school due to economic hardships. BEAM is one of the five components of the Enhanced Social Protection Project (ESPP), which forms part of Zimbabwe's wider social protection strategy (UNDP, 2005). The program targets children at primary and secondary schools as well as those who attend special schools. It intends to increase the total enrolment of children at all levels. However, coverage is low (7.8% overall with 7.3% and 9.6% of children who are of the primary and secondary school going ages, respectively) and there is evidence of limited success in reaching those most in need (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006). Although BEAM was supposed to operate towards a national target and at community level, it had budget constraints which led it to introduce greater predictability in funding to schools and eliminate arrears. BEAM began implementation in January 2001 and has financed approximately 600,000 children's school fees/levies at primary and secondary levels across Zimbabwe. While other programs are clearly needed, BEAM seems justified in view of the wide ranging benefits of school attendance, such as improved skills and formal sector employment prospects. Other forms of social protection include public assistance, which is very low as a result of inadequate budgetary allocation and only one out of 1000 people in need benefit from this (Kaseke,2004). Social welfare officials have become very selective as to who should benefit, and those who would normally benefit end up not doing so due to the shortage of resources. OVC are supposed to benefit from this support through the heads of their households. This discriminates against children living on their own as they are not considered to be adults who can apply for benefit on their own behalf.

Traditional social protection approaches to combating child hunger and poverty include price subsidies, food based safety net programs and public works; all of which have dominated the social protection landscape in Zimbabwe. Again, these all target adult led households with the assumption that the benefits will trickle down to the children in the household. The challenge with the described forms of social protection is that they tend to be limited. For instance, the block grant system pays for school fees but may not provide for school uniforms and stationery to augment the other social protection mechanisms (UNDP, 2005). Although some programs, like BEAM, have been initiated to ensure the protection and care of OVC there is a lot which needs to be done since not all of the children benefit from these endeavours, thus making it clear that there is still a gap which needs to be filled. A lot of OVC have fallen through the safety nets put in place which highlights the need for these programs to be successfully implemented.

3.8 Child related policies in Zimbabwe

3.8 1 National Orphan Care policy
The National Orphan Care policy of Zimbabwe was adopted in 1999 in response to recognition that the available legislation was not 'orphan specific' and that many OVC were failing to access the protection of the law (Foster, 2000). It is anchored in the principle of the best interests of the child and is enshrined in the UN Convention Article 3 as well as Article 4 of the African Charter. The policy provides a six tier safety net for orphan care intervention as follows. These are listed in the order of importance:

➢ Biological Nuclear family

➢ The extended family

➢ Community Care

➢ Formal Foster Care

➢ Adoption

➢ Institutional

The orphan care policy also sees to the establishment of partnerships between government ministries, private voluntary organizations, the community, churches, traditional organizations, and non-governmental organizations (both national and international). The partners meet to monitor the situation of the children, to network, and to advocate on behalf of the children in addition to responding to the needs of orphans under the consortium now known as the Child Welfare Forum. The policy establishes the Child Welfare Forum at every level starting at the village to the national level.

The National Orphan Care Policy (NOCP) recognizes the traditional leader's role in the care of orphans and the support of programs such as the Zunde raMambo/Insimu yeNkosi and Dura reMambo Isiphala seNkosi by the Child Welfare Forum. This will ensure that the elderly grandparents who care for the young orphans and child headed families will be known and supported within their communities.

The referral systems for state assistance and training for caregivers will be provided. The traditional policy of government has always been that the best interests of the child should prevail in all matters concerning children. This has been strengthened by the ratification of the UNCRC. The cultural values of the Zimbabwean people endorse this principle too. Accordingly, Cabinet mandates that the Department of Social Welfare in the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and the Child Welfare are to develop and design programs for the care of orphans (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006). However, this is not the case as this policy seems to only exist on paper and the government has failed to deliver with regard to design programs which benefit all OVC. Clearly, there is more that needs to be done.

3.8.2 The National Action Plan

The National Action Plan is to provide a framework for the coordination and implementation of interventions and increase access to basic social services and protection for all children. The National Action Plan was proposed by Save the Children in 2004 in the HIV/AIDS mitigation project and endorsed by cabinet in 2004. It was supported by the public and private sectors, donors and children in Child Care and protection. These stakeholders engaged in the process of developing a National Action Plan for OVC in 2003. Due to the increasing number of OVC needing care, a paradigm shift capable of targeting more OVC was needed which was to be an innovative and collaborative approach. The National Action Plan aims to:

- Strengthen the existing coordination structures for OVC programs and increase resource mobilization.
- Increase child participation, as appropriate, in all issues concerning them from community to national levels.
- Increase the percentage or number of children with birth certificates.
- Increase school enrolment for OVC while ensuring retention in primary and secondary schools.
- Increase access to food, health services, water and sanitation for all OVC.

3.8.3 Gaps and Conflicts in Policy and law affecting OVC

Regardless of the above mentioned international instruments, national programs and policies in Zimbabwe, coupled with the lack of consistent revisions to align legislation, lack of financial resources and the lack of commitment in implementation affected OVC negatively in terms of their needs being addressed. Children's laws in Zimbabwe are based primarily on the welfare approach. Prior to the adoption of the CRC there was little interest

in children's rights. None of the existing Acts discussed above are specific to OVC; they therefore provide no guidance or special provision for OVC. Dhlembeu (2004) alleges that the Department of Social Welfare is not orphan-friendly, mainly due to the lack of human or financial resources to deal with the inordinate numbers of OVC.

Furthermore, due to the existence of a dual legal system of customary law and codified general laws, contradictory laws have been enacted that impact negatively on children's full enjoyment of their rights (Gorman, 2003). One example of this is the definition of a child, which varies from one statute to another, and increases the vulnerability of OVC. Table 3.1 below provides a summary of the gaps and contradictions within the existing policies.

Issue	Existing gap or conflict	Recommendation
Consistency	Existing policies and laws with the CRC and the African Charter of the rights and welfare of the child.	To date, Zimbabwe only engaged in piecemeal child law reform. There is need to engage in a well planned fully funded child law review and reform process.
Dual Law	Presently there exists a dual law system of customary and codified laws.	Contradictory laws within the two systems need to be harmonised.
Human and Children's rights	Constitution does not reflect a human rights and child rights framework.	Zimbabwe faces a constitutional crisis. The constitutions do not uphold, in all aspects, human rights and certainly not children's rights. The constitution needs to change issues regarding civil registration as well as the majority status favour of OVC. Gender vulnerability created by section 23(2)(b), needs to be amended. A new constitution, that complies with all human rights treaties that Zimbabwe has signed, is needed.
Restrictive interpretation	Statutory mandated agencies seem to have very limited and	Differences between policy and law require that the responsible ministry needs to provide application

	restrictive interpretation procedures of policy and law.	guidelines. NGOs and social workers need to have national guidelines on how to support OVC. Such guidelines need to be made public to ensure professional accountability to child welfare officers.
Recognize informal and alternative care	Extended family care and other informal fostering care arrangements are not recognized under the law.	The primary duty of the extended family network should be supported by the state in terms of Article 18 of CRC. Community appointed caregivers should be able to be formal guardians. CHHs should be recognized as an alternative care arrangement.
Social security grants	Direct social support, through grants is inadequate, and OVC cannot benefit.	Support grants that are given to families should be managed by transparent community support groups, and not the state. OVC should benefit from such community awarded social support grants, and self reporting by vulnerable children should be acceptable.
Age	Various age definitions cause problems and conflicts.	it is evident that there is a need to have a consistent definition of a child as someone below the age of 18. But the Legal Age of Majority Act Number 6 of 1987 should be amended to include a provision that allows certain minors to be recognized as majors in relation to the creation of specified areas.

Table 3.2: Gaps and conflicts in policy or laws on OVC (O'Gorman, 2003)

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief analysis of the political and economic transitions that Zimbabwe has undergone. This analysis helps to contextualize the study because, during the data gathering period, the political economy underwent significant changes which directly affected OVC and NGOs. Notwithstanding the generally valid critique of the NGO's role in addressing the needs of OVC, the Zimbabwean context necessitated the huge problem of mass orphanhood and the vulnerability of children. Owing to the socio-

economic and political crisis, NGOs have played a prominent role in the caring of OVC. The following chapter deals with the theoretical framework underpinning this study on the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC).

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

According to Swart and Pettipher (2005), a theory is useful as it provides a set of organized principles that, together with contextual knowledge, generate insight into specific situations. This chapter will explore the theoretical framework underpinning this study on the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). This study uses an integrated model comprised of the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) which was further extended by Max Neef's theory of Human Needs, the State or Performance Failure theory and the Social Contract Theory (SCT). This new model was an attempt to gain greater understanding, beyond one specific theory, that would allow us to understand how different basic tenets of the theories can resolve the problem at hand. While one theory could suffice in describing a phenomenon, using a combination of theories was necessary to explain the complex issue of OVC, their vulnerabilities and how they survive in Zimbabwe.

4.2 The integrated model for analysing the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children

The integrated analytic model is composed of the BNA, Max Neef's theory of needs, the Performance Failure Theory and the SCT. This section discusses the aspects of these theories that will be combined to create a framework and it outlines the various combinations that will be made without creating unnecessary contradictions. The diagram below shows the model that this study uses.
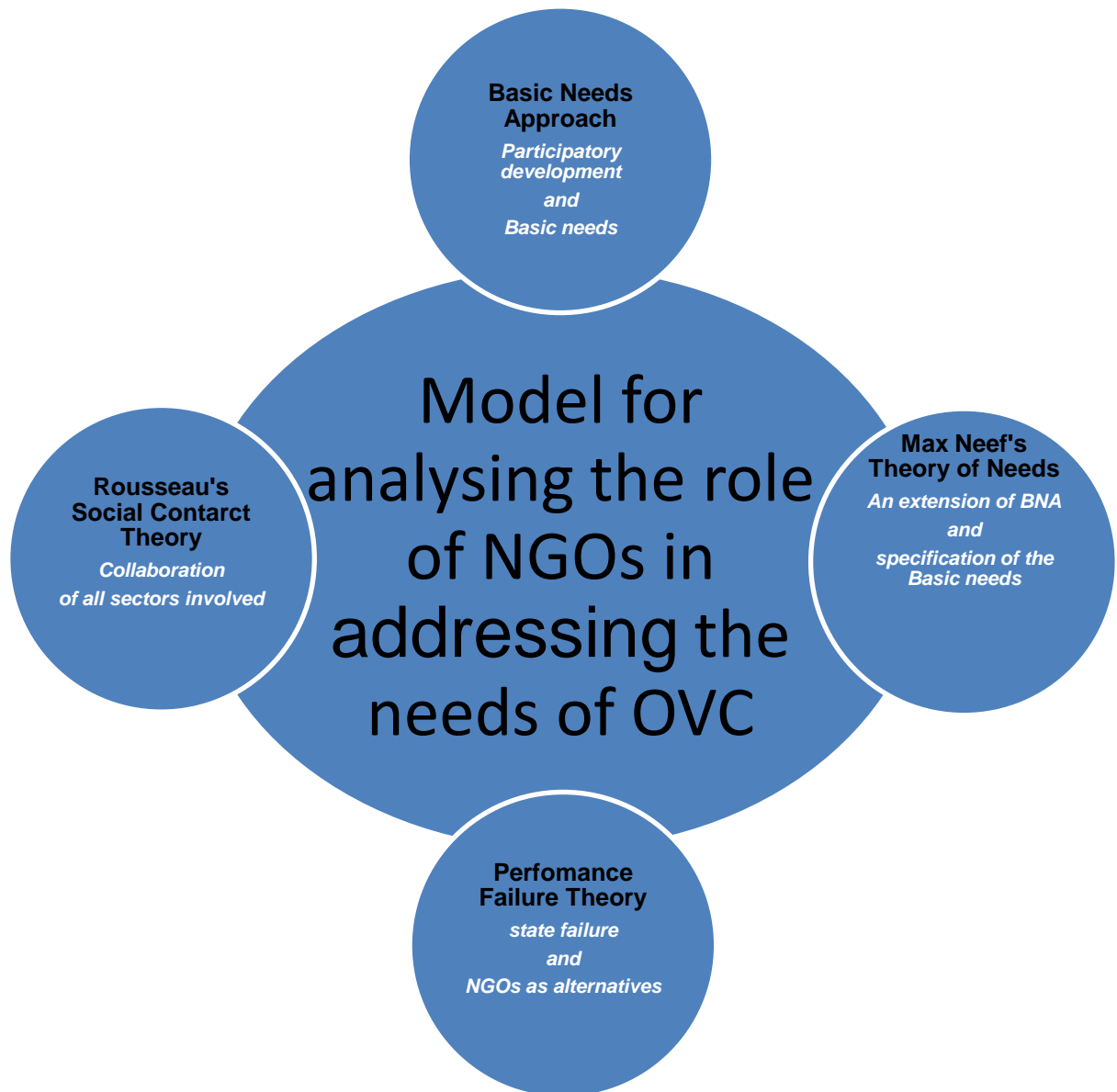
Figure 4.1: Integrated Model for analysing the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children

The various aspects of the model which will be discussed in this section are participatory development, the basic needs of OVC, state failure which has led to the surge of NGOs as positive alternatives counterpoising their imperialist role and collaboration amongst stakeholders in addressing the needs of OVC. Before discussing the aspects of the

integrated model in addressing the needs of OVC I will explain briefly how the theoretical framework is linked with the methodology.

4.3 Reflection on the Linkage between theory and Methodology

In terms of the methodology, the use of ethnography further explores the aspects of the intergraded model of the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. Listening o the voices of OVC in ethnography provide more insights on the issues of basic needs and participatory development. Ethnography involved the collection and analysis of empirical data drawn from a "real world" context. The analysis of the data involved the interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and took the form of verbal descriptions and explanations. This study therefore necessitates the understanding of OVC needs from their own perspective. The crucial significance of using focus group discussions help to tap the bottom up views of the services of SC in Marondera. This has potentially important implications for the role of SC in reaching more OVC. In particular, it points to ways in which NGOs can be challenged to be more alert in identifying the needs of OVC and, more importantly, in searching for ways to address these needs.

In terms of Participatory development the issues of voices of OVC , accessing the views of the children themselves rather than second hand accounts from others acknowledges the need of OVC to participate in relevant social processes and to gain insights of how they view the role of NGOs by respecting their versions of reality. This will provide a framework for examining the needs of OVC and how they are catered for by NGOs through narrative descriptions from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

4.4 STATE FAILURE AND THE SURGE OF NGOs

The integrated model for analyzing the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC, utilizes the principle of state failure and the surge of NGOs. Zartman (2002) is of the view

that when a state has collapsed, it can longer perform its basic functions. Rotberg (2005) defines state failure as the inability to provide positive political goods to its inhabitants. This concept is derived from the **Public Goods or Performance Failure theory.** The capacity of the established social welfare system has failed to cater for the growing numbers of OVC. This has created considerable space for NGOs and made them the key figures in a wide range of social sectors, especially in addressing the needs of OVC. The reality of the current situation is that OVC are on the increase and critical awareness of the functioning of NGOs is needed, together with action at all levels, to deal with this crisis. It is surmised that the state and public sector have not been able to cater for OVC and thus NGOs, as development agencies, would step in and fill the gap. The Performance Failure theory explains the justification of the surge of NGOs in development, with regard to state retreat. According to the Public Goods or Performance Failure theory, NGOs emerged to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society. Weisbrod (1977) argues that NGOs emerged when the government or market could not provide public goods for everybody; neither could they serve the general interests of everybody. Similar views were expressed by Brown and Korten (1999) who assert that state failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as novel responses to different types of problems. Furthermore, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs are capable of providing services more economically than the government. NGOs are acknowledged as a preferred channel for service provision in deliberate substitution for the state. The anti-state policies, the fiscal and administrative crisis of third world countries, the overall retreat of the state and the end of the cold war are regarded as processes that have led to the renewed prominence of the roles of NGOs (Bebbington and Farrington, 1993). The principle justification behind this growth is state failure.

Many NGOs are adept at providing certain goods and services because they have gained technical expertise and experience by working in difficult settings or with underserved populations. NGOs also tend to enjoy greater public trust than the government. Given their expertise and trusted position, they are often best suited to provide high-quality services to the public, for their unmet needs, at low costs (Leonard, 2002). In addition, NGOs do not seek profits for their services and they undertake their projects at lower labour costs because they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. This is debatable and misleading because some NGOs are very involved in income generating activities through which they make profits. Edwards and Hulme (1992) and Girdon (1992) argue that some NGOs are involved in business and they even compete with private business entities to maximize their profits. Based on this argument, the failures of NGO-led projects compared with those of the government have less consequences on the economy as a whole, since nearly all NGO-led projects are carried out at the micro-level.

On the contrary, in the case of government or market failure, the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by such a failure attracts the rise of NGOs. NGOs could, therefore, accomplish unsatisfied needs like health care, social work or education services for OVC. James (1987) claims that the more diverse a society is, the more favourable it becomes for the creation of many NGOs. Similarly, according to the SCT, when people confront difficulties in pursuing contracts, they turn to find reliable agents in NGOs. This is because NGOs could be more trustworthy as contractors between the people and entrepreneurs because entrepreneurs are believed to take undue advantage of the people's ignorance for profit making (James 1987).

Brown and Korten (1999) argue that NGOs could emerge in case of market failure because markets tend to be potentially vulnerable to failure in developing countries. Similarly, Edwards and Hulme (1992) argue that since the end of cold war in 1989 bilateral and

multilateral donor agencies have pursued a new policy agenda which gives new prominence to NGOs in poverty alleviation, social welfare and the development of civil society. At this point in time NGOs were considered the preferred channel for social welfare services. Therefore, NGO growth was seen as one expression of new thought around the role of the government in addressing the needs of OVC. It was directly linked to minimizing the direct role of the government in the economy. During the Anti-state intervention nature of the structural policy measures, the government was forced to withdraw from the socio-economic sphere (Schneider, 1998). In situations such as these, NGOs emerged because the general public had more trust in them than profit making entities (Williamson, 1985; Krashinsky, 1986).

Owing to the socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe, NGOs have played a prominent role in caring for OVC. The vacuum created by the government to provide for the needs of OVC has been filled by NGOs. Against this backdrop, NGOs have played a primary role in catering for the needs of OVC, despite being considered agents of multi-lateral institutions, dominant western governments and their imperialist role. In order for NGOs to alleviate the poverty experienced by OVC the next section will explore the fulfillment of basic needs as a principle for the integrated model utilized in this study.

4.5 BASIC NEEDS

Fulfilment of basic needs is a fundamental requirement for addressing the issue of poverty. The integrated model for analyzing the role of NGOs, in addressing the needs of OVC, utilises the concept of fulfilment of basic needs from the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) which was later extended by the Max Neef theory of human needs. The BNA is concerned with the achievement of "socially acceptable" levels of consumption rather than mere survival. Rights and needs are two concepts that are somehow related. It is important for

this study to show the connection between the two. According to Johnson (1992:5), a need is that which is necessary for either a person or social system to function, within reasonable expectations, given the situation that exists. A right is what one is entitled to and best ensures the just and fair treatment of individuals. Children have fundamental needs that should be fulfilled but sometimes circumstances dictate that the needs of children remain unfulfilled. This is where it becomes essential to consider the rights of children in relation to whatever the need is at any particular point in time. Rights are important in the sense that they aim to ensure that, through the provision of services, children's needs are met and therefore do not fall within the cracks.

The concept of basic needs is seen in the context of economic and social development and not merely as the minimum necessary for subsistence. The BNA insists that each person must have the minimum requirements for existence. Its focus "was not to achieve a utopia, but to present a pragmatic poverty alleviation agenda which includes economic growth, job creation, service provision, and income transfer policies" (Spalding, 1990: 91). The main goal of this approach was to provide the basic needs of the poor within the shortest possible time frame. The BNA insists that public services that address such basic needs directly may substantially improve the health and welfare of the poor by satisfying their minimum requirements for existence.

4.5.1 The interpretation of basic needs

The diverse background of the various elements constituting the BNA and the resultant complexity of the concept explains some of the confusion that has characterized the debate around the value of the approach. Sandbrook (1982) identifies two types of BNAs which he labels Conservative and Radical. A Conservative anti-poverty program would propose piecemeal reforms without existing national and international economic orders, whereas a

Radical one would prescribe a mutually reinforcing set of policies which entail structural change at the international and national levels.

The Conservative approach: In this approach poverty is deemed to result from internal factors within each developing country. This approach is most clearly presented in the publications of the World Bank. Sandrook (1982) notes that "There is no notion in Bank statements that the advanced capitalist countries bear no responsibility for mass poverty, except in so far as their selfish trade policies restrict the flow of third world exports". Hence, poverty can be overcome by policies directed at these internal obstacles to development and, consequently, strategies may be evolved on a sectoral basis, while the economic system itself remains unchanged.

The Radical Approach: Such an approach is attributed to the ILO in the first instance, a redistribution for income wealth in developing countries, so that an effective demand for basic goods /and services can be created amongst the poor. At the same time, a redirection of production structure, away from luxury goods and services catering for the needs of a privileged minority towards basic goods and services required by the poor, is necessary. To achieve these, appropriate methods of production, suitable to the low incomes of the poor, must be used so that remunerative employment can be created. A further principle governing a radical approach is equitable access to public services for all.

The distinction between these two BNAs is not always clearly defined. Central to both approaches is the belief that development should focus in poverty alleviation, through the mobilization of inappropriately or underutilized productive factors. Both approaches focus on the need for a shift from the needs of the minority (the rich) towards those of the majority (the poor). However, according to the Conservative Approach, the necessary structural changes can be achieved provided that appropriate sectoral policies are followed,

and the existing socio-economic order is adapted so that the poorest groups can participate in the determination of their needs and the design of strategies to achieve them. On the other hand, the Radical Approach which has a vested interest in the existing order prevents the necessary changes from taking place; participation alone is insufficient and a complete shift in economic power is necessary.

4.5.2 PRINCIPLES OF A BASIC NEEDS STRATEGY

- Value judgments

Essential to the BNA is, of course, the specification of what constitutes or compromises "basic needs". Basic needs are concerned with the achievement of "socially acceptable" levels of consumption rather than mere survival. In the context of economic and social development the concept of basic needs is not merely the minimum necessary for subsistence. Hence, the notion of basic needs is a dynamic one. As development takes place so the composition and the level of what is considered to be the minimum "socially acceptable" levels of consumption is bound to change as well (Streeten, 1984).

- Absolute and relative needs.

The BNA is directed towards alleviating the problem of poverty, but poverty itself is a complex social, economic and psychological concept. Poverty can be both absolute and relative. Similarly, basic needs can be considered both relative and absolute. Accordingly, the problems of poverty cannot be separated from income consumption and the distribution of basic needs which can also be relative to a country or region's capacity to meet those needs.

The BNA ensures equitable access to public services for all, a shift from the needs of the minority (the rich) toward those of the majority (the poor).The concept of development has tended to increase in depth and richness as the brutality of the actual processes of conventional economic growth is revealed. In the ILO declaration, the BNA as a strategy rejects the earlier growth paradigm and argues for the incorporation of a development guarantee for the weakest social groups in all development programs. The awareness that growth does not necessarily benefit the poorest is certainly a step forward. Although not a great discovery from a theoretical point of view this is of practical importance for international development assistance and, if taken seriously, may increase its relevance.

Emmerij (1988) deals with the most common misunderstanding. He stresses, amongst other things, that the Basic Needs concept was conceived to be an overall social and economic development strategy, not a series of ad hoc projects for the poor in order to bridge temporal difficulties during a transitional period. It emphasised the growth and redistribution of needs. It is not only concerned with the poorest and it is not opposed to the modern sector - it would rather strike a better balance between various sectors. It would reduce dependency on the industrialized countries (Emmerij, 1988).

There is a direct correlation between the provision of basic needs and economic growth. As long as individuals remain deprived of these basic needs, economic development cannot suffice or materialize in a comprehensive manner for the society. Once the poor attain the basic needs for their survival, sustainable development and economic growth becomes possible. While economic growth becomes possible, it is not inevitable. The satisfaction of basic needs in a required minimum level is necessary but not a sufficient condition for sustained economic development. Even when the necessary threshold has been reached, external and internal factors could retard economic development. A basic

needs strategy, properly considered, is therefore only a (necessary) first step towards economic development.

The main criticism for the BNA is whether basic needs should be a right or should be privatized. Few proponents of the BNA would profess to have the final answer to the development problem, or all the instruments to overcome poverty. The BNA approach represents a perspective on development that endeavours to learn from the past and will, without doubt, learn from the lessons of the future (Streeten, 1984).

4.5.3 Max Neef's theory of needs

Similar to the BNA, Max Neef, Elzadale and Hopenhayn (1987) developed the taxonomy of human needs and how people can solve poverty by satisfying their needs. They came up with a model on Human scale development which is based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self reliance. Max Neef's theory is an extension of BNA. In spite of the generally valid critique of NGOs, they have been seen as prominent actors in the delivery of social services. Manfred Max-Neef's theory on human scale development (1991) is used as a framework for understanding OVC's fundamental needs. In terms of this theory, human needs are seen as an interactive and interrelated system and not as a hierarchy. The theory is based on the premise that any fundamental human needs that are not adequately satisfied reveals human poverty. Max Neef et al (1987) classify fundamental human needs as subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, recreation, creation, identity and freedom. A brief description of these needs is provided below:

➢ Subsistence: This relates to the physical and mental health needs e.g. food, shelter and clothing. The living environment is the setting where this need is met.

➢ Protection: This relates to care, adaptability and autonomy. Individuals need to be ensured of social security and health systems. The social environment and/or the dwelling are the settings where this particular need is to be fulfilled.

➢ Affection: This relates to relationships with others and includes qualities like respect, generosity and sensuality. This need is best met when there is sharing, caring and expression of emotions. An intimate space for togetherness is critical for this need to be met.

➢ Participation: This relates to receptiveness, dedication, sense of humour. Individuals need to express their opinions and cooperate. Associations at both local and international levels are the best settings where this can be achieved.

➢ Understanding: This need relates to an individual's intellectual growth and includes qualities like critical thinking, curiosity and intuition. Individuals need to be exposed to situations where they can analyze, study, mediate and investigate. Institutions of learning and communities (e.g. schools) are settings where this need is best met.

➢ Creation: This relates to imagination, boldness and individuality in terms of the development of abilities and skills.

➢ Identity: This relates to a sense of belonging and development of self esteem (getting to know oneself). Places to which one belongs, and which can define who he or she is, are the settings for the fulfilment of this need.

Max Neef (1987) also defines needs according to the existential categories which are having, doing and interacting. From these dimensions, a 36–matrix cell is developed which can be filled with examples of satisfiers from those needs. Although all the fundamental human needs are essential, for the purpose of this study the researcher focuses on the needs that relate to OVC which needs to be addressed by NGOs. The following chart was drawn up by NOVA Institution researchers, showing the 10 basic human needs identified by

Max-Neef, keeping in mind the purpose and facet of holistic care of OVC as the generic satisfier of those needs.

Table 4.1 Max-Neef's taxonomy of Human Needs

Needs	Aspects of needs that require attention	Generic satisfier	Functions and dimensions of satisfier
Subsistence	Body	Holistic ORPHANS and VULNERABLE CHILD CARE Approach	Healthy food Healthy Water Adequate clothing Income
Protection	Environment People Illness Health		Shelter Clothing Hygiene Health-care Employment/Income Government/ Services
Affection	To be special to someone Loyalty Feel good		Love Touch Friends Mentors Family
Understanding	To be schooled To be wise Education		School Read Therapy
Participation	Decisions Work/school Community Society		Have a say in future Be part of a family Active in community
Idleness	Body Enjoyment		Sports Hobbies Friends
Creativity	Create		Hobbies Talents Music, Drama
Identity	Heritage Knowing Parents Culture		Contact with family Culture exposure
Freedom	Freedom to play Choices Freedom of movement		Space Choices Respect

Adapted from Kucklow (2003:21)

Many NGOs are adept at providing social services because they tend to enjoy greater public trust than their government counterparts who have failed to provide social services

to the majority of the population. Given their expertise and trusted position, they are often best suited to provide for the public's unmet needs. In addition, their proximity to local clients affords NGOs the opportunity to expand their range and mix of offerings to diverse public groups beyond the standard service packages offered by firms and governments (Brinkerhoff, 2003). NGOs may be well positioned to understand the needs of marginalised people and give them an effective voice (Stromquist et al, 1998), especially when market mechanisms ignore the needs of OVC (Korten, 1990). Despite the above stated presumed effectiveness, it is important to note that NGOs have been labelled neoliberal tools and have failed, to a certain degree, to adequately address the issues of poverty. NGOs have enriched a minority thereby increasing the gap between the rich and the poor; in this manner, they have intensified poverty in LDCs. The next section will explore the concept of participatory development.

4.6 PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

The concept of participatory development is another principle used in the integrated model of NGOs for addressing the needs of OVC. This principle is utilised in the BNA, Max Neef theory of Needs and the Public Goods theory. According to Chambers (1997), participatory development places decisions regarding development goals, as well as the methods used to achieve it, in the hands of the intended beneficiaries themselves i.e. those who have been marginalized and oppressed in development. The BNA is a redefinition of economic development to include man and his welfare as a central focus towards development. BNA, as a strategy, rejects the earlier growth paradigms and argues for the incorporation of a development guarantee for the weakest social groups in all development programs (Emmerij, 1999). The failure of high rates of economic growth, in the 1960s and the 1970s, to substantially reduce poverty resulted in the widespread call for a redefinition

of economic development. The adoption of economic growth as the chief measure of development was based on the assumption that growth would automatically "trickle down" to benefit all sections of the population, including its poorest members (Coetzee, 1987). However, this type of top-down approach did not produce the desired measure of development. The rationale behind BNA in this study is that the theory forms the basis of an explanation of many problems arising from a dependence on mechanistic economics, and contributes to an understanding that is necessary for a paradigm shift from economic centred to people centred approaches; such an approach concentrates on the needs of the OVC. The BNA allows the achievement of in-depth insight into key problems that impede the actualization of the fundamental human needs of society. This particular study is focussed on OVC and the key problems that impede the actualization and rights of these children.

As long as individuals remain deprived of basic needs, economic development cannot suffice or materialize in a comprehensive manner, for society. Once the poor attain the basic needs for their survival, then sustainable development and economic growth become possible. The main goal of the BNA is to provide the basic needs of the disadvantaged groups within the shortest possible time frame. This theory introduced a development approach in which people at the grassroots level would become the main actors in development and can be seen as forerunners of the people-centred approaches that were to follow (De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998: 8). NGOs need to make OVC the centre of the development process in order to address their needs.

In the BNA, Participatory development can take many forms, ranging from voluntary or involuntary contributions which people make towards predetermined projects, to participation as community empowerment (Oakley, 1991). In its ideal, participatory development is built or founded upon its last, most radical form of participation,

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participation as empowerment. Esman and Uphoff (1984) argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing the people for participation in projects aimed at improving their lives. Furthermore, they claim that NGOs could be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged people. In this regard, NGOs could be considered alternative institutions for development in areas in which the state has failed. Anheier and Lester (1998) also claim that NGOs try to stimulate the participation of the underprivileged and are able to reach the members of society who are often bypassed by public service delivery systems. According to Gran (1983: 154), the majority of marginalized people will not be able to alter their status to any appreciable extent by letting external agents define their needs and goals because such agents appeal to narrowly conceived aspects of the human personality. Chambers (1997: 162) is of the opinion that, through participation, poor people can be empowered to express and analyze their own individual and shared realities. According to Gran (1983), participation assigns to an individual the role not of subject but of actor who defines the goals and directs the process directing his or her life. Participation in terms of strategy involves a shift in the role of the NGOs. Rather than being the providers of services, they become enablers of local communities in developing both the physical and organizational infrastructure needed (Korten, 1999). The poor should take charge of their own development so that they become the owners of development, with the NGOs only playing a facilitating or supporting role (Swanepoel, 2000: 84).

Numerous issues remain unresolved and many more will inevitably emerge in the future. One area where uncertainty persists is the question of the extent to which changes in the existing political economy are necessary for basic needs to succeed. Streeten (1984) alleges that the BNA attacks only the symptoms of poverty rather than the causes, and

popular participation in the decision making process is merely avoiding the need for fundamental and far reaching reforms in economic and political systems.

Similarly, Max Neef's theory of needs reveals that participation is one of the fundamental requisites for addressing the needs of marginalised sections of society. Participation relates to receptiveness and dedication therefore individuals need to express their opinions and cooperate. Participation is best met synergistically by satisfiers that respond to more than one need at a time. In this context, the satisfier (NGOs) is generally considered to understand the range and nature of the needs of OVC. The HIV/AIDS epidemic and other factors have threatened the states' capacity to address the needs of OVC. NGOs are playing a crucial role in addressing the needs of OVC in a holistic approach. NGOs are becoming an increasingly important force; in part, because they are able to facilitate participation amongst beneficiaries. This new thought around and approach to NGO work is a reversal of conventional approaches that focus on technology or on financial resources alone, and deal with development from a humanistic approach. NGOs in development are guided by the principle to putting people first in their work, particularly the poor groups. NGOs organize people making better use of their own local resources, promoting equity, alleviating poverty and establishing new instructional frameworks that will sustain people; this can be termed 'actor oriented development'(Zaidi, 1997).

Similarly, like in the BNA, Esman and Uphoff (1984) in the Performance Failure theory argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing the people for participation in projects aimed at improving their lives. Furthermore, they also claim that NGOs could be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged people in society. In this regard, NGOs are considered alternative institutions through which OVC and underprivileged sections of society are better served.

Most NGOs which work with children have realized that child participation is one of the fundamental principles essential to achieving the rights and needs of children.

Participatory development has led to considerable disagreement among development scholars and practitioners. Some have gone to the extent of questioning the validity of the concept in current development discourses, while others hail it as a panacea to achieve sustainable development. Such a situation has been frequently seen as unreasonable in ideological debate, which further mystifies and romanticizes the concept, making practical application problematic. However, despite the lack of consensus on the framework of participatory development, it has remained a key theme in development discourse.

These approaches emphasize the notion that development must be sustainable and therefore ecologically sound, and that the bureaucratic or development agency should play a supporting role, while the people themselves should have decision-making power. In this way, the capacity of the people to take control of their own development is developed. These approaches can be collectively referred to as "another development" (De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998) and the characteristics thereof are closely linked to alternative development. Alternative development has a strong normative perspective, and is constructed from a variety of development theories. It is an alternative to the mainstream of development theory, aims to democratize the development process and opposes modernization theory, in particular. Alternative development is characterized by a needs-directed approach, originates from the community and emphasizes participation and self-management. It is not seen as a universal approach, but focuses on development at the grassroots level. In line with a more recent trend in development, it has departed from an emphasis on centralized government decision-making towards people's involvement in their own development since the state has failed to provide for its citizens. These two theories are engaged in building a new community that is at once conducive to nature and

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struggling against all kinds of vices through patient and persistent efforts (Kothari, 1993: 126).

Participatory development, also called alternative or people centred development, has its roots in colonialist development effort such as the colonialist movements in the 1950s and the 1960s. In addition, it finds its roots in the 1980s and 1970s, partly in response to the failure of the state due to expensive, top down, large scale development projects. NGOs stepped in to become the alternatives to relief, in this regard, and participatory development became an established approach to development. One of the conceptual foundations for this model is Mahatma Gandhi's concept of *antyodaya*, the idea that true development puts first those that society puts last (Swanepol, 2000). Another conceptual foundation is the popular education theory of Paulo Freire (1970). In popular education, facilitators use small group dialogues to help people critically analyze the social political systems in which they live by reflecting upon their everyday experiences (a process called conscientization). Through this process of reflection and analysis, people may ultimately come to realize that they can work collectively to change systems.

According to Gran (1983: 154), the majority of marginalized people will not be able to alter their status to any appreciable extent by letting external agents define their needs and goals because such agents appeal to narrowly conceived aspects of the human personality. The blueprint approach - with its emphasis on careful preparation and planning - reflects the textbook version on how development programmes are supposed to work. In reality, however, it does not fulfil the intended role of development efforts. In contrast, goals can be reached by applying the learning process approach, where programme personnel and the intended beneficiaries share their knowledge and resources to create a fit between needs, actions, and the capacities of the assisting organization (Korten, 1987: 183, 184). Chambers (1997: 162) is of the opinion that through participation and respect poor people

can be empowered to express and analyze their own individual and shared realities. According to Gran (1983), participation assigns to an individual the role not of subject, but of actor who defines the goals and directs the process directing his or her life. Participation on strategy involves a shift in the role of the NGO. Rather than being a provider of services, it becomes an enabler of local communities to develop both the physical and organizational infrastructure needed (Korten, 1999). The poor should take charge of their own development so that they become the owners of that development, with the developing agency only playing a facilitation or support role (Swanepoel, 2000: 84).

However, there are issues which are overlooked, like the complex power relations within communities and present an unrealistic view of group behaviour and dynamics. Cooke and Kothari (2001) confirm the above; the emphasis of participation obscures many limitations that suppress power differentials. Cooke and Kothari (2001) see the idea of participatory development as flawed, unrealistic and naïve. They are wary of the mechanical acceptance of participatory approaches to development. As such, their works produce a counterbalance to the context of contemporary development thinking that treats participation as a panacea to sustainable development. They argue that participation creates false illusions of empowerment while simultaneously reinforcing existing power hierarchies. Decision making is theoretically held and, as such, is alien to the community in practical terms.

In spite of the generally valid critique of participation, the development approach by which people at grassroots level would become the main actors in development theories can be said to be effective in ascertaining whether the needs of OVC are addressed. NGOs need to make OVC the centre of the development process in order to entirely address their needs. The Zimbabwean context necessitates the huge problem of mass orphanhood and the vulnerability of children. Cooperation amongst beneficiaries, community based

organisations, NGOs and the government might lead to the full realisation of the needs of OVC. The next section will explore collaboration amongst stakeholders as the other principle in poverty alleviation for OVC.

4.7 COLLABORATION OF SECTORS IN ADDRESSING POVERTY

The integrated model for analyzing the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC utilises the concept of collaboration of all sectors concerned with addressing the needs of OVC from the social contract theory. The model states that when there is a change in the existing political economy there is a need for the state to form a new actor, together with the other subsystems (NGOs, extended family, the community based organizations), in the social contract of service delivery capacity and sustainability in order to fill the gaps in the provision of care and enact collaboration amongst stakeholders. In this manner, NGOs and other sectors act as alternatives by filling the gaps left by the state in social service delivery. The concept of collaboration amongst sectors is also utilized in the BNA and Max Neef theory of needs. To achieve the fulfillment of basic needs of OVC, in the BNA, there is a need for the sectors responsible for service provision to work together and involve the intended beneficiaries. To attain a pragmatic poverty alleviation agenda, which includes economic growth and service provision for OVC, there needs to be collaboration which sufficiently addresses the needs of OVC. In the Max Neef theory of needs, the satisfiers i.e. the government, community based organizations and NGOs, need to collaborate to adequately address poverty affecting OVC.

4.7.1 The Social Contract Theory

The relationship between individuals, the state and the government form the key components of the Social Contract Theory (STC). The SCT maintains that people's moral and /or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement between them

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(Friend, 2006). SCT is, by all accounts, the rules by which people live and work in a society along with the consequences of non-compliance to the rules. SCT enables humans to rise above the "State of Nature" where all are equal and there is no power in place to force behaviours. The rules which force behaviour can result in an organized social structure (an organized social structure can be fair - as in a democracy - or unfair, as in a dictatorship). Because SCT gives humans the foundations upon which to build governments, the state is the most fundamental entity (Friend, 2006). The way in which the net benefits are explored in the Social Contract theory is also helpful in backing up the need for cooperation in addressing the needs of OVC; contracting in all sectors (private and public) is also expected to realize such net gains. The principles of the SCT help in understanding the rationale of cooperation in assisting OVC. Cooperation, with regard to service provision, is needed to respond coherently to the problems experienced by OVC. This aims to enhance efficiency, service delivery and sustainability. The social contract facilitates a situation in which NGOs are able to function in a free and anarchic environment (could be conceptually likened to a state of nature). The SCT advocates for a cooperative approach with regard to service provision for OVC.

Many influential philosophers have used SCT to argue the formation of societal structures. Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) used SCT to stand in the middle of political ideologies as means of arguing for a reform of political authority. Hobbes argued that men, while living in a State of Nature, face limited resources necessary for survival. However, being that all men are created equal, and that there is no power to force cooperation, survival in the State of Nature would be extremely cruel. Thus, this environment would breed distrust and possible death. It is because of these undesirable consequences that men should be willing to create a Social Contract by which they exist, cooperatively (Krashinsky, 1986).

Further, in this contract there must be two components: a set of laws by which all agree to abide and an enforcement mechanism (a person or group of people tasked with interpretation and enforcement of the contract) for these laws (Friend, 2006). The enforcement mechanism is necessary because, in the State of Nature as in an organized society, men still have at the most basic of levels a certain amount of self-interest that influences their behaviours. John Locke (1632 – 1704) views the state of nature as neither harsh nor cruel, but admits that it does have its inconveniences. As a mechanism for assuring their individual welfare, men must agree to mutually satisfactory rules – a social contract. Locke also observes that these rules can change and be adapted to society as new entrants are added and existing members are removed from society. Locke also held the view that the basis for social cooperation lies in reason rather than coercion. It is this view that allowed Locke to de-emphasize the enforcement aspect of SCT.

A more complex history is presented by Rousseau (1712 – 1778) in his argument for the necessity of a SCT. Similar to Locke, Rousseau views the State of Nature as one which allows man to exist in a peaceful manner, with nature supplying all that is necessary to sustain a small population. Over time, as the population increased, people began to live in groups and to assume a division of duties, much as is done in present day society. This resulted in an easier life, the advent of leisure time and, as a result, comparisons between individuals and/or family units. This comparison resulted in public values, both positive and negative, that led to the degradation of the social condition. To further complicate this condition, private property was invented which led to an inequity between men and a quick exit from the State of Nature into a more formal social structure with social classes (Salamon and Anheir, 1996c). Rousseau considers many forms of government, present in the 18th century, and various forms of laws in his discourse. His conclusion is that for a

Social Contract to be formed, it must be the will of all stakeholders to come to gather and decide, with near agreement, how to regulate society. Rousseau recognizes that, at the foundation of all SCT lies the morals of society – the unmovable keystone of SCT (Friend, 2006; Rousseau, 1762/1998).

The normative Social Contract is meant to respond to and remedy the social and moral ills that have been produced by the development of society. The distinction between history and justification, between the factual situation of mankind and how it ought to live together is of the utmost importance, in this regard. While we ought to ignore neither history nor the causes of the problems we face, we must resolve those problems through our capacity to choose how we ought to live.

The first principle to govern relationships is that no man has natural authority over other human beings and sheer force exerted by one individual over another does not justify authority. Rather, legitimate authority must find its rationale in so called "Social Contracts". Second, competition among individuals or stakeholders stimulates the need for social contracts so that each individual can preserve oneself and be protected by the general will enacted by the people. The SCT provides a proper alternative to the state of nature. The state of nature was initially peaceful due to the small size of the population and the absence of competition. Society gradually became more complex and private property was introduced which resulted in social and economic inequalities (Salamon and Anheir, 1996).

The Social Contract is an act of association, in that there is reciprocal commitment between the government and individuals (society). The government is defined as a principal actor and intermediary body between other stakeholders and the society; its main task is maintaining or preserving civil and political freedom (Robinson, 2003). The most

basic covenant, the social pact, is the agreement to come together and form a collective which, by definition, is more than and different from a mere aggregation of individual interests and wills. This act, where individual persons become a people is "the real foundation of society" (Robinson, 2003). Through the collective renunciation of the individual rights and freedoms that one has in the State of Nature, and the transfer of these rights to the collective body, a new 'person', as it were, is formed. The sovereign is thus formed when free and equal persons come together and agree to create themselves anew, as a single body, directed to the good of all by means of mutual consideration. So, just as individual will is directed towards individual interests, the general will, once formed, is directed towards the common good, as understood and agreed upon to collectively. Included in this version of the social contract is the idea of reciprocated duties: the sovereign is committed to the good of the individuals who constitute it, and each individual is in turn committed to the good of the whole. In this light, individuals cannot be given liberty to decide whether it is in their own interests to fulfil their duties to the sovereign while, at the same time, being allowed to reap the benefits of citizenship. They must be made to conform to the general will, they must be "forced to be free".

How can we now assess the SCT within the context of the development of contractual arrangements, as in the case of OVC who have NGOs and stakeholders that assist them? The social contract focuses on principles of political organization and cooperation at the highest levels of society; its usefulness for practical approaches at micro-levels is scant. In particular, the process of seeking agreement for specific contracts does not find ready and practical advice in the SCT but its principles help in understanding the rationale for cooperation between NGOs and other safety nets in the provision of poverty reduction programs to OVC. For example, a country may experience the uncontrolled development of nongovernmental organizations, through which they develop infrastructure and offer

services to help OVC according to their particular preferences, constraints and possibilities. The cooperation between the public and private sectors is needed to respond coherently to society's public objectives, thereby aiming to enhance efficiency and equity. The Social Contract facilitates this, albeit indirectly, by making a case for abandoning a free and anarchic situation (which could conceptually be likened to the state of nature) and for adopting a cooperative approach. The way that SCT looks at the net benefits is also helpful in supporting the need for cooperation in addressing the needs of OVC, as contracting in all sectors (private and public) is also expected to realize net gains. For example, with the presence of NGOs in the provision of welfare needs to OVC, one might find that an official contract could allocate them a proper role. A number of rules would certainly need to be respected with certain advantages at their disposal; their position would be clearer and more transparent. These NGOs would also gain official liberty (akin to individuals in the social contract losing their natural liberty and gaining their civil liberty) (Rosseau, 1998).

Likewise, the social contract theory mirrors the state taking a pro-active and leadership role by coordinating the provision of child care and managing service delivery contracts in ensuring that OVC are well taken care of. The state needs to form a new actor together with the other subsystems (extended family, community based organizations, NGOs, and churches to mention a few) in the social contract in order to fill the gaps in the provision of care and allow for collaboration between stakeholders.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter explored the theoretical framework which underpins this study on the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of orphans and vulnerable children. This study will make use of an integrated model comprised of the Basic Needs Approach which has been further

extended into the Max Neef theory of Human needs, the State or Performance Failure theory and the social contract theory. Thus this integrated model incorporates 4 distinct theories. This new model was an attempt to gain a greater understanding of the OVC and NGO phenomenon, beyond one specific theory, and allow us to understand how different basic tenets of these theories can explain the role of NGOs in development. The following chapter deals with the methodological requirements of the research. It looks at how the research was undertaken and the design that was used to collect the data for the research.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of the research design and method used for the study. It discusses the following issues: research design, data collection methods, sampling techniques and analysis, as well as reporting procedures. The previous chapter provided the theoretical framework of the study by arguing for an integration of the Basic Needs Approach (BNA), Public Goods theory, Social Contract Theory (SCT) and Max Neef theory of needs to guide the study and define the analysis. The methodological orientation adopted for data collection was aligned with this framework. This section of the study explains and justifies each method, i.e. the choice of study site, sampling procedures and research instruments. In order to ensure the validity and generalizability of results, the basis for the choice of research design is herein discussed. While a number of methodological approaches have been adopted in conducting research on NGOs and OVC, the adopted methods are expected to meet the objectives of the study. This study aims to investigate the roles of NGOs in addressing the needs of NGOs.

A large number of previous studies of OVC, which used the qualitative research design, include projections of orphans (Bicego, Rutstein & Johnson, 2003 and Hunter,1991), examinations of interventions required to provide adequate assistance (Bhargava & Bigombe, 2003; Whiteside, 2000 and Hunter, 1991), descriptions of the context and caring of orphans (Nyambedha et al, 2003 and Bicego, et al, 2003). In addition, other studies have documented the research on NGO interventions and the rise of NGOs since the 1980s within development policy (Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Lewis, 2005 and Fisher, 1997). Today, NGOs remain an important and large-scale presence in

development; what emerges is the exploration of a new and embedded political economy of development which is rooted in ethnographic study which links global and local contexts (for example Hilhorst, 2003 and Igoel, 2005).

This chapter also provides a brief overview of the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research and outlines the utility of and reasons for choosing this method over other methodologies. The basis for the use of a qualitative research design, in this study, is that it seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the significant role of SC in filling the vacuum left by the state due to the socio-political crisis of Zimbabwe. Qualitative research is a broad approach that seeks to study social phenomena and to have a deep understanding of the activities and perceptions of the people. The chapter also highlights the validity and reliability of using a qualitative methodology. The methods of data collection that were used in this study are: in-depth interviews focus group discussions and documentary analysis. For the analysis of outcomes, the chapter uses content analysis to have a deeper understanding of the themes emerging from the research. The following diagram is a depiction of the sequential steps in the research process.

Research Process in this study
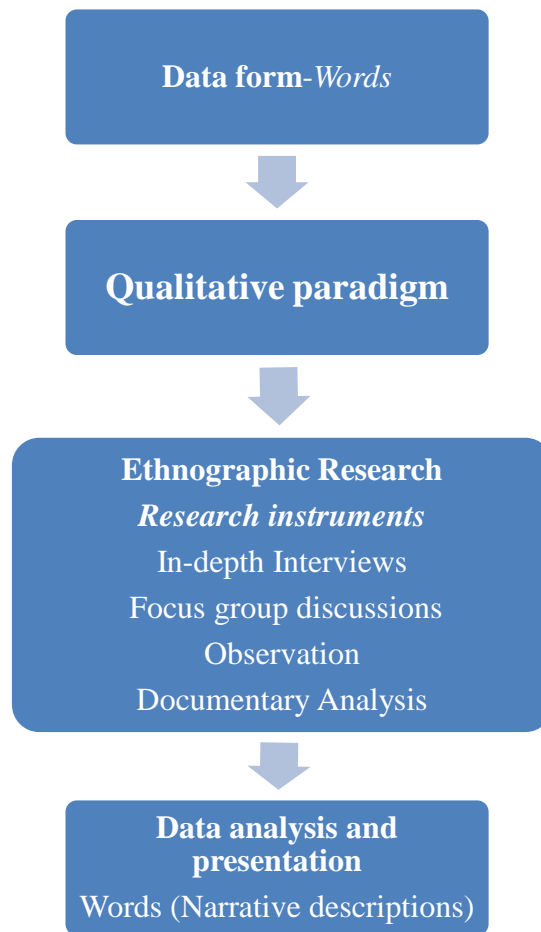
Figure 5.1: Research Process in this study

5.2 Ethnography

A lot of studies on NGOs have employed an ethnographic research design (Weisgrau, 1997; Fisher, 1997 and Skinner, 2007). Weisgrau (1997) employed ethnography in his research on NGOs in northern India. His research focuses on the ongoing renegotiation and reinterpretation of development amongst NGOs, villagers, and development agents. This kind of ethnographic detail exposes the simplicity of universalizing models of and discourses surrounding NGOs. By conceiving of NGOs as "an arena within which battles from society at large are internalized" (Fisher, 1997:5), rather than a set of entities, and by

focusing on fluid and changing local, regional, national, and international processes and connections, which both potentially support and suppress "an insurrection of subjugated knowledge," such studies avoid simple generalizations and reveal the rich ideological and functional diversity of NGOs. Sweeping statements have been made concerning the successes and failures of NGOs (Fisher, 1997). Not all NGOs operate in similar cultural, economic and social contexts nor do they have the same political significance. The biases ignore the diversity of the NGO field and context. Using ethnography helps one understand the heterogeneity of histories and processes from which NGOs emerge and within which they operate; the role of NGOs cannot be generalised. In the case of Zimbabwe the socio-economic crisis has led to NGOs playing a significant part in addressing the needs of OVC.

In presupposing certain methods of data collection, ethnography is closely associated with a particular philosophical framework that validates its practice. This framework is called naturalism (also the humanistic, hermeneutic or interpretative paradigms). Naturalism is an orientation concerned with the study of social life in natural settings as it occurs independent of experimental manipulation. It is premised on the view that the central aim of the social sciences is to understand people's actions and their experiences of the world, and the ways in which their motivated actions arise from and reflect on these experiences. Once this has been established as the central aim it becomes evident that knowledge of the social world is acquired from intimate familiarity with it and in capturing the voices of people who inhabit it, something ethnography is suitably equipped to achieve.

In order to understand and interpret the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC, the researcher made use of ethnography research. Ethnography seeks to describe a particular experience and involves an intensive study of the phenomenon being researched. This study employs three kinds of data collection methods: interviews, observation and

documents. This, in turn, produces three kinds of data: Quotations, descriptions, and extracts from documents, which result in one product: narrative descriptions (Hammersley, 1990). In his study of disadvantaged Children, Markwitz (2000) employed the triangulation of research methods. Gusterson (1997:116) has termed the triangulation of research methods as polymorphous engagement. This involves a mix of assorted research techniques: in-depth interviews, analysis of documents, informal socializing and participant observation. All of these techniques are meant to acquaint the researcher with the positions and perspectives of the salient persons or groups, so that on those occasions when it is possible to observe interactions, their worldviews are somewhat familiar. Ethnography has its roots planted in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Present-day practitioners conduct ethnographies in organizations and communities of all kinds. Ethnography draws on a wide range of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, moving from "learning" to "testing" (Agar, 1996) while research problems, perspectives, and theories emerge and shift. However, this research will employ qualitative methods only to gain a deeper understanding of the themes which emerge from the research. To explore methodological approaches for bridging the gap in NGO research, this research will employ the ethnographic approach. A combination of research techniques where employed to ensure the validity and reliability of the results.

This naturalistic approach is often contrasted with positivist social research, which assumes that it is possible to use the principles and methods associated with natural science to measure social phenomena. Traditionally, such quantitative approaches have been more widely accepted in the healthcare context, as opposed to qualitative research. At its simplest level, 'ethnography' can refer to a way of collecting data (a set of research methods); the principles that guide the production of data (a methodology); and/or a product (the written account of a particular ethnographic project). Yet, at another level,

ethnography can be understood as a composite of theoretical principles, method and written accounts: these different elements of ethnographic research are generally closely interwoven, as is evident by the features that characterize ethnography (Babbie, 2004).

Ethnography is also typified by the priority placed on gaining an 'emic' perspective: the ethnographer tries to gain the insider's view of a particular group or community. More recently, ethnographers have also been concerned with gaining the perspectives of numerous and differently positioned individuals, giving attention to questions of power, inequality and how some voices are heard above others. Historically, ethnographic research has tended to focus on 'culture' and to explore what people say, what they do, and the relationship between these matters. In doing so, the ethnographer draws on a number of methods, traditionally involving immersion in the life of research 'subjects'.

Ethnographic methods are a means of tapping into local points of view, households and community "funds of knowledge" (Mouton, 1996); they are a means of identifying significant categories of human experience up close and personal. Ethnography enhanced and widened top down views and enriched the inquiry process (Save the Children's perspective and governmental representatives), tapped bottom-up insights (OVC, Community members) and generated analytic insights through interactive engagement. In summary, ethnography involved the collection and analysis of empirical data drawn from a "real world" context. The analysis of the data involved the interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and took the form of verbal descriptions and explanations. This study therefore necessitates the adoption of ethnography as an appropriate tool as it is capable of distinctly capturing naturally occurring human behaviour, and this can only be achieved through an in-depth understanding of human behaviour not by inferences from what people do in artificial settings like experiments or from what they say in interviews

about what they do elsewhere. The notion of naturalism in ethnography implies that social events and processes must be explained in terms of their relationship to the context in which they occur. That is to say that this study understands the socio economic crisis in Zimbabwe i.e. the context has necessitated the role of NGOs in Zimbabwe. As in the previous chapter the following attempts to explain briefly the link between the theoretical framework and methodology that have been used in this study.

5.2.1 The Linkage between Methodology and Theory
The BNA and the Max Neef theory of needs help to further understand the role of OVC in this study. The OVC themselves will develop their analytical insights of what constitutes their basic needs. They become the centre of their own development (bottom up development) by providing insight to their needs thereby SC becoming an enabler of the development process. In this sense this study will make use of Focus Group Discussions (FGD) which will enable the researcher to get an emic perspective with regards to the needs of OVC. The integrated model of addressing the needs of OVC utilizes participatory development decisions regarding development goals and makes the intended beneficiaries central to the process in order to ensure that their voices are an important aspect in this research. Listening to OVC not only acknowledges the human right of children to participate in relevant social processes, but it also acknowledges that there is much to be gained from entering the child's world and respecting their versions of reality.

5.2.2   Qualitative Research Design

Researchers have also charted the emergence of NGOs as important players in relation to local and national governments (Bebbington and Farrington, 1993: Fisher, 1997: Hulme and Edwards, 1997: Edwards and Hulme, 1996 and Smillie, 1995), effectiveness (Meyer-Mays, 2000), and the discursive practices of development (Fisher, 1997). As Fisher (1997)

has noted, despite the burgeoning NGO literature, very little exists in way of detailed studies of what NGOs are actually doing in specific contexts, nor how their practices affect power relations. Even within the narrower treatment of NGOs as development organizations, we lack information about the relational dynamics among intermediary NGOs and beneficiaries. Carroll (1992) has observed a lack of firsthand accounts about the nature of NGO interactions with other stakeholders. The Qualitative research in this study aims to understand the relationship between SC and the OVC, other stakeholders which include the government, community based organisations and the District Child Protection Committee (DCPC).

The qualitative approach was used so that a holistic picture of OVC could be obtained. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define qualitative research as a multi-method in focus, involving a naturalistic approach in its subject matter. Skinner (2006) used a qualitative research design consisting of twelve focus group interviews of service providers, leaders in these communities, OVC and their caretakers at six project sites across Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe to extend the definitions of orphanhood and vulnerability. A study into the situation of child-headed households was commissioned in January 2001 by the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund. The study sought to evaluate the problems, priority needs and the special challenges facing child-headed households, more specifically those child-headed households made up of AIDS orphans. The study also provides an understanding of available community and extended family resources/capacity to provide care and support to orphans and to evaluate whether the needs of children can be adequately addresses within existing community/extended family care giving patterns. While the findings reflect on the tragic dimensions of the child-headed household phenomenon (in a qualitative sense), the study pronounced only the quantitative scale of

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the problem. It did not seek a deep understanding of the activities of NGOs and the perceptions of people regarding social service provision by NGOs.

This means that this study seeks to explore and analyse these matters in their natural settings and thus attempt to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. By using the qualitative research design, the researcher got multiple meanings and interpretations, in addition to gaining a deeper understanding of the roles of SC in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera. Qualitative research seeks to understand a social phenomenon within its cultural, social and situational context without imposing pre-existing expectations upon the setting (Gubrium and Sanker, 2005: 52 and Mouton and Marais, 1990: 204).

In a study done by Foster in Manicaland, Zimbabwe, a total of 43 OVC (including 27 orphans and 16 non orphans) were interviewed in order to discover their demographic and socio-economic situations. Surveys were carried out during a four-week period from February 1997 onwards. The oldest available child or adolescent living in the household was interviewed by trained research assistants; occasionally, information was obtained from adults present in the households. Questionnaires were piloted with households outside the program areas and then modified. All the households that were interviewed received material support in the form of food and some received payment of primary school fees for out-of-school children. The findings did not conduct an in-depth investigation into the role of NGOs in attending to the needs of OVC. This study will examine the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC and it will look at the challenges faced by other OVC, not specifically AIDS orphans.

This study rests upon the assumption that one can obtain extensive in-depth data from ordinary conversations with people (Gubrium and Sankar, 1994:7). The aim of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning that individuals have ascribed to their life-world and get a holistic understanding of the needs of all OVC in the Marondera District, rather than exclusively concentrating on the needs of AIDS orphans (Gubrium and Sankar, 2005: 9). The research design was based on inductive reasoning. Once the data was generated, relationships and patterns were discovered through close scrutiny of the data. The data was analyzed and interpreted by means of inductive abstraction and generalization (De Vos, 1998: 336).

Qualitative research aimed to describe and understand an individual's experiences and life-world through descriptive processes. The experience of OVC, Save the Children personnel, government representatives and so forth would have to be interpreted and/or described in order to come to a better understanding of the experience. Obtaining insight and understanding is an interactive process: "understanding requires that one is able to enter, or take the point of view of another's experience" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In this study, the researcher aimed to take the point of view of OVC, their needs and the effect of NGO interventions in terms of addressing their needs. The researcher also aimed to understand, from the point of view of NGO personnel and social workers, the role of these organizations so as to ascertain whether their services are effective.

This study produced descriptive data from the participants' own written or spoken words about the needs of OVC and the role of SC in Marondera. It thus involved identifying each participant's beliefs, values, attitudes and cognitive processes, which underlie the phenomenon (Creswell, 1994). The qualitative research design needs significant engagement with the perceptions, emotions and feelings of the participants in order to gain an understanding of how they describe their experiences (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 11).

Qualitative description is a useful qualitative method if the limitations of the approach are kept in mind. It is aimed at gaining firsthand knowledge of the informants.

5.2.3 Population

Many studies of OVC have focused on "AIDS orphans" rather than all vulnerable children. Samples have consisted primarily of NGO personnel (Shek, 2003), neglecting the need to understand how the state has failed which has created the space in which NGOs are able to provide social services to OVC. In this study the population consists of all OVC. This means the study makes use of orphans, non orphans and those who cannot be able to access basic services. Its important to note that the study makes use of OVC who either receive assistance from SC or those who are not beneficiaries of SC's programs .The population also constitutes of NGO personnel, representatives from the ministry of Social Welfare and community members in Marondera District. The purpose of collecting data from different kinds of informants is to enable data triangulation to contrast the data and validate the data, should it yield similar findings. Norman (2000) defined population as the entire set of objects and events of groups of people. It is the object from which the researcher wants to ascertain certain characteristics and determine certain patterns. It was, however, not feasible to use the entire population in this research study, but a representative sample was selected for the purpose of this study.

5.2.4 Sampling

This study utilized two non-probability sampling methods which were purposive and snowball sampling. Abrahamson (2000) denotes a sample as a portion of a larger entity that is always intended to be representative of the larger entity. Schaefer and Lamm (2003) define a representative sample as a selection from a larger population that is statistically found to be typical of that population. Non-probability sampling methods were used to

select respondents in Marondera in order to investigate the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. Silverman (1997:40) suggest that the logic and power behind non-probability selection should be information rich. The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied.

Purposive sampling is particularly relevant in exploring and deeply understanding the phenomenon under study. In order to trace additional participants, the researcher used snowball sampling. Snowballing is a method of expanding the sample by asking one informant to recommend other suitable informants for interviewing. Gubrium and Sanker (2005) call those whose entry is gained "gatekeepers", in this study SC personnel will be the gatekeepers and those who volunteer assistance are key insiders. Norman (2000) qualifies a gatekeeper as someone who has formal or informal authority to control access to other informants.

The NGO (SC) through its local Community Based Organisations (CBOs) the Fight Club and Community mothers offered to help identify the research participants. CBOs work directly with the OVC and were aware of the location of some of the participants. The researcher also involved the Key informants i.e. the Social workers, the NGO personnel to identify the target population. Participants were recruited based on a purposive and snowballing sample and thus cannot be expected to be representative. The NGO had records of OVC in the community since they run an orphan care programme. The sample also included OVC who did not receive benefits from the orphan care programme.

In this research, the adequacy of the research is attained when sufficient data has been collected so that saturation occurs and variation is both accounted for and understood.

Saturation means that the themes and categories in the data become repetitive and redundant, to the extent that no new information can be gleaned by further data collection (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 43).

The sampling frame included representatives of OVC (some of them participated in FGD who have benefited from SC programs); community mothers as well as representatives from the stakeholders; who include SC, the Ministry of Child Welfare and Department of Social Welfare, to ensure adequate representatives from all sectors.

Participants were selected according to the following criteria:

- Willing participation: This was to ensure that the participants would be interviewed willingly and with adequate understanding of what the study entails.

- Informed consent: The researcher made the participants fully aware of the purpose of the research, its possible dangers and those who participated.

- OVC: those who have not benefited from the orphan care programs and those who have benefited from programs initiated by SC: They were more familiar with the services that were available for OVC and the roles of NGOs.

- Representatives from SC in contact with OVC beneficiaries.

- Representatives from the government in contact with OVC beneficiaries.

This procedure has been criticized for its non-probability sampling method in that it is not perfect in the representation of the subjects. However, in this research, the procedure involved cutting across many approaches in determining an appropriate sampling method and hence cannot be reduced to a single interpretation. This means that once typical characteristics are built into a purposive sample, it cannot be construed as a complete non-probability procedure.

5.4.2.1 Sample size and demographic characteristics of the participants

In total 5 OVC (3 male, 2 female headed), 3 NGO personnel, 3 Social workers, 3 Community mothers and 3 members of the Fight Club participated in the interviews. Two FGDs were held the first one had 15 participants and the second had 10. As in many qualitative studies the researcher did not worry about the number of informants who participated in the study. Rather, the quality, depth, understanding and the richness of the data was my main concern. Thus, this small sample size is used as illustrative and is not aimed to be statistically representative of orphans' situation in Zimbabwe as with most quantitative approaches. Pseudonyms were used for anonymity.

5.2.5   Gaining entry

Research entry was sought through contact by written and informed consent (see appendix 1) to access the participants, OVC, NGO personnel and community members. The informed consent letter contained the following information in order to gain access and participation from the participants, namely:

- Their participation in the research

- The purpose of the research

- The voluntary nature of the research

- The informant's right to stop the research at any time

- The protection of confidentiality

Participants were invited to participate via a letter explaining the study as well as their ethical rights during the research process. Depending on the number of participants who respond, the study may be limited to include only those participants who best fit the aims of this study. Given the prevailing political situation, approaching the community and the

other informants would have had the potential to raise suspicion and threaten the safety of the children. The NGO's support throughout the project was critical to the success of the field data collection. In Zimbabwe, it is advisable to seek permission from both traditional and political structures before any research is conducted in an area. Given the political instability at the time of the study, communities had been warned against talking to strangers and the researcher was politically cleared to gain entry to a community.

5.2.6   THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

5.2.5.1 In-depth interviews

The research instruments were adapted from the theoretical framework. The integrated model guided the inquiry of this study, while the research method was a concrete consideration of the way in which the empirical data was to be obtained. In-depth interviews were used in this study. An in-depth interview aims to obtain rich, meaningful, subjective data viewed through the eyes of the participant (Gubrium and Sankar, 2005:123). The integrated model of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC was used to create the research instrument. The aim of the interview was to investigate the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. Since the state has failed to fulfil its obligation of social service provision to OVC, NGOs have stepped in to fill the vacuum as alternative providers for the needs of OVC. The aim of this study is to investigate the support systems, particularly the role of NGOs, in the support of the needs of OVCs and the gaps in these interventions, towards ensuring that the needs of OVC are met. The items intended to establish whether there were any inadequacies, in service delivery by the state, derived from the performance failure theory. Inclusive in this section were aspects that relate to the nature of the agency or organization under which they work, the years of service in order

to determine the experience in working with the OVC. The second section related to the personnel's understanding of OVC, their emergence and profiles as well as the nature of their needs derived from the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) and Max Neef's theory of needs. Aspects which were covered in section three included the nature of the services provided by personnel and their organizations, the relevance and appropriateness of these services, their comments regarding the services provided by the social systems and their views on how the needs of OVC can best be met. The last section investigated the collaboration amongst the sectors involved in social service provision for OVC, derived from the Social Contract Theory.

The researcher did not discuss the interview questions with the participants thereby avoiding to pre-empt the informants of the responses before the actual interview process. The researcher stressed the anonymity and confidentiality of the information. The interviews were conducted in venues were the informants felt comfortable and where they were no disturbances. The researcher had follow ups to ensure validity and reliability of data.

These interviews consisted of open-ended questions (De Vos, 1998) in order to allow the participants to openly disclose their thoughts, feelings and perceptions regarding the roles of NGOs counterpoised with the state's failure in terms of social service provision. Open-ended questions were used to elicit subjective, idiosyncratic responses from the participant (Gubrium and Sankar, 1994). The interviews allowed the researcher to gain an "insider's" view into the way in which the participant views the OVC phenomenon and the role of NGOs in addressing their needs (De Vos, 1998:300 and Mouton and Marais, 1990:212). Leddy (2000) argue that in-depth interviews have, among their chief strengths, flexibility which allows the participant to explain themselves fully. Although the interviews were interactive, some participants were more comfortable in a group setting and the researcher

acquired large amounts of data in a small space of time. Therefore, this study also made use of focus group discussions.

Key informant interviews were also employed where social workers and NGO personnel were concerned. These individuals were interviewed so as to provide data or information to cover the most important areas in the research process. The process involved identifying members who were especially knowledgeable about the needs of OVC and role of NGOs towards addressing them and asking them questions about their experiences in working with this particular group. These interviews were conducted in face-to-face consultation with informants. The length of these interviews varied. The interviews provided structure and consistency to information-gathering and were especially suited to getting a picture of how OVC survive and the interventions of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. Babbie (2004) is of the viewpoint that key informant interviews are a valuable method of identifying the depth and breadth of the problem areas. The advantage of in-depth interviews, for this study, was that they allowed for the capturing of large amounts of data quickly and have been effective in obtaining thick descriptions.

5.2.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) allowed probing, therefore, the researcher was able to obtain detailed information on the needs of OVC and the role of NGOs in addressing them. Working through the NGO (SC) facilitated identification of the study area, accessing the target population, getting permission as well as field logistics. In administering the FGD for the present study, a procedure was followed. The researcher personally discussed her intention of conducting the Focus Group Discussion with the Fight Club a group of OVC and non OVC who receive assistance and those who do not receive assistance from SC. The time and the venue were set up by the president of the group. Participants where

selected through purposive sampling i.e. OVC and snowballing sampling. A total number of 15 OVC turned up for the FGD. The researcher tape recorded and video taped the proceedings, she stressed the anonymity and confidentiality of the information. A follow-up strategy was initiated to ensure validity and reliability of data collected.

FGDs provided a context for participants to articulate the meaning of their experiences and elaborate on them in a collective process. FGD were used to explore the different viewpoints on the role of SC in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera that emerge. The focus-groups consist of OVC themselves to provided direct evidence about the similarities and differences in the OVC's opinions as opposed to reaching conclusions based on separate statements from each orphaned and vulnerable child. Measor (1995) argues that the main thrust of FGD is their reliance on interaction within the group. Group interaction was significant in this study because it provided data and insight that would have been less accessible without the interaction found in a group. Silverman (1997) argues that FGD are valuable both in channelling group interaction and making comparisons across individuals in the group.

The focus group guide created a natural progression across topics with some overlaps over themes. Although interviews were interactive, the main purpose of the interview guide was to maximize the flow of valid and reliable information while minimizing distortion. Maxwell (1998) is of the view that focus group discussions were scheduled around a set of themes that are loosely phrased as questions. Set one of the questions in the interview schedule dealt with the family background and is easy for the participants to respond to. This would help the researcher understand their cognitive levels, and a range of development issues that the children have to grapple with. The second set reveals the

social networks of OVC. The literature review showed the breakdown of the extended family social system and that it cannot always be an alternative for OVC. This section looked at the problems OVC face due to their predicaments. The third set concentrated on OVC's needs and how their needs can be met. This section also looked into the social systems in place. Furthermore, it investigated the relevance of the services provided by the social systems and their gaps. The researcher's choice for focus group discussions was based on the following:

- The researcher believes that the FGD was a way to access information on the needs of OVC and the role of NGOs towards addressing them.

- The FGDs created a space in which children got together and created meaning amongst themselves. The questions contained in the interview schedule warranted that children respond as a unit rather than an individual.

- FGDs created an opportunity for the researcher to observe a large amount of interaction of OVC within the study, within time constraints.

5.2.2.6 Transcription of interviews

The interviews undertaken in this study were transcribed soon after they took place. Preparing a transcript from an audio-taped interview was especially important since interviews were the main source of data for a qualitative study. According to Measor (1995), transcribing is usually recommended soon after the interview has occurred, while it is still fresh in the researcher's mind. Words are the data of qualitative research and it is important to carefully and accurately transcribe the entire audio-taped interview. Preparing one's own transcript provided an important opportunity to relive the interview; the researcher thus became more familiar with the data (Norman, 2000). When undertaking interviews the researcher had to make use of observation inorder to gain a deeper

understanding of how they perceived the services provided by SC. The following section will discuss the use of Observation in this study.

5.3 Observation

This study made use of observation to provide a more depth understanding of the informants as well the context in which they live. Further, Participant Observation facilitated the establishment of rapport with the children, which proved useful for their active participation all stages of the research. Observation was a continuous method until the research ended. Participant observation (PO) is a labour-intensive and time-consuming ethnographic technique involving immersing with the community to understand the context of their everyday lives and experiences. Taking into account that what constitutes participant observation varies, this research adopted overt roles as a 'partial' participant and observer (Cook, 1997). As will be discussed in this section PO allowed a broader understanding of the community in which the children lived and their relationships within it (Valentine, 2001). Therefore PO was carried when the researcher joined two of the meetings of the Fight Club a group of OVC and Non OVC. This approach involved making notes about events, activities and the interaction of the study informants. Like any field data collection method, Observation required considerable thought and planning that ranged from negotiating access and establishing rapport with the study informants to becoming immersed in the community. The researcher recorded all accounts and observations as field notes in a field notebook. Informal conversation and interaction with members of the study population were used which are important components of the method and were recorded in the field notes, in as much detail as possible.

5.4 Documentary research

Documentary research is one of the three major types of social research and arguably has been the most widely used throughout the history of sociology and the other social sciences. The key issues surrounding types of documents and the ability to use them as reliable sources must be considered when using documents in research. Documents such as strategic plans, policies, reports and brochures from SC and the government were used in the study. The documents were used to supplement the information collected from the interviews and to learn more about the activities of NGOs and the government towards addressing the needs of OVC. The documents are explained in the previous chapter on the legal and policy framework, and the appendix, while the others will be discussed in the data analysis chapter. According to Maxwell (1998), documents are non-reactive which means that the researcher does not intervene in the context and therefore does not have to rely on the participants. After mentioning the research instruments and documents which were used in collecting data, the next section will discuss issues relating to validity and reliability of this study. Validity and reliability are important in ensuring that information generated in a straightforward manner and bears strong evidence of scientific rigor (Brink, 2006).

5.5 Validity and reliability

Validity is the ability of an instrument to measure the variables that it is intended to measure whereas reliability refers to the consistency and dependability of a research instrument in measure specific variables (Brink, 2006). The tools developed for this purpose were shared with the researcher's supervisors and were field tested during the pilot study to ensure that they were well understood and could generate the information required to investigate the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The researcher

tested the tools for suitability of use. The field testing was done to check instrument validity, that is; to determine whether the tool precisely addresses the main aims of the research to be undertaken.

The research tools which were used include: the interview guides for The Ministry of Social Welfare and Development, NGO personnel, OVC and community members as well as the focus group discussion guide. This was to ascertain whether the instrument accurately measured what it was supposed to measure, given the context within which it is to be applied. The process of sharing the tool with the supervisors was done to ensure content validity which is normally used in the development of interview guides. Content Validity is an assessment of how well the tool represents all the components of the variables which are to be measured. To ensure that the data reflected validity and was trustworthy, interviews were conducted with four key informants with two from the Ministry of Social Welfare and Development and two from SC.

In order to ensure reliability the researcher also employed documentary research to supplement the information that was collected from the interviews and to find out more about the activities of NGOs and the government towards addressing the needs of OVC. According to Maxwell (1998), documents are non-reactive which means that the researcher does not intervene in the context and therefore does not have to rely on the participants. Documents such as strategic plans, policies, reports and brochures from Save the Children and the government were used in the study.

5.6 Analysis of data

According to De Vos (2005), qualitative data analysis transforms data into findings; this involves reducing the volume of raw information, sifting for significance patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals. The

goal of qualitative research is to understand the phenomenon from the different points of view of the participants. Thus, the data was analyzed in terms of its emerging themes and subthemes. Content analysis was used to analyze data in this research. Notable is that in the analysis of data the researcher made use of the model for analysing the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The integrated model which was developed for analyzing the role of NGOs is ideal for the analysis of data and it always points the data to the study sought to explore. Thus the data was analyzed in terms of themes derived from the model: state failure, identification of the basic needs, the role of NGOs, Participatory development and collaboration between sectors deducted from the narrative descriptions of the participants in Marondera. Analysis of data was done using the following:

Familiarisation with the data through review, reading, listening etc

· Transcription of tape recorded material

· Organisation and indexing of data for easy retrieval and identification

· Anonymising of sensitive data

· Coding (may be called indexing)

· Identification of themes

· Re-coding

· Development of provisional categories

· Exploration of relationships between categories

· Refinement of themes and categories

· Development of theory and incorporation of pre-existing knowledge

· Testing of theory against the data

· Report writing, including excerpts from original data if appropriate (eg quotes from interviews)

The researcher analysed the mass of collected data to give structure and meaning to it. The data analyzed was extracted from transcribed interviews and field notes. Omery (1983: 61)

argues that data must be reported in the natural language of the event, as the information was obtained from a natural setting. The data was analyzed to understand the participants' experiences, as obtained from the interviews. The next section will explore ethical issues which this study took into cognisance.

5.7 Ethical issues

Informed consent was obtained from the individuals participating in the study. The subjects were notified about the reasons and contents of the study prior to their participation. The process of informed consent was done to ensure that participating individuals were interviewed willingly and with adequate understanding of what the study entails.

This research recognized that children are a vulnerable population in this investigation. The parents or guardians were given an option to be present during the data collection process. The researcher obtained consent with regard to the child's age and maturity in order to participate in the study, before the information is collected. The children were assured that their participation was voluntary and they were at liberty to withdraw from the research process at any time. Vernacular language was also used to accommodate informants who were not able to converse in English.

Confidentiality is a process, or condition, in which information revealed by an individual in a relationship of trust will not be disclosed to others without the permission of the informant. During the transcription and data analysis anonymity was ensured through the allocation of pseudonyms. Informants were given a detailed explanation of how information would be handled, such as the coding system, so that the information cannot be traced back to identify the informants, except by the researcher.

5.8 Limitations of Study

The research encountered a number of constraints (in execution), particularly related to the resources, time, respondents, institutions and the information *per se.* As such, while precision might have been the objective of the project, little could be done to prevent the various flaws that unintentionally encroached upon the research. Moreover, the study was bound in terms of its substantive issues (scope of the study).

5.8.1 Limitations with Research Execution

a) The time to carry out the research was so limited that rush judgements were inevitably possible. The field research was executed in a short space of time but it would require several more months, if not years, to accomplish this task and get to the crux of the matter.   Other resources, like manpower and finance, were limited. In better circumstances, a thorough training of research assistants would be required.

b) The NGOs and government institutions approached in this study posed various problems for the effective and timely execution of the research. The main constraint faced by the researcher was the bureaucratic disposition of the different institutions and organisations. Some turned down the interview guides, citing different reasons. The envisaged picture of the results and expectations of the research were, to a certain degree, distorted.

C) The targeted respondents were OVC from Marondera Urban which means that the data gathered was mainly based on judgements from the urban perspective.

5.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an in-depth discussion of the following issues: research design, data collection methods, sampling techniques and analysis methods. In this study, the researcher made use of qualitative research because one cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions. Qualitative research is a broad approach that seeks to study social phenomena and gain a deep understanding of the activities and perceptions of people. The chapter also highlights the validity and reliability of using qualitative methodology. The methods of data collection used were in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and documentary analysis. For the analysis of the outcomes, the chapter used content analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the themes emerging from the research. This chapter was the basis of the data gathering and analysis which the researcher undertook. The next chapter is the data analysis of conceptions of orphanhood and vulnerability; it fosters an understanding of the range and nature of the needs that OVC face in Marondera, derived from the narrative descriptions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCEPTIONS OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN: THE VIEW FROM MARONDERA

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the ideas shared in the in-depth and focus group interviews are discussed. These relate to how the people of Marondera conceptualise the orphanhood and vulnerability of children. The use of ethnographic interviews, observations and documents provided narrative descriptions for a deeper understanding of people's experiences and perceptions of the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). Hammmersley (1990:123) is of the viewpoint that using ethnographic narratives is a way to examine the interrelations between macro level conditions, structures and processes and the lived experiences of individuals. In this chapter, the research findings of Marondera are used, together with the literature, so as to provide insight into the participants' perspectives. Integrating issues of the need for participation in the definition and conceptualization of OVC (OVC own viewpoints and perspectives) shows that the definitions which came out together with the challenges faced go beyond the traditional ones in textbooks.

Recently, more innovative studies (Roberts, 2000; Messiou, 2003; Davie and Galloway, 1996) advocate for the importance of giving children a voice; the need to listen to what children say and how they say it. The above mentioned scholars attempted to access the views of the children themselves rather than through second hand accounts from others. Such research has found that listening to children not only acknowledges the human rights of children to participate in relevant social processes, but it also acknowledges that there is much to be gained from entering the child's world and respecting their versions of reality.

As Oliver (2000:7) argues, "insider perspectives are essential to our attempts to grapple with any social phenomena but, by themselves and in themselves, they can never be enough". In other words, children's voices provide an additional perspective in trying to understand notions of marginalization, but they are not the only perspective that should be taken into consideration. Looking at Marondera communities' perspectives, the service providers' viewpoints can also provide a framework for scrutinizing the roles of NGOs, focusing on the way in which concealed and overt social interactions impact on the experience of OVC. This has potentially important implications for the role of SC in reaching more OVC. In particular, it points to ways in which NGOs can be challenged to be more alert in identifying the needs of OVC and, more importantly, in searching for ways to address these needs.

The importance of listening to the voices of insiders is emphasised by many authors (e.g. Rose and Shevlin, 2004; French and Swain, 2000 and Oliver, 2000) who draw attention to the multiplicity of meanings available in relation to insider perspectives, and to the issue of accessing insiders' perspectives and interpreting these. In this paper, the notion of 'voice' is used to describe the views and thoughts of children, community members and service providers (NGOs and the government). In addition, it is based on the assumption that knowledge is socially constructed through interaction with others (Vygotsky, 1968 and Wertsch, Minick & Arns, 1984).

This chapter provides an analysis of ways in which the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political crisis impacts on the lives of individual children and affects their quality of life. The basis of this chapter is to understand the range and nature of the needs of OVC. In this context the specification of the needs will be obtained. This chapter will look at the dilemmas encountered in defining orphans and vulnerability and the problems faced by OVC. Zimbabwe faces a huge problem of mass orphanhood and vulnerability of children.

In this framework, NGOs are regarded as vehicles that promote poverty alleviation and development. This has seen the rise of NGOs as an alternative in meeting the needs of OVC within this study; Save the Children (SC) plays a positive and critical role in the provision of services. Against this backdrop the main focus of this study is to explore the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera, Zimbabwe.

6.1.1 The Setting: Marondera, Zimbabwe

Marondera is 76km South East of Harare in Zimbabwe, an urban district under the jurisdiction of the Municipality of Marondera. The Municipality of Marondera is a fairly small town which is situated 79 kilometres east of Harare along the Harare Mutare route. It has a population of about 75 000 people, 28 000 males, about 27 000 females and 20 000 estimated to be children (Central Statistic Office, 2008). There are 150 child headed households in the district. The size of the town has not spared it from experiencing the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS and the economic crisis has also taken its toll on the people. Although it is situated in a farming region, the drought and extreme hunger of the 2007-2009 periods has left a deep-seated mark in the lives of the Marondera people, especially the OVC (Save the Children, 2009). SC caters for the Marondera urban district which is comprised of 12 wards. The political and the socio-economic crisis have also led to increasing numbers of OVC (Save the Children, 2009). The year 2010 began on a calmer note in comparison to the previous years. Due to the introduction of the use of the US dollar, things have been better for many families except the child-headed families who do not have any form of employment as a source of money. This has meant an increase in the demand of direct assistance. Below is a map of Zimbabwe, showing the location of the Mashonaland East Province and an extract of the Marondera district. Marondera District is

situated in the Mashonaland East Province, located about 72km from the capital city of Zimbabwe.
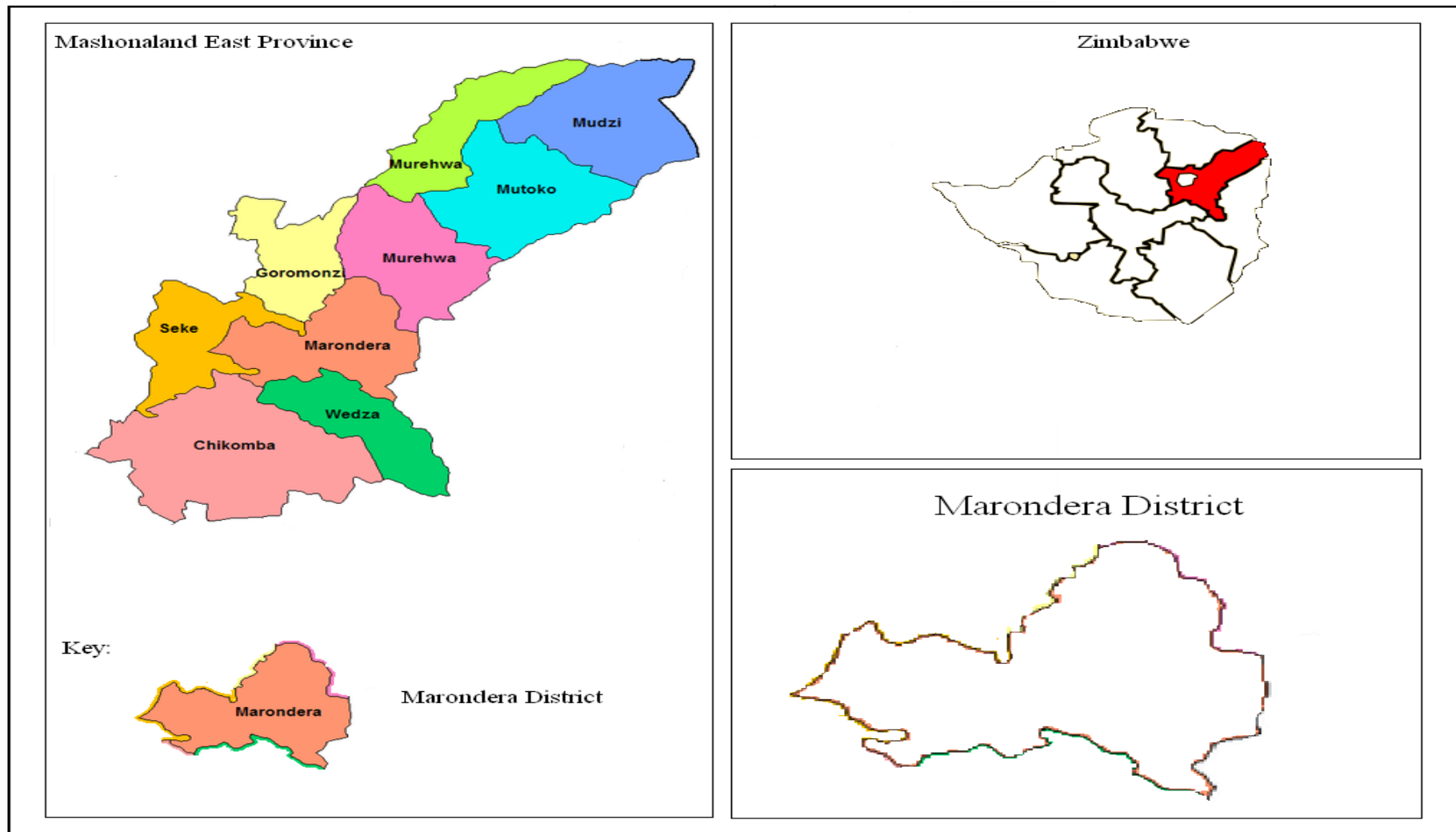
Figure 6.1. : Map of Zimbabwe showing the location of the Marondera district

6.2 The dilemmas of conceptualizing OVC

The concepts of orphanhood and vulnerability are social constructs that vary from culture to culture. The definition of vulnerability is very broad; it covers and encompasses a huge proportion of children. Defining vulnerability does not include concrete indicators such as age and parental loss. Instead, "vulnerable children are those who belong to high-risk groups who lack access to basic social amenities or facilities" (UNICEF, 2005). It is important to get a clear understanding of the definition of OVC to evaluate whether SC adequately covers its beneficiary base. Within this research, the construct for the OVC requires that one considers a number of components of the broad term, i.e. definition of orphan and of what constitutes vulnerability. The dilemmas of conceptualizing OVC will be discussed below, based on the empirical evidence collected.

6.2.1 Orphanhood

As already indicated in Chapter One they are various definitions of orphan hood by scholars like Smart, (2003), UNAIDS (2000) Foster 1997. The following are typical responses from Marondera of Orphanhood.

> *"Let me start by defining an orphan. We have two types of orphans - one can be a double-orphan whereby both parents are deceased and one can be a single orphan whereby it is the mother who is deceased and the father is alive or vice versa."* (In-depth interview No 4, June 2010)

Furthermore another participant mentions that,

> *"They are types of orphans; we have a double orphan i.e. an orphan that has lost both parents. Then we have single orphans i.e. a child that has lost either a father or mother and lately in Zimbabwe we are also seeing what we term as Diaspora*

orphans, children whose parents are in Diaspora and they have left them on their own". (In-depth interview No 7, June 2010)

It is quite clear from the above quotations that orphans can be categorised in three groups, single orphan i.e. a child who has lost one parent through death, double orphan (a child who has lost both parents) and Diaspora orphans (those children who lack parental guidance because their parents might have migrated to other countries). UNAIDS (2000) distinguishes between a maternal orphan (an orphan who has lost his/her mother), a paternal orphan (an orphan who has lost his /her father) and a double orphan (both parents). This study extends the definition of an orphan to the loss of care, survival and caring arrangements. The definition of orphanhood goes beyond the loss of parental care or biological parenting due to death but recognizes the absence of child care especially since children with parents are just as likely to be rendered vulnerable as children without biological parenting. Similarly, many researchers comment on the need to understand orphans as a socially constructed category. Meintjes and Giese (2006) argue that South African community definitions of orphanhood refer to the inability of parents to provide for their children. Thus, children of poor parents who cannot provide for their children may be described as "orphans", at least in translation, which is also applicable to parents who are reluctant to take care of their own children.

Another concern raised in this study was the issue of age in terms of who qualifies to be an orphan. Two of the participants mentioned that:

*"Basically from the age of 17 most children will be having their own consent. Like in Zimbabwe you will be answerable to your actions, below the age of 16 you will be vulnerable and legally you will be a minor.***"** (In-depth interview No 2, January 2010)

Another participant mentioned that,

"In the African context there is nothing like an orphan 'nherera', but according to NGOs anyone whose parents are dead below the age of 18 is an orphan". (Focus Group Discussion 2, June 2010)

These participants utilized the age limits used in the legal and policy frameworks. The common age limit revealed in this study was 18, even though some participants revealed that 16 was commonly regarded as the age limit at which a child could be designated an orphan. The dilemma in the age limit is not a new phenomenon; UNICEF and UNAIDS (1999) define a child as a person under the age of 15 and UNAIDS and UNCRC (2000), cited in Abebe (2005), reveal that 18 is the age limit of a child. The issue of 18 years of age also concurs with the Convention on the Rights of the Child's (CRC) definition of a child. While the available statistics are for orphans under 15 years of age, the Children on the Brink (2004) report estimates that to be considered and orphan one must be under 18 years of age. This is in keeping with the definition of children put forth in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Skinner (2004) suggests that children are defined as individuals who are 18 years and younger, as stated in the African Union Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. UNAIDS (2000) also defines an orphan as a child below the age of 15 who has lost either one or both parents. These definitions are limiting when applied to a service response. Large numbers of children will stand to be excluded despite their legal qualifications under the Convention on the Rights of the Child which stipulates that a child is a minor below the age of 18.

A further issue that was raised was whether a child who still has a caregiver should be considered an orphan, especially in the case where the child still has extended family and other caregivers. The Shona word for orphan, '*nherera',* is not traditionally used to refer to a child living with a relative. Similarly, Henderson (1999) argues that in most African societies, the extended family plays a major role in care giving in the case of a loss of biological

parents. This is particularly relevant in an African context, such as Zimbabwe, as there is no such thing as an orphan '*nherera'* in the presence of the extended family (Foster 1997).

6.2.2 Vulnerability

In addition to the dilemma in defining orphans, there is also a need to define vulnerability. The definition needs to guide the work of NGOs with children in different contexts within the society. Vulnerability was revealed by many informants as a condition in which a child does not have certain of his or her basic rights fulfilled. The following extracts from Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and in-depth interviews show the different meanings to the term vulnerability.

> *"A vulnerable child is a person who is lacking certain basic needs that inhibits him to attain a decent living."* (FGD 2, June 2010). In a similar way another informant mentioned that,

> *"Like I was saying concerning education every child is supposed to get educated, but the education sector is not delivering what is expected to us therefore we as children are left vulnerable."* (In-depth interview No 12, June 2010). Furthermore another participant had this to say,

> *"I think every child is vulnerable because, although some children have both parents, the child might be lacking the basic needs for survival and some of their children's rights might be neglected."* (FGD 2, June 2010)

From the above, it can be concluded that a vulnerable child is someone who has little or no access to basic needs or rights. Rights and needs are two concepts that are somehow related. According to Johnson (1992: 5), a need is that which is necessary for either a person or social system to function within reasonable expectations, given the situation that exists. A right is

what one is entitled to and what best ensures the just and fair treatment of individuals. Children have fundamental needs that should be fulfilled but sometimes their circumstances do not allow the fulfilment of their needs. Similarly, rights are important in that they aim at ensuring that, through the provision of services, children's needs are met and therefore do not fall through the cracks. If their rights are not met, the children might become vulnerable. The concept of basic needs is seen in the context of economic and social development and not merely regarded as the minimum necessary for subsistence. Similarly, in the Basic Needs Approach (BNA), lack of services such as education, health and social welfare programs (Haines, 2000:47) makes children potentially vulnerable; restricted or having no access to basic needs thus rendering them vulnerable. As far as development is concerned, fulfilment of these basic services amongst the marginalized sections of society might lead to poverty alleviation.

The definition of a vulnerable child was also extended to the fact that the child might have both parents but his/her rights or needs might be compromised in one way or another. Foster (1997) alludes to fact that orphanhood does not necessarily translate into vulnerability and non orphans might also be at risk of being vulnerable. UNICEF (2002) reveals that vulnerability spans neglect, abuse, unregistered births, malnutrition, mental and physical handicaps and poverty, precarious socio-economic trends which have a negative influence on families and other classified high-risks that may involve the material, social and emotional circumstances. Some of the participants who have reflected on vulnerability indicated that:

> ***"When we are looking at the rights of the child in the CRC the part relating to education most children's rights are not fully realized because teachers are striking and the children themselves are not able to raise money for their fees."*** (In-depth interview No 5, June 2010). Furthermore another informant mentions that,

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"The OVC we define them according to the child Protection and Adoption Act, now the Children's Act. We have section 2A which has a number of clauses I think its 7 and 2H were among the definition you, can define him/her as an abandoned……….". (In-depth interview No 4, January 2010)

The participants above referred to their knowledge of documents such as a section of CRC. The non fulfilment of certain rights which are mentioned in the legal frameworks and policies might lead to child vulnerability. Sloth-Nelson (2004) is of the opinion that The CRC is useful for addressing the rights of OVC and underlines the need for legal, economic and social protection for affected children. The focus should be on access to shelter and education, as well as concentrating on the denial of these services which might leave these children potentially vulnerable. Foster (2004), however, argues that although there are laws and legislation to protect children, the gaps and contradictions within these make children potentially vulnerable. The challenge is to advocate and provide resources for the immediate, full implementation of existing laws and policies.

"Every child in Zimbabwe is vulnerable because of the current economic situation because all their rights cannot really be attained so vulnerability is when then the children's rights have not been achieved". (In-depth interview No 9, June 2010)

A set of inherent and contextual factors in this study, indicating vulnerability, were also developed. This was developed through the gaps and problems experienced by the country in the provision for the needs of its vulnerable children, or the specific threats that existed. Likewise, a project published by SC (2007) shows that Zimbabwe was in a state of meltdown with all its economic and social indicators falling dramatically in past years. This puts children at greater risk and results in more children being left vulnerable.

Based on the outcomes of this study, vulnerability is not an absolute state; there are degrees of vulnerability. Depending on the situation of the children, a number of factors can contribute to the vulnerability of a child. Some children might have both parents but, if other factors are not fully addressed, they could potentially be vulnerable.

> **"You** *can define him/her as one whose parents or guardians are failing to take control like habitual truancy, the parents can no longer disciplines that child; we say that the child is vulnerable. We also have children whose parents are reluctant. For instance the case of children whose parents are either seriously ill or mentally ill or are just destitute they roam around without any fixed aboard, that child is said to be vulnerable".* (In-depth interview No 4, January 2010)

From the above evidence, a set of factors were also developed. Family situations that make children potentially vulnerable include families in which parents are not willing to take care of the children under their care, a lack of parental guidance and direction, the severe and chronic illness of parents and so forth.   It is important therefore to note that a balance of aspects in the child's context determines vulnerability; hence, even if one component goes wrong the child could suffer considerably. Other indicators of vulnerability include psychological and physical factors like emotional, physical and sexual abuse. One participant mentioned factors which leave children prone to vulnerability as follows:

> *"In some situations these OVC live with the extended family and they are subjected to abuse. The OVC are discriminated and stigmatised especially those who have parents who have parents who have died from HIV".* (In-depth interview 7, June 2010)

In concurrence with the above evidence, Skinner et al (2004) are of the view that one of the indicators for the vulnerability in children includes emotional and psychological problems. Stigmatization of children infected or affected by HIV/AIDS leads to discrimination and

status loss which can exacerbate existing social marginalization. After conceptualising the definitions of orphanhood and vulnerability revealed in this study the next section discusses the challenges faced by OVC in Marondera.

6.3 Challenges faced by OVC

The following challenges faced by OVC such as lack of basic needs, psychosocial problems like stigmatisation and marginalisation, exploitation and rejection from family and neighbours were generated from the collected data.

6.3.1 Lack of basic needs

The lack of basic needs like food, clothes, shelter and proper health systems are the major challenges that OVC in Marondera face. The following participants from Marondera had this to say:

> *"The major problem is the insufficient provision of basic services like health care, sanitation, food and education. Those are the four major areas which need attention for the child development process to be in a more humane manner, because right now the children are not receiving grants which are enough and they end up buying stationery for themselves. For an ordinary Zimbabwean to buy stationary it becomes impossible."* (In-depth interview No. 10, June 2010) furthermore another informant mentions that,

> *"The provision of food services and health delivery, there is also the issue of accommodation, family wrangles which arise when one parent dies these can lead children to living on the streets and lead to the deterioration of the family norms to such an extent that you will be shunned by the community."* (In-depth interview No. 5, June 2010)

In light of what these two responses, the socio-economic situation in Zimbabwe makes it difficult for OVC to access food especially in the absence of one or both parents. Louw (2001) is of the opinion that when a parent dies, the family will be faced with many economic problems especially financial hardships. Another informant mentioned the inability to obtain adequate financial means to meet basic needs. In some instances they get food parcels from related support systems like the social welfare department. However, the food is not enough to carry them through the month.

In a report, jointly published by UNICEF and UNAIDS (2000), AIDS orphans and OVC are at a great risk of malnutrition and ill health. The health of OVC is frequently poor due to the lack of affordable nutritious foods and proper health care. Although Marondera is situated in a farming region, the drought and extreme hunger of the 2007-2009 period left an indelible mark in the lives of the Marondera people, especially OVC (Save the Children, 2009). In this study, another major challenge faced by OVC in Marondera is access to quality education. The findings reveal that children are not getting lessons at school and, as a result, a number of informal schools have sprouted. These schools are not delivering quality education and teachers, allegedly, only teach those who can afford extra private lessons.

OVC find it to difficult to meet their physical and material needs. The informants mentioned the struggle to make ends meet due to a shortage of income. The lack of a steady income makes it difficult for them to meet their physical needs. Likewise, Smart (2004) states that the problems experienced by OVC revealed that households encountered a wide range of physical problems. The most common problem is the shortage of income which leads to the non fulfilment of their basic needs, including food, clothing and access to basic necessities. The concept of fulfilment of basic needs is derived from the BNA which was later extended by Max Neef's theory of human needs. The theories are based on the premise that any fundamental human need that is not adequately satisfied leads to human poverty. The concept

of basic needs is seen in the context of economic and social development and not merely regarded as the minimum necessary for subsistence. The BNA insisted that each person must have the minimum requirements for existence. Without the fulfilment of these basic needs, children are rendered vulnerable.

6.4 Psychosocial problems

OVC face a wide range of psychosocial problems which include stigmatization, marginalisation, exploitation and rejection from family and neighbours.

6.4.1 Stigmatization and marginalization

OVC sometimes have to grapple with the stigma and discrimination often associated with orphanhood and vulnerability. The findings emerging from this study suggest that OVC in Marondera were not acknowledged and children were isolated and marginalized, therefore unable to play a part in society. One participant acknowledged that, because of HIV/AIDS, OVC were not able to change their situations and were powerless to change their fate. Whiteside (1992) is of the viewpoint that any contribution of OVC who are either infected or affected by HIV/AIDS will be ignored as their status in society does not allow them the privilege of participation. In many cases, they continue to live on the fringes of their societies. Most OVC are considered unseen by some of the communities in which they exist (Whiteside, 1992).

6.4.2 Exploitation: Sexual abuse

Additional problems identified by the researcher relate to the children's vulnerability to physical and sexual abuse. Two respondents revealed that:

*"**S**ome of the OVC would actually be taken to brothels especially girls, we have those cluster accommodation residential like flats, they will be taken there and given to men in exchange for a loaf of bread by the person running the brothel."* (In-depth interview No. 7, June 2010). Similarly another informant mentions that,

*"**Some churches are forcing children into early marriages.**"* (FGD 2, June 2010)

Empirical evidence suggests that the need to generate income is one of the most urgent requirements for OVC and that income generation is a major cause of the commercial sex (Foster, 1995). Prostitution exacerbates health risks and increases the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS in the sex trade. Girls feel that they have to use sex as a survival mechanism since they do not have anyone to both fend and defend them in any case of abuse. Instead, complaining would result in further ostracism in the community. These OVC are forced into commercial sex to source food. Foster (1995) argues that girls are vulnerable to abuse and sexual assault by members of the community and feel powerless to act against it. UNICEF (2006) estimates that nearly one million children are vulnerable to sexual exploitation and among these there are about 2 100 children who are sexually exploited in Zimbabwe. Such sexual exploitation becomes a major problem in the survival of these OVC. Furthermore, some churches force these children into early marriages thereby increasing their chances of them being infected with HIV/AIDS. These children are not only ostracised by the community but may face rejection from family and neighbours.

6.4.3 Rejection from the family and neighbours

Some informants in this study were worried about achieving social integration into the communities in which they lived. One of the informants states that OVC suffer due to the loss of parents (caused by HIV/AIDS related illness), rejection from relatives, and the difficulties

of acceptance which affects their ability to meet daily needs. The HIV/AIDS epidemic resulted in family disintegration and the phenomenon of OVC. One informant said:

> *"The extended families usually abuse the children under their care because their parents would have died from HIV/AIDS, so they end up being rejected by the society they live in"* (In-depth interview No 12, June 2010)

Some of the participants in this study reported that they cannot rely on their extended families for support. Extended family members were often unwilling to help with regard to food and clothing and were insensitive to OVC. Nelson (2004) argues that society isolates and discriminates against OVC due to the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS. In the past, the sense of duty and responsibility of extended families within one society was almost without limits; even if the family had no sufficient resources, orphans were taken in. Due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, extended families and society cannot cope with OVC. Whiteside (1992) also mentions that OVC are exposed to harsh realities at a very tender age. The stress they face is tremendous and their needs are not usually met. It is evident that significant interventions are required to allow them to grow in favourable environments. Problems such as illness, death, negative attitudes of relatives and neighbours create a tremendous negative impact on the psychological well being of OVC. As a result, the sudden transformation in their lives becomes more difficult to cope with.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter was a reflection on how the people of Marondera conceptualise the orphanhood and vulnerability of children. Integrating issues of the need for participation in the definition and conceptualization of OVC (OVC own viewpoints and perspectives) show that the definitions which came out together with the challenges faced go beyond the traditional ones in textbooks. The use of ethnographic interviews, observations and documents provide

narrative descriptions for a deeper understanding of people's experiences and provided an overview of the dilemmas of conceptualizing OVC, reasons leading to the OVC phenomenon and the challenges faced by OV, as ascertained from the interviews. These findings were interpreted and discussed within the framework of the existing literature as presented in Chapters Two to Four of this study. As discussed in Chapter One, this inquiry has attempted to investigate the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The following chapter will discuss the findings on the role of SC in Marondera in addressing the needs of OVC. Utilising views of the Marondera respondents gathered from the in-depth interviews, FGDs, etc., the following chapter will discuss the role of SC in addressing the needs of OVC.

CHAPTER 7

THE ROLE OF SAVE THE CHILDREN, ZIMBABWE, IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN IN MARONDERA.

7.1 Introduction

In line with the failure of the state in Zimbabwe, Save the Children (SC) has played a significant role in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). The use of ethnographic interviews, observations and documents provided narrative descriptions in the previous chapter to conceptualize OVC, their challenges which deepen the understanding of people's experiences and perceptions of the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in addressing the needs of OVC. Schoepf (1992:123) is of the viewpoint that the use of ethnographic narratives is a way to examine the interrelations between macro level conditions, structures and processes and the lived experiences of individuals. Therefore, ethnographic narratives were used in this study to show the interplay between the limited roles of the state i.e. the gaps that the state has left in social welfare provision and that has subsequently been filled by NGOs; at the same time notwithstanding the limitations of the latter. In this chapter, the research findings of the study conducted at Marondera will be discussed. The first part of this chapter highlights the limitations of the state as counterposed by the role of NGOs. The second part will look at the limitations or gaps in the role played by NGOs and, finally, the collaboration between the state, NGOs and other stakeholders who are involved in addressing the needs of OVC.

7.2 The diminishing role of the state in the provision of services.

The overall retreat of the state and the end of the cold war are seen as processes which have led to the renewed prominence of the roles of NGOs (Bebbington and Farrington, 1993). The key justification behind this growth is state failure. It is surmised that the state and public sector have not been able to deliver development to the presumed beneficiaries and NGOs, as development agencies, have closed this vacuum. The performance failure theory explains the justification of the surge of NGOs in development with regard to state retreat. Weisbrod (1977) argues that NGOs emerge when the government or market fails to provide public goods for everybody or serve the general interests of everybody. An OVC interviewed in Marondera district asserted that:

> *"In the Zimbabwean context right now whether you are an orphan or not, you are still a vulnerable child because some of the basic needs are not being met especially during the current prevailing situations were the government is not doing enough to protect the interest of the general population."* (In-depth interview No 1, June 2010*)*

Tendler (1997: 1) notes that a weak public institution leads to inefficient operations which are incapable of combating poverty. The state becomes increasingly unable to perform its basic function of providing social services. NGOs step into this gap as alternatives to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of public service provision. Despite the state's best efforts of contributing to sustainable development at a systematic level; it has contributed to sustaining poverty. This is true for the Zimbabwean context which is characterised by a hyperinflationary rate and socio-economic crisis that has rendered many children vulnerable. Zimbabwe's inability to provide social services has increased (Foster, 2007).

Many factors have contributed to this socio-economic crisis, to different degrees, including the cumulative effects of the government's failure to tackle the budget since the beginning of

ESAP (Gibbon, 1997). Other factors contributing to the socio-economic crisis include further deterioration of the economy. Access to basic services has generally been described as difficult and, against the evidence gathered in this study, OVC do have problems in accessing basic services due to the prevailing socio-economic crisis. One of the participants had this to say:

"With the current situation everyone is working towards getting towards their next meal the community won't be able to give you material assistance they only refer you to some people who can assist you but you can say as a community we assist each other." (In-depth interview No 12, June 2010*)*

The failure of the state to act as a safety net has led to the growing importance of Save the Children. Dashwood (1996) posits that it was in fact the ruling elite that furthered that neoliberal hegemony by continuously failing to protect the poor from the socio-economic crisis. Despite the HIV/AIDS crisis, the Zimbabwean government could have handled the situation differently and put measures in place to protect the interests of the poor and minimize the effects of the epidemic on the poor.

"When programming started on HIV and AIDS people focused on the adults hence all people living with HIV and AIDS that's how they were termed and nobody considered that these PLWH also infected their own children. There has to be a strategy to look at children living with HIV and AIDS so as such it has been a long time for these children to be recognized. I think if we talk of pediatric care it only started in this country maybe last year and how long have they been living, so you can imagine children have health problems and there has been an influx of those children who have been infected." (In-depth interview No 7, June 2010*)* Similarly another informant mentions that,

"They are not enough and there will be never enough we have always talked about child friendly budgets and so forth and I still feel like we still have a long way to go until that is really achieved." (In-depth interview No 5, June 2010*)*

Evidence gathered from the above respondents reveals that the failure of the government to address the needs of children in the HIV/AIDS programs has serious repercussions on OVC. In this regard, the vacuum created by the state has been filled by SC. According to the state failure theory, NGOs emerged to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in society. Weisbrod (1977) argues that NGOs emerged when the government or market could not provide public goods for everybody or serve everybody's general interests. State failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as novel responses to different types of problems.

What followed the failure of the Zimbabwean state was a series of events that plunged the country into desperate poverty. A positive development came in 2009, when the government authorized the use of more stable foreign currencies (US Dollar, Euro, South African Rand, etc.). The government has now adopted the US Dollar for all of its transactions (USAID, 2009). Although these measures have helped to stabilize the economy, ordinary Zimbabweans, for whom hard currencies are hard to come by, have largely been ignored.

Incapacity of the Social welfare department

The failure of the social welfare department to cater for the needs of OVC led to the growing importance of SC in Marondera and other NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC.

"To some extend like as the department of Social Welfare we are so limited, we don't go to the outreach and we don't advertise our programs, at times we might not be aware of the problems being faced by OVC in the community. Clients come with their problems so we might not be doing enough." (In-depth interview No 9, June 2010*)*

It is quite clear from the above quotation that the incapacity of the social welfare department operating in Marondera is a cause for concern and has led to the growing importance of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The department of social work is expected to deal with the needs of OVC but they lack resources; this incapacity to deal with problems faced by OVC has rendered NGOs increasingly significant. With regards to the incapacity of the governments to deal with social problems, Bebbington and Farrington (1993) contend that the fiscal and administrative crisis of third world governments have led to the renewed importance of the role of NGOs. The following participant had this to say:

"There is need to capacitate the district social services so that he/ she will be in a better position to tackle the problems faced by OVC because at times we lack transport which is mostly needed, an important element when we are talking of OVC. At times we need to go for home visits and monitoring visits but without transport we cannot do all that. There is need to capacitate the district social services officers so that he or she will be effective." (In-depth interview No 8, June 2010*)*

In the face of very limited human capacity, social workers in Marondera were compromised in their capacity to deal with important aspects of support required to address the needs of OVC. The social worker expressed the difficulties faced by the department of social work in this regard. She acknowledged their pivotal role in child protection, but the department finds it impossible to do the necessary follow ups – a gap that would necessarily be filled in by NGOs. The majority of the respondents revealed that a lack of resources on the part of the state has led to the increasing phenomenon of OVC. They had this to say:

"Resources are a constant challenge, they are never enough, also sometimes we have to take in some of the OVC in need because the foster homes and orphan care centers are full to capacity" .(In-depth interview No. 16, June 2010*)*

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and

"They are not enough and there will be never enough we have always talked about child- friendly budgets and so forth and I still feel like we still have a long way to go until that is really achieved" (In-depth interview No. 5, June 2010*)*

Lack of resources has left a huge gap which needs to be filled. Zimbabwe has been going through a macro economic crisis which has clear repercussions on child welfare dimensions. Dhlembeu (2004) alleges that the Department of Social Welfare is not orphan-friendly, mainly due to lack of human or financial resources to deal with the inordinate numbers of OVC. On the contrary, in the case of government or market failure, the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by such a failure attracts the rise of NGOs. NGOs could, therefore, accomplish unsatisfied needs like health care, social work or education services to OVC. The following respondent mentions that:

"Lack of funding e.g. Basic Education Assistance Module, like right now it's catering for primary schools only and those who are attending secondary school cannot access due to lack of funding. An OVC finishes grade seven he/she cannot proceed to secondary school because the government does not cater for that it does not have funds". (In-depth interview No. 8, June 2010*)*

Empirical evidence shows that, even though Zimbabwe has social protection mechanisms for OVC, there is more that needs to be done in order to adequately deal with the OVC phenomenon. Despite the fact that the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) and the Department of Education aim to reduce the number of vulnerable children dropping out of school due to economic hardships; coverage of provision of education services is low and there is evidence of limited success for those most in need of educational funding (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006b). Although some programs, like BEAM, have been

initiated to ensure the protection and care of OVC there is a lot that needs to be done since not all of the children are benefitting. There is still a gap which needs to be filled. A lot of OVC have fallen through the safety nets put in place; as a result, there is need for the successful implementation of these programs. One of the participants argued that:

"We have the orphan Care Policy which has culminated in the National Action Plan. In terms of legislation we have a quite a number like the department is the custodian of the legislation governing children's protection. Like the children's sect we have the criminal procedure and the codification act for child offenders, The Maintenance Act, the Guardianship of Minors Act. So to some extend through lack of funding the projects fail, a lot to be done on the ground." (In-depth interview No. 8, June 2010)

Though Zimbabwe has national programs and policies that cater for OVC, empirical evidence reveals that, the lack of consistent revisions to align legislation, lack of financial resources and lack of commitment in implementation negatively affects OVC in terms of their needs being addressed. They are just policies on paper which have not been applied in practice. The pursuit of the realisation of children's rights, by the state, frequently fails to live up to its rhetoric. The Zimbabwean context necessitates the huge problem of mass orphanhood and vulnerability of children. Owing to the socio-economic and political crisis, NGOs have played a prominent role in caring for OVC. Up to date, Zimbabwe has engaged in piecemeal child law reform. There is need to engage in a well planned fully funded child law review and reform process.

The state is responsible for the provision of all forms of identity documents but empirical evidence reveals that it has failed to deliver thus rendering many children vulnerable. Empirical evidence reveals that acquiring birth certificates for OVC in Marondera still remains difficult as the Registrar General's office insists that birth registration remain a

policy issue and, as such, regulations governing the issue of birth registrations have to be adhered to. One informant complained that:

"The government should address the issues of registration of birth certificates. Some of us find it difficult to access assistance from the NGOs and the government just because we don't have identity documents of our parents." Similarly another informant mentions that,

"The government should tackle the issue of birth certificates or registration especially where either of the parents is no longer there or dead or who do not have any form of identity document because some of the OVC face difficulties to access services available. The government should help them access the birth certificates or allow their relatives to help them to register their birth certificates." (In-depth interviews No.2 and 11 , June 2010)

Without birth certificates a child is denied of his or her rights which are mentioned in Article 6 of the African Charter which seeks to establish that, upon birth, every child is entitled to a name, a birth certificate and a nationality. In a similar manner, Yates (2003) is of the viewpoint that without any form of identification it becomes difficult for OVC to access the services meant for them. Lack of documentation, registration at birth and proof of residence in red tape institutions pose obstacles to accessing the benefits awarded to OVC. The issue of 'legal age' is of great concern in the inclusion of programs which assist OVC. The inclusion by some agencies of adolescents may be just and reasonable. The lack of legal recognition is both a physical and emotional hindrance to OVC. As minors, these children are unable to claim and register for assistance. Lack of an older advocate is a great disadvantage.

Empirical evidence in this study reveals that, despite positive development in other areas, the education sector has continued to experience challenges that threaten the rights of children in

Marondera, specifically the right to education. The cost of education remains prohibitive and has led to many children dropping out of school and failing to register for national examinations. On this issue an informant said:

> **"For an ordinary Zimbabwean it's very difficult to send your children to school, the costs of uniforms and basic food stuffs, and the prices are still exorbitant"** (In-depth interview No. 11, January 2010)

Another major educational challenge revealed in this study is that although SC has continued to provide tuition for OVC, children are not getting lessons at school and a number of informal schools have sprouted. Since schools are the major catchment area for many programs, it has been very challenging to establish contact with OVC.

The socio-economic context limits OVC in acquiring the appropriate services meant for them. Available financial resources are constrained due to the hyperinflationary environment. The resources do not match the rising numbers of OVC. The social welfare department, therefore, does not have the flexibility to effectively respond to the needs of OVC. The following respondents said:

> **"They are not enough and there will be never enough we have always talked about child friendly budgets and so forth and I still feel like we still have a long way to go until that is really achieved."** (In-depth interview No. 5, June 2010)

 Furthermore, another respondent said that,

> **"OVC phenomenon is increasing in Zimbabwe especially after the economic meltdown because of the suspension of donor funds from NGOs so really they are many cases that have not been attended and also a few NGOs that are there are**

*having a rough time in coping but as times goes on we will be able to cope up with the challenges of OVC.***"** (In-depth interview N0.12, June 2010)

The temporary ban of NGOs led to interrupted access to OVC and its partner communities. Consequently, the operating environment was not conducive to the work of many NGOs. Although the socio-economic environment has witnessed some positive changes, chief among those being the government of national unity, most children's needs have not yet been addressed. Given that the above, the government has left a vacuum which needs to be filled, this gap has necessitated the growth of NGOs. The following section will highlight the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The ethnographic voices captured in this section provide insight into the roles of NGOs, notwithstanding the idea of these actors acting as agents of multilateral institutions and dominant western governments.

7.3 The role of NGOs in the provision of social services

The deregulation of the state, in the provision of social services, has necessitated the prominence of NGOs. The Zimbabwean context has necessitated the growing importance of SC, so this study argues for a specific context. Evidence reveals that SC is involved in provision of education, psychosocial support, food programs and HIV/AIDS mitigation.The table below was extracted from the SC annual report of 2008, focussing on the Marondera district. . It captures the general information on the specific interventions for OVC by SC.

Table 7.1: Demographics of Marondera

Specific Intervention	Cumulative Last Quarter	Male Current Quarter	Female Current Quarter	Total
Number of children in Marondera	20695	10055	10640	20695
OVC in school	6871	4091	2780	6871
OVC out of school	1658	806	852	1658
Number of Community Initiatives	10	0	0	10
Children reached through food	126	275	305	580
Children reached through health	308	3	2	330
Children reached through PSS	728	0	3	731

Source: Save the Children (2009: 5)

In summary, 33% of OVC who attend school where reached by SC programs in Marondera. 8% of OVC who do not attend school where reached by SC. The above table shows that SC is involved in facilitating community initiatives, food programs, the provision of health and psychosocial support. Marondera has more community initiatives which act as a safety net for OVC. The table also reveals that, in comparison to the previous quarter, there was an improvement in the number of children reached through food programs. However, there was a decrease in the number of children reached through health, compared to the previous quarter. The following section will provide narrative descriptions, as extracted from the ethnographic interviews, observations and documents, for a deeper understanding of people's experiences and perceptions on the role of SC in addressing the needs of OVC.

7.3.1 HIV/AIDS mitigation

The findings which emerge from this study suggest that the role of NGOs, in responding to OVC in the context of HIV/AIDS, has evolved accordingly. The programs have gone beyond

providing clinical care to OVC, especially in an era of HIV/ AIDS. One of the thematic areas covered in the quarterly report of Save the Children is to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on the lives of OVC through building the capacity of their families, communities and other stakeholders. This position saw SC partnering with the Marondera local Municipality in a project called "Light the Children's Path". It is important to note that the relationship of SC and the government can be derived from the proposed NGO bill where NGO activities are monitored by the government. Therefore, for SC to operate in such an environment it has to partner with the municipality. One of the main objectives, as stated in the quarterly report, of SC was to disseminate information on HIV/AIDS through junior councillors and members of the Fight Club. The HIV/AIDS project sought to improve protection, care and support of OVC.

Under its HIV/AIDS programs, SC provides nutritional support to OVC who are under the Anti Retroviral Treatment program (ART). The social worker said that:

> *"Yes their lives have changed like one can cite an example of Fungai from Peter House. He is on HIV Anti- Retroviral Treatment (ART) and as such he needs more food as compared to other children in the household, so the uncle could not understand his plight as a result he was having problems with him but with the intervention of SC, they offered nutritional support and also paid school fees for Blessing which saw the tension easing between him and his uncle".* (In-depth interview No. 8, June 2010)

Concurring with the evidence of the annual report of 2008 of SC, under Marondera, 580 children were reached with nutritional support. Similarly, Dray-Spira, Lepage and Dabis (2000) are of the view that NGOs are involved in the prevention of malnutrition, an essential component of case management of HIV positive children. HIV infection in children

compromises their nutritional status in a number of ways and creates a vicious cycle that undermines the health of the infected child. Improving their nutritional status can therefore improve the quality of life of OVC.

SC plays a significant role in the provision of medication. In particular, they are confronted with an average of three HIV positive cases per week; all of whom cannot afford to undergo the CD4 count test. A SC staff member mentions that:

> *"If there is no one who can pay money for CD4 count then we do that"* (In-depth interview No.8, June 2010)

> *"…..sometimes for those children who are HIV positive it pays for their health fees to acquire medication and get tests."* (FGD 2, June 2010)

In light of what the above respondents claim, SC also provides financial assistance for OVC who cannot afford to go for CD4 count tests and who lack access to antiretroviral drugs. The CD4 count, full blood count and liver function tests are usually done in private hospitals and the Department of Health cannot afford the high fees. SC thus provides financial assistance to OVC so that they can undergo these tests. Similarly, one of the objectives of SC, in the 2006 to 2009 policy document, is to develop and implement on African led strategy for the SC HIV/AIDS program with a clear focus and expected results. Thus, the vacuum created by the public sector has led to the increasing significance of SC in mitigating HIV/AIDS. The following respondent mentions that:

> *"Save the Children has 8 different thematic boundaries and each has different thematic boundaries which are divided into districts. In 2006 Save the Children had a program on HIV/AIDS mitigation but it was only limited to Marondera Urban, the children in. Marondera Rural did not benefit from these initiatives. They were 8*

districts and when we try to look at it those 8 districts were .not the, most affected areas but were easy to reach. The programs should have an impact on all OVC, not even 5% of the OVC benefit from these initiatives but there is need to expand these activities. There is need for more resources to be channeled into HIV and AIDS mitigation and expand into each .and every ward." (In-depth interview No 5, June 2010)

Although SC has HIV/AIDS programs for OVC, most OVC in rural areas do not have access to the services available to them. In the same way, Rosa (2004) argues that rural areas are even more disadvantaged than urban areas in terms of the availability of and access to social services. Many of the OVC are not aware that they can access the services available to them or apply for grants. Most of the vulnerable children in urban areas cannot initiate the process without the assistance of an adult; this is most disadvantageous for OVC. One participant mentioned that:

"There are some areas which are not accessed and that's a disadvantage because OVC who benefit from these programs are those who stay in towns rather than OVC who stay in the rural areas. Save the Children should start establishing offices in rural areas so that all OVC nationwide should start benefiting from programs initiated by SC. OVC in rural areas do not even know that they NGOs which can assist them." (In-depth interview No 12, June 2010)

In light of these responses, although SC plays a significant role in HIV/AIDS mitigation, Mercer (2002:13) refers to the proliferation of NGOs and civil societies in urban over rural societies and the tendency of NGOs and civil societies to be stronger in development hotspots. To some extent despite the idea of NGOs being hailed as a panacea for the problems faced by the poor, NGOs have, to a certain degree, failed to adequately address the

needs of OVC. NGOs are not evenly or systematically distributed in geographical terms; in some areas they are concentrated whilst in others they are virtually absent, as is the case of rural and urban disparities. Therefore, NGOs need to expand their activities in terms of coverage and expansion.

7.3.2 Food programs

Evidence from fieldwork also suggests that another role of NGOs is the provision of food parcels to OVC. Two informants mentioned that:

> *"I said they are offering nutritional support and also pay school fees and they offer psychosocial support in some instances and where they can, they offer medical assistance."* (In-depth interview No. 12, June 2010)

> *And*

> *"Save the Children helps OVC in supplementary feeding programs for children less than 5 years which is mainly implemented with the community mothers, the health workers and local clinics."* (In-depth interview No. 3, June 2010)

SC provides nutritious porridge enriched with vitamins, daily, to all children under the age of five (weight feeding) and OVC above the age of five coming from child and elderly headed households in Marondera. The child supplementary feeding program is implemented in partnership with community mothers, health workers and pre-school teachers who work tirelessly to provide food for the OVC. Tollfree (2004) mentions supplementary feeding as one the roles that NGOs play in the lives of vulnerable children in order to prevent malnutrition and starvation. In the SC's policy document (2008) supplementary feeding is one of the programs being implemented by SC, Zimbabwe. It is intended to be a short-term feeding program and the main focus of this program is pre-school and primary school aged

children from farming communities. While SC is a prominent actor in the provision of food to OVC, their food programs lack transparency. There are some OVC who do not get food even though they are in dire need of help. The respondents said that:

> *"Food distribution by Save the Children should be more transparent. Though the records might be there some OVC might fail to get food due to lack of transparency. Same applies to fees. The food distribution must also be transparent since it is distributed probably once in two months"*. (In-depth interview 3, June 2010)

> *and*

> *"In Marondera we have some OVC who are being given food handouts, which is not consistent. Some pay for school fees like Red Cross but they just make a once off selection. They choose 20 pupils at the beginning of the year and they continue to support them up till the end of the year so they don't take new candidates"* (In-depth interview No. 4, June 2010)

Despite their important role of providing food for OVC, evidence from the above indicates that the services of NGOs do not reach all or the majority of these children. It is intended to be a short-term feeding program and the main focus of this program is pre-school and primary aged children in communities. This implies a temporary response to poverty; there is a need for NGOs to increase the scale of their activities so that they become more sustainable.

7.3.3 Provision of Education

Another role of SC mentioned in the study was the provision of education. Basic education is a key component in programming for SC as this organization believes that education is a vital weapon in fighting poverty. In a focus group discussion one informant said that:

"At one instance they formed a composite school and some streets kids where attending this composite school and they managed to send some OVC to formal schools". (In-depth interview No. 11, June 2010)

"Yes SC started paying for my fees last year but one, I went to Gwanda Training school that's where I did my information and Technology Certificate while waiting for my ordinary level results but unfortunately I only passed four subjects." (In-depth interview No. 1, June 2010)

Thus, in response to OVC who do not attend school, SC provides tuition to children who cannot afford to pay for their fees. SC has been able to reach out to marginalized children who are living and working on the streets. The project has provided children with basic education. In one instance they formed a composite school with some streets kids who were attending this composite school and, as a result, they managed to send some OVC to formal schools. Despite the challenges of the increasing number of out of school children, findings in the quarterly report of Marondera 2010 reveal that more than a hundred children were assisted in accessing education and the enrolment at the Yamuranayi Play centre also increased.

Similarly, in its policy document of 2009 SC aims to enable orphaned children to remain in school through partnerships with DACs, BEAM and other funders. SC also sources funding to pay the fees of children not covered by these programs and attempts to source funding for skills training for orphaned youth. Furthermore, in the African Charter on the rights of the child Article 11-14, it is made clear that every child has a right to education. Education aims to promote the development of a child's personality and abilities. The African Charter explains that the state is supposed to provide free and compulsory basic education, encourage the development of secondary education and make higher education accessible to all. NGOs

have stepped in to the void created by the state through its lack of provision for OVC. In this context, SC plays a significant role in addressing the needs of OVC. Below is a picture taken at Yamuranayi Preschool, an education initiative by SC Marondera.

Fig 7.1 OVC at the Yamuranayi play centre in Ward 7

Although SC has continued to provide tuition for OVC, children are not getting lessons at school and a number of informal schools have sprouted. These schools disadvantage children whose fees are paid by various organizations and BEAM (Basic Education Assistance Module) because the education sector in Zimbabwe is dwindling resulting in the majority of children not receiving adequate education. Therefore in considering the success or failure of programs by NGOs it is also important to note the environment in which they operate, SC is operating in an environment which under capacitated in terms of employees working under the education sector.

7.3.4 Psychosocial support

Empirical evidence reveals that SC has established projects to provide psycho-social support for children, and for OVC in particular. OVC are invited to camps for three to five days. The children are counselled and involved in games and activities. The children are encouraged to play with other children, accepting and gaining acceptance, through organized games. The children are presented with challenging exercises to improve their physical development. When explaining the psycho-social camps, one of the fight club members mentions that:

> *"The organization is running quite a number of assistance projects to children, they actually provide trainings for disadvantaged children, usually they equip you with technical skills that you can go out and tackle with issues that we face in the real world".* (In-depth interview No. 6, June 2010)

In SC's annual report of 2008, one of the aims of SC is to support the Peer Counsellors' Youth Program through developing a network of young people aged 16-25 years old. In this study the Fight Club in Marondera acts as a set of peer educators and mentors for younger children. Many of these young people are also OVC who have gone through the trauma of losing parents and are able to support younger children through the bereavement process, thus giving them hope for the future.

This study also shows that one of the main roles of SC is to provide psycho-social support to OVC. In one of the interviews, a community mother mentions that

> *"We identify children in our respective wards, and put them up in districts OVC register. We also offer counselling, since we undergo counselling training under Save the Children".* (In-depth interview No. 16, July 2010)

A similar view, expressed in the SC policy document of 2009, is that SC acts as a mental health safety net. The trauma that OVC experience through losing a parent or caregiver is compounded by the stigmatization and abuse they sometimes experience and the fears and uncertainties they have about their future. By training and equipping key adult community members with psycho-social support skills it is hoped that they can recognize and respond to traumatized children in their communities.

7.4 Save the Children and child participation

There has been an increased emphasis on the crucial significance of local participation for understanding poverty and the implementation of effective poverty alleviation programs. The beneficiaries are expected to play a pivotal role in these programs. Empirical evidence suggests that SC is guided by the principle of putting people first in their work, particularly poor groups. It is important to note that such an approach instils a sense of ownership of and responsibility towards the program and, in turn, leads to the sustainability of programmes (Chambers, 1983). One of the roles of SC is to promote child participation:

> **"Actually Child Participation falls as one of our basic principles there is one saying that, nothing for us without us is against us, so we have tried to involve children in all aspects we do from planning to implementation. We have what we call the Fight Club and we also have the junior council, we work hand in hand with them and they form part of the Child Protection Committees."** (In-depth interview No. 7, June 2010)

> **"Yah they have come to realize that in everything that they do of which in issues affecting the child .Without child participation the programs are meaningless especially with issues regarding to children. We will take for instance they launched a program which is run under the hospices of the government Child Protection Committees in Mashonaland East and as right now we are drafting a child state**

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report of which we as children we are going to report to Geneva. SC has managed to mainstream Child Participation and created 32 Child led groups." (In-depth interview No. 5, June 2010)

It is quite clear from the above quotations that participation has been identified as one of the fundamental principles essential to achieving sustainable development. Furthermore, the BNA states that the participation of OVC is crucial to the quality and credibility of services provided by NGOs (Streeten, 1984). To understand the nature of the needs of OVC, and to aid the design of more meaningful and effective responses to these needs, it is of paramount importance that NGOs make OVC the centre of these programs. SC's overall strategic vision is based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in which children's rights to participate are promoted by listening to children and supporting their influence. Child participation is to be facilitated by the children's meaningful participation in matters that concern them. However, the pursuit of participation by development agencies frequently fails to live up to its rhetoric, which seems to promote it and yet amounts to no more than the restructuring of control (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). The design of the projects supposedly directed towards the development of ideas is often far from genuine community participation because NGOs design their projects without the participation of the intended beneficiaries. Similarly, they are unlikely to have much contact with the poorest sections of those communities in which they work, whatever the stated aims of their organization might be (Myamugasira, 1998). One of the participants mentions that,

"They have to include the OVC in particular in all forms of activities, they should let all OVC represent themselves not to send someone to represent the OVC yet he is living luxuriously, I think it's not a brilliant idea. OVC must be encouraged and they must identify vulnerable children within the community and encourage them to take

part not to include someone outside the community who is in good living to represent

orphans". (In-depth interview No 12, July 2010)

From this response it is evident that child participatory development might further exclude specific groups. This is not to say that NGOs that work with the poor and marginalized are inefficient. The idea of other children representing other OVC might lead to NGOs not adequately addressing the needs of OVC. Also, participation could be seen as a platform which allows them to carry out their own hidden agendas. Therefore, we can assume that some NGOs working with the poor have their own interests which do not necessarily intend to benefit the marginalised populace.

7.5 Save the Children and Community Participation

Evidence gathered from the participants' responses reveals that SC strengthens local participation in fulfilling children's rights; this includes the participation of local communities, children's rights organizations and networks. A shift to rights-based programming has led to children gaining the right to participate in matters that concern them. Rahman (1993) defines community participation as an active process in which beneficiaries take initiatives and take action that is stimulated by their own thinking. It is of importance to note that such an approach instils a sense of ownership and responsibility towards the program and, in turn, leads to the sustainability of programmes. Findings reveal that the community has, to a greater extent, been involved in the programs which SC initiated for OVC. This section explores the two community groups that most informants believed where involved in community participation.

7.5.1 The Community Mothers group

> *"The community is doing a lot, here in Marondera we have the community mothers- these are voluntary women in wards they identify OVC in need and at times do fundraising projects to raise funds for OVC who might be in need and now we also have community fathers . We have another youth club called the Fight Club and other psycho social groups in our community."* (In-depth interview No 7, June 2010)

The community mothers group is a community based initiative in Marondera. The community mothers group was founded in 2002 after both men and women were trained by the department of social services on the assumption of parental rights and duties for minors. It was also formed to establish child-friendly environments that promote and protect children's rights. This capacity building was designed to facilitate the establishment of a Child Protection Committee with the support of SC. Initially, the group had 120 members but this number has since decreased to 80 because the committee was voluntary and lacked incentives. It is divided into ward levels, groups of around 12, and there are ward specific women who monitor particular streets of each ward (Save the Children, 2008).

In this study, the community mother's role was to provide psychosocial support to OVC, particularly to abused children and children living with HIV/AIDS. The Community Mothers are involved in identifying OVC within their wards and keep the district OVC register up to date. The SC personnel said:

> *"The community is doing a lot, here in Marondera we have the community mothers- these are voluntary women in wards they identify OVC in need and at times do fundraising projects to raise funds for OVC who might be in need and now we also have community fathers"* . (In-depth interview No. 8, June 2010)

The ward registers explicitly summarize individual current circumstances and their needs. The registers also count for the type, level and amount of assistance provided for each child. Ward registers are consolidated to form the District OVC register, which is monitored and updated monthly by SC's coordinator.

Fig 7.2 *The community mothers meet in Marondera*

In a similar way, the UNAIDS and UNICEF 2000 June report outlined how Community Based Programs, service provision by NGOs and some private organizations have assisted in reducing the problems faced by OVC. With the rapid increase in the number of OVC, the "multi-sectoral approach" has emphasized the role of the community in mitigating its associated effects of the OVC phenomenon. With limited state responses, the formation of NGOs is one of civil society's approaches to dealing with the social problems experienced by OVC (Juliusdottir, 1995).

Community mothers offer counselling services to OVC and the information shared during counselling sessions is kept confidential; however, shared confidentiality exists in cases where decisions are made in the best interests of the child. The mothers committee also works to reunite children with their extended families or facilitate their fostering. Most of the orphans and street children of Marondera have been tracked back to their kin within the district. Foster (2004) is of the view that at the community level, society is increasingly establishing support initiatives to assist OVC. They play a major role in supporting those who are extremely poor. Support is normally extended to community members "on the basis of need and not creed" (Foster, 2004). The community mothers negotiate guardianship of these children with their relatives, often coming to an agreement with the guardian that he/she should provide shelter and care whilst they provide for other basic needs such as education and clothing. The community mother's referral system has benefited many children in different circumstances. One community mother said:

> **"The community refers vulnerable children to us the community mothers and we assess the children's needs and refer them to the appropriate service providers. We are the eyes within the community; we identify different kinds of orphans who are in need. Then we have the Fight Club who also helps us to identify OVC in schools and also at homes in difficult circumstances."** (In-depth interview, June 2010)

The group is involved in income generating projects such as sewing, poultry keeping and catering.

> **"We have candle making, and different projects that are done to assist OVC like dress making, peanut butter making and sewing machines etc."**(In-depth interview No. 15, July 2010)

Income from the catering and poultry projects is used to pay the school fees of the children, while the sewing projects provide clothing and uniforms for the orphaned and vulnerable children. Some of the proceeds have been invested with a local company. Children assist in running these projects during their school holidays. Such an approach instils a sense of ownership and responsibility towards the program and, in turn, leads to the sustainability of programmes (Chambers, 1983). The community mothers have also started a pre-school in ward 7 i.e. the Yamuranayi pre-school with the help of SC. NGOs organize people to make better use of their own local resources, promote equity, alleviate poverty and establish new instructional frameworks that will sustain people. This is termed 'actor oriented development' (Hart, 2001). Documentary evidence reveals that, with the help of SC in their wards, the community mothers formed a bridging school in 2006 to respond to the problem of out of school youths. Community mothers who are retired teachers operate the school and participate fully in the children's activities. It is seen as a temporary alternative to serve those children who lack school fees and it is hoped that the children will eventually be co-opted into formal schools. Despite the positive contributions that community mothers have made to the lives of OVC, resources are a constant challenge as the number of OVC supersedes the available resources. One of the community mothers said that:

> *"Resources are a constant challenge, they are never enough, and also sometimes we have to take in some of the OVC in need because the foster homes and orphan care centers are full to capacity".* (In-depth interview No. 16, July 2010)

7.5.2 The Fight Club

Evidence from the data gathered suggests that the Fight Club has played a significant role in addressing the needs of OVC. It was established in July 2003. Initially it had 15 young members who were concerned about the number of child abuse cases in their community and

wanted to help OVC in need. The club is instituted under SC within the Marondera City Council. The Fight Club's role is to organize children's rights issues and help address child abuse problems, in Marondera district. One of the fight club members mentions that:

"Yah they have come to realize that in everything that they do of which in issues affecting the child .Without child participation the programs are meaningless especially with issues regarding to children. We will take for instance they launched a program which is run under the hospices of the government Child Protection Committees in Mashonaland East and as right now we are drafting a child state report of which we as children we are going to report to Geneva. SC has managed to mainstream Child Participation and created 32 Child led groups." (In-depth interview No. 5, June 2010)

The above participant is actively involved in the activities of Fight Club. The participant is of the view that SC places crucial significance on local participation for understanding poverty and the implementation of effective poverty alleviation programs. The beneficiaries are expected to play a pivotal role in these programs. NGOs, in fostering development, are guided by the principle of putting people first in their work, particularly the poorer groups. Fight Club allows OVC to realize to their full potential and their rights in issues concerning them.

The club works with SC and other stakeholders. It identifies children in need and refers them to the relevant stakeholders for assistance. As part of their activities, club members work closely with the police, the victim friendly courts and various line ministries as they strive to get children's problems addressed by relevant stakeholders. One of the members said:

"Yes on the international scene Zimbabwe is the only country in Sub Saharan Africa which tries to tackle issues regarding children. Children are involved in the

*consultation making process of the National Budget. In most of the provinces children are becoming more aware of their rights but now what needs to be done is how to implement.***"** (In-depth interview No.5, June 2010)

Children work closely with government departments and are consulted in issues concerning them. Fight Club uses theatre, poetry and music to inform children and community members in the district on the rights of children, HIV/AIDS. Similarly, SC's overall strategic vision is to promote child participation through listening to children and supporting their influence. Child participation is to be facilitated by the meaningful participation of children in matters that concern them.

Empirical evidence reveals that club members attend workshops for young people, organized by various NGOs, on issues that affect children. One informant mentioned that:

"We attend workshops where we learn about different things affecting us as children. We also get the opportunity of meeting other children and share, exchange ideas, so in a way we are learning more about our rights" (In-depth interview No. 6, June 2010)

Club members enjoy the opportunity of sharing their views, learning from others and making contacts. The regional project office at SC has, from time to time, organized capacity building training for the club and others in similar groups. The fight club also works with the junior council and local junior councillor to organize child participation activities in such events as the Day of the African Child. The child coordinator of SC mentions that:

"Actually Child Participation falls as one of our basic principles there is one saying that nothing for us without us is against us so we have tried to involve children in all aspects we do from planning to implementation. We have what we call the Fight Club

and we also have the junior council, we work hand in hand with them and they form

part of the Child Protection Committees. (In-depth interview No. 7, June 2010)

Facilitating meaningful child participation in matters that concern children in different contexts and at different levels is one of the main guiding principles of SC. This is similar to the BNA which concentrates on development that is more people centred than economically centred. The beneficiaries of development become the centre of development.

The Fight Club group meets every Saturday to discuss issues affecting OVC in Marondera. The researcher had the opportunity of attending two of these meetings.

Fig 7.3 The Fight Club

After the plenary session, they meet separately as junior and senior groups, to discuss specific plans and activities and then report to each other in the larger group. The senior members

realize that they will one day they will be too old to remain in the club, so they encourage junior members to take an active role; in this manner, the senior members do not overrule decisions but engage with them until all members reach a consensus. While the club is doing a good job in encouraging OVC to engage with others, the lack of funds and resources to start projects is a problem. Considering the fact that Marondera is also faced with a growing number of OVC, the club does not have enough resources to assist all children who are either orphaned or vulnerable.

7.6 Collaboration between NGOs and other stakeholders: The District Child Protection Committee

Cooperation in service provision is necessary to respond coherently to the problems experienced by OVC, thereby aiming at enhancing efficiency, service delivery and sustainability. In some instances the projects are successful; they usually remain rather small, especially when compared to the scale of challenges. As a result scaling up becomes an important issue on the agenda of development. This can be achieved by collaboration between the private and public sectors who are concerned with child development.

A majority of participants in the study revealed that, in Marondera, there have been coordinated structures and programs between the private and public sectors in response to the needs of OVC. One respondent mentioned that:

> *"We have what we call District Child Protection Committees where people from various NGOs and sector ministries meet so suppose a child does not have a birth certificates I would have gone there and said we have so many children from Dombotombo who need Birth certificates, the guy from the registrar's office will be there and hears it so it will be easier for me when these children come in and I refer*

them. We have managed to facilitate speedy and accessibility of the social services to the children." (In-depth interview No. 7, June 2010)

The findings reveal that the Marondera District Child Protection Committee (DCPC) is a safety net for OVC. The DCPC was established in 2003 with the support of SC, Zimbabwe, within the Light the Children's Path project. SC also supports the Child Protection Coordinator position within council; the individual holding this position coordinates all child related activities in Marondera. When asked what DCPC were, the social worker mentions that:

"Child protection Committees came under the National Action Plan which is also supported by SC. This is a multi-sectoral approach to OVC problems which include NGOs and Government Organizations." (In-depth interview No. 8, June 2010)

In a report compiled by Catholic Relief Services (2009), it is stated that the DCPC consists of representatives from government agencies, schools, Foster Care homes and includes stakeholders from the grassroots level, specifically community mothers and the Fight Club. These help in gathering information, identifying and referring problems from the grassroots to the relevant stakeholders in the DCPC.

The DCPC's mission is to create a community that is free of abuse and supports the development of children. When defining DCPC one informant said:

"It encompasses all stakeholders who have their interest in child development e.g. The Register General Department, the Youth and Friendly Unit and mainly NGOs. These stakeholders work under the local authority that is Marondera Municipality." (In-depth interview No. 5, June 2010)

These findings reveal that the DCPC seeks to establish networks between organizations and sector ministries so that, collectively, they can reach as many OVC as possible. It strives to coordinate stakeholders in order to increase children's access to the services available for them.

7.6.1 Roles and activities of District Child Protection Committee

Findings reveal that the DCPC's main role is to solve problems affecting children in Marondera. Through its awareness efforts, it improves community member's knowledge about children's rights and the need to protect and provide for OVC. When committee members raise concerns about specific children, the appropriate referrals are made to look into the issues affecting children. The Child coordinator of SC suggests the following:

> ***"Basically what we have managed to do bring these people together so that at least they know, we have what we call District Child Protection Committees where people from various NGOs and sector ministries meet so suppose a child does not have a birth certificates I would have gone there and said we have so many children from Dombotombo who need Birth certificates, the guy from the registrar's office will be there and hears it so it will be easier for me when these children come in and I refer them".*** (In-depth interview No. 7, June 2010)

It is clear from the above that coordination structures are operationalised at district and local levels and the existing structures are functioning well, as all stakeholders have important roles to play in facilitating collaboration and ensuring implementation at all levels. The DCPC's role is also to keep the district orphan register up to date, including the number of vulnerable children, and child headed-households. It shares information about the processes OVC and their caregivers need to follow to access specific social services such as getting

their hospital bills paid and getting money to pay for their tuition. Furthermore, one of SC's personnel said:

"Child Protection Committees are a coalition of different sector ministries and all organizations that work with children and they exist because we realized that there was a lot of stepping on each other's toes, double dipping where a child would benefit from SC whilst benefiting from Red Cross and we also realized that some children were also being lefty out whilst some were double dipping so basically what we needed to do was to share the same information because we were targeting the same children." (In-depth interview No. 7, June 2010)

The study reveals that the DCPC advocates for children within Marondera and encourages the council to make child friendly solutions. In the annual report of 2006, as a result of efforts by the committee, Council passed a resolution that gave priority to child-headed households during food distribution under the Drought Relief Program. It also availed a budget line that meets the needs of marginalized children and gave the community mothers as well as the Fight Club access to council facilities. These include community halls and transport.

Through its activities the DCPC has helped to reduce cases of child abuse and more reports on sexual and physical abuse are being made through the Victim Friendly Courts. Furthermore, one informant said:

"The number of children who are out of school has also been reduced. The DCPC monitors the progress of projects initiated for OVC in different areas through sharing the information in the meetings. In terms of education they analyze enrolment statistics from the District Education Office." (In-depth interview No. 14, June 2010)

Individual DCPC members also support child friendly measures within their organizations. For example, the District AIDS Action Committee has a budget line for children that enable psychosocial support camps for OVC and the treatment of children living with HIV and AIDS. It provides milk for OVC under the age of five and food packs for child and elderly headed households. In line with the empirical evidence, the principles of Rousseau's social contract help in understanding the rationale of cooperation in assisting OVC. The collaboration between sectors, in terms of service provision, is needed to respond coherently to the problems experienced by OVC. This would enhance efficiency, service delivery and sustainability in this regard (Robinson et al, 2003).

From the above, the NGO-State relationship has been a major bone of contention in the area of development. Considering the Zimbabwean context, whatever assistance NGOs want to offer ought to be channeled through the relevant government ministries. To that end, the government has to approve their projects before they are allowed to operate on the ground. This requirement has led to the establishment of DCPCs. Although this value might be called a collaborative relationship at face, it might be a means for the government to monitor these NGOs. This can lead to a delaying in the implementation of projects since some NGOs do not have control of the funds, and do not know when to expect these funds. SC has managed to work closely with department heads who act as their link to relevant authorities who might be interested in knowing what they do on the ground.

7.7 Conclusion

The empirical findings discussed in this chapter suggest that there has been a vacuum created by the state and that NGOs have emerged as alternatives in the provision of services to OVC in Marondera. The Public goods and Performance failure theory as previously indicated mentions that NGOs play an important role when the state has failed to deliver. The

diminishing role of the Zimbabwean state in social service provision has created an environment were SC plays a vital role in the lives of OVC in Marondera. The main argument here is that, despite its limitations, SC has played a primary role in addressing the needs of OVC because of the socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe.

The various aspects of the model which where derived from the empirical evidence gathered in Chapter six and seven are participatory development, the basic needs of OVC, state failure which has led to the growing importance of SC in addressing the needs of OVC. The role of SC includes the provision of social services like education, health, provision of food and psychosocial support. SC plays a significant role in HIV/AIDS mitigation programs and facilitates child and community participation. Empirical evidence also suggests that there is a relationship between SC, the government and other stakeholders in the District Child Protection Committees. The integrated model on the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC utilized the concept of collaboration of all sectors concerned with addressing the needs of OVC from the social contract theory, BNA and Max Neef theory of needs. The model states that when there is a change in the existing political economy there is a need for the state to collaborate with other subsystems (NGOs, extended family, the community based organizations), in the social contract of service delivery capacity and sustainability in order to fill the gaps in the provision of care and enact cooperation amongst stakeholders. In this manner, NGOs and other sectors act as alternatives by filling the gaps left by the state in social service delivery.

In terms of Participatory development, accessing the views of the OVC themselves from the narrative descriptions that these two chapters made use of, rather than second hand accounts from others acknowledges the need of OVC to participate in relevant social processes and to

gain insights of how they view the role of NGOS by respecting their versions of reality. This provided a framework for examining the needs of OVC and how they are catered for by SC .

In terms of the methodology, the use of narrative descriptions from interviews and focus group discussions further explored the aspects of the intergraded model of the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. Listening o the voices of OVC in ethnography provided more insights of the issues of basic needs and participatory development which are explained in length in the BNA. The narrative descriptions in the previous two chapters explore how these informants interpreted their own situations in form of .verbal descriptions and explanations. In terms of defining and conceptualizing the OVC phenomenon (OVC own viewpoints and perspectives) the empirical evidence shows that the definitions which came out together with the challenges faced go beyond the traditional ones in textbooks. This should be nuanced arguments couched within the BNA. This study therefore necessitates the understanding of OVC needs from their own perspective. The crucial significance of using focus group discussions assisted to tap the bottom up views of the services of SC in Marondera. Having discussed the empirical evidence gathered from the study the following chapter will conclude this study.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8. 1 Introduction

Despite the valid criticism of NGOs such as the proliferation of projects by NGOs on the ground which has led to an increased overlap of activities and compounded problems of coordination, (Bebbington and Farrington, 1990; Korten, 1999; Salamon, 1993 and Fisher, 1997), they have played a significant role in the provision of social services to OVC. The Zimbabwean state's retreat from social welfare service provision has led to the growing importance of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC in Zimbabwe. This chapter presents the conclusions of the study in relation to the research questions in order to put forward the outcomes of the study. The rationale behind the research was to investigate the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC by counteracting the failure of the state to live up to its obligation of social service provision. The thesis was established within an integrated model, of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC, which encompasses the Performance Failure theory, the Basic Needs Approach (BNA), the Max Neef theory of human needs and the Social Contact Theory (SCT). An integration of elements from the four theories was employed to answer the research questions, using the qualitative research design. The core principles of the integrated model include that of state failure leading to the surge of NGOs, participatory development, basic needs and collaboration between sectors. These principles furthered the understanding of the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC.

The use of ethnography helped to comprehend the heterogeneity of histories and processes in which NGOs emerge and within which they operate. In the case of Zimbabwe, the socio-economic crisis has led to the increased significance of role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC. The study made use of Ethnographic research by employing three data collection

methods: interviews, observation and documents. The narrative descriptions in this study assisted in drawing attention to the multiplicity of meanings that were given by the participants in Marondera thereby accessing the insiders' perspectives. Therefore, the theoretical and methodological framework helped in fostering an understanding of how SC has been an alternative in service provision, counter posed against the failure of the state. In order to have a deeper understanding of the role of SC in Marondera, the study used an inductive approach with a qualitative research focus. The qualitative research method was intended to answer the following key research questions of the study;

- What role does SC play in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera?

- Has SC managed to meet the needs of OVC in Marondera?

- What are the challenges faced by SC in the provision of services to OVC in Marondera?

- How can NGOs improve service provision to OVC?

Empirical evidence from the study revealed that, although the government has a National Action Plan and a legislative framework aimed at cushioning OVC, the state has failed to adequately address the needs of OVC; this has resulted in a gap in social service provision for OVC. NGOs have stepped in as alternative social service providers to OVC. Chapter One served as a background to and contextualization of the study; it states the purpose and aims of the study, provides an overview of the research design, methods of data collection and the analysis provided in the study. Chapter Two provided an in-depth discussion of the literature consulted, thus grounding the inquiry academically. This chapter explored the role of NGOs in development. Chapter Three contextualised the study, in order to comprehend the role of SC considering the nature of the Zimbabwean state, its retreat from service provision and the socio-economic crisis. This chapter provided context specific information about Zimbabwe and its existing OVC policies and demonstrates the limited welfare provision for OVC. The

chapter moved towards a realisation of how NGOs have become an important alternative for development in relation to the context of the state. Chapter Four built on the integrated model of the role of NGOs in the provision of social welfare services with regard to the state's failure and how the theory has been used to analyse the entire study. This chapter explored the theoretical framework underpinnings this study. Having established the integrated model in addressing the needs of OVC, Chapter Five discussed the ethnographic research employed in the study in order to investigate the role of SC in counteracting state failure and the methodology used in the study indicates the data collection instruments, sampling method and the type of data analysis employed. Chapters Six and Seven provided the narrative descriptions, from the voices of participants from Marondera, on how they conceptualised orphanhood and vulnerability, the failure of the Zimbabwean state leading to the role of SC in the provision of social services to OVC.

The following section briefly discusses the core arguments of this study, based on the empirical findings which revealed that state retreat from social service provision has necessitated the importance of SC in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera.

8.2 The Core Argument

The gradual retreat of the government in public service delivery has led to the growing importance of NGOs in social service provision for OVC. The state has over time developed a weak public institution with inefficient operations, incapable of combating poverty. Budget cuts during the period under investigation left the Zimbabwean state increasingly unable to perform its basic duty of social service provision. NGOs stepped into this void as alternatives to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of public service provision. Similarly, the Performance Failure theory maintains that when the market cannot provide public goods in the society, NGOs emerge to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods. Brown

and Korten (1991) assert that state failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as novel responses to different types of problems. The integrated model for analysing the role NGOs, in addressing the needs of OVC, presented a better understanding of how NGOs can adequately address the needs of OVC and eradicate poverty for OVC. The model proposed that the poor should take charge of their own development so that they become the owners of that development, with the NGOs only playing a facilitation or supportive role (Swanepoel, 2000: 84). The findings from the study reveal that SC placed OVC at the centre of the programs that they provide for them. By engaging and participating in programs provided by SC, the OVC were ensured the long-term capacity to survive or maintain well-being. One notable outcome of the study is that addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera will not be achieved unless programs by SC are carried out in a participatory manner. This model promotes the community and OVC's involvement, that is, a bottom-up approach to tackling the poverty faced by OVC. Similarly, the use of ethnography emphasised the importance of listening to the voices of insiders (OVC and community members) drawing attention first to the multiplicity of available meanings in relation to insider perspectives, as well as to the issue of accessing insiders' perspectives and interpreting them. In the study, the notion of 'voice' is used to describe the participatory development of both OVC and community members therefore making their views and thoughts central to the development process. The key justification for the use of the model is that the Zimbabwean state has failed to live up to its duty of social service provision for OVC in Marondera and SC has filled the gap. The model is people-centred; therefore SC focused on OVC, their needs, engagement with other stakeholders (collaborations) and active participation in fighting poverty is essential. The following section summarises and reflects upon and key findings in order to elaborate certain aspects of the core arguments.

8.2   Summary and reflection on the key findings

The findings of the study are summarised below, the first section explores the roles of SC and the challenges faced by SC in addressing the needs of OVC.

8.2.1 The roles played by NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC?

The deregulation of the state in social welfare provision has necessitated the growing importance of NGOs in social welfare provision. The results of the thesis confirm that there is a vacuum which has created the surge of NGOs despite their imperialist role as agents of multilateral institutions (Korten, 1990). The common assertion is that NGOs have arisen in the face of external and internal constraints and, more specifically, where state directed change has failed or faces severe limitations. Ndegwa (2000) argues that NGOs have become an important alternative for development under certain circumstances. The socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe has led to the growing importance of SC. Generalizations about the success or failure of NGOs ignores the diversities of the NGO field and context. Understanding the history of the Zimbabwean state facilitated recognition of the collapse socio-economic context in which SC operates, therefore the role of SC cannot be generalised. The findings of this study reveal the following as the roles of SC.

- **Education:** One of the most important roles of SC is to enable orphaned children to remain in school through partnerships with DACs, BEAM and other funders. SC sources funding to pay the fees for children not covered by these programs and attempts to source funding for skills training of orphaned youth. The findings reveal that SC works with district Education Offices to ensure that children with special needs are provided the necessary support and have access to education. It also supports community mothers in projects that are used to pay school fees for OVC like poultry and sewing projects which provide uniforms for OVC. SC supports a composite school which is attended by some

street kids and they have managed to send some OVC to formal schools. Despite the challenges of the increasing number of out of school children, the findings reveal that more than a hundred children were assisted in gaining access to education.

- **Supplementary feeding**: SC is involved in a short-term feeding program for vulnerable children to prevent malnutrition and starvation. The main focus of this program is pre-school and children of a primary going age, in farm communities. SC provides nutritious porridge enriched with vitamins, daily, to all children under the age of five (weight feeding), and OVC above the age of five coming from child and elderly headed households in Marondera. The child supplementary feeding program is implemented in partnership with community mothers, health workers and preschool teachers who collaborate in providing food for OVC.

- **Psycho-social support** – This study reveals that SC has established projects to provide psycho-social support for children, and for orphans and vulnerable children in particular. OVC are invited to camps for three to five days. The children are counselled and involved in games and activities. The children are encouraged to play with other children, accepting and gaining acceptance, through organized games and play. In the context of HIV/AIDS, the needs of OVC are widely acknowledged and many programs have been established to provide such support. Community mothers provide counselling services to children in difficult circumstances, the fight club also provides peer counselling to OVC in the wards of the Marondera District. By training key adults and peer counsellors from these communities in psycho-social support skills it is hoped that they can recognize and respond to traumatized children in their communities. The Yamuranayi Play Centre in Ward 7 (Marondera) also provides psycho-social support for OVC; they are counselled and involved in games and activities and psycho-social support is complemented by other basic needs like food and clothing.

- **HIV/AIDS mitigation program**- The findings reveal that one of the main roles of SC is to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on the lives of OVC through building the capacity of their families, communities and other stakeholders. This position saw SC partnering with the Marondera local Municipality in a project called "Light the Children's Path". One of the main objectives of this project is to disseminate information about HIV/AIDS to OVC so that they can protect themselves against infection through junior councillors and members of the Fight Club. The HIV/AIDS project seeks to improve protection, care and support for OVC in Marondera through community based systems with local authorities and other stakeholders. SC provides financial assistance for anti-retroviral treatment, tests (CD4 count tests, viral load and liver functions test) which are prerequisites for ART. It also acts as a referral by providing Assistance Medical Treatment Orders (AMTOS) and nutritional support for OVC who are undergoing treatment. Another noteworthy role mentioned in the study, in relation to HIV/AIDS mitigation, is the fact that SC has been working to strengthen child protection systems in preventing and responding to violence and sexual abuse against children. Many awareness and capacity building sessions have been conducted for children.

8.3 Assessing whether NGOs have managed to fill the gap left by the state in Social service provision.

SC has managed to address some of the needs of OVC, such as the provision of certain goods and services (advocacy workshops, fees and food parcels, etc.). SC is well positioned to understand the needs of OVC and give them an effective voice, especially when market mechanisms ignore the needs of OVC because it works closely with the Marondera District Child Protection Committee (DCPC). SC has managed to spearhead innovative programming like the HIV/AIDS mitigation project which seeks to improve the lives of OVC infected or

affected by HIV/AIDS. Other agencies like the DCPC are adapting and improving these innovations. SC has also managed to support children's rights in the Marondera District. They run projects through the use of community structures, thus tapping into the experience and support of these community structures (The Fight Club and the Community Mothers group) and the support of local communities and authorities. Similarly, the UNAIDS (2000) June report outlines how service provision by SC in Zimbabwe, through Community Based Programs, has assisted in ameliorating the problems faced by OVC. NGOs may provide instruments to emphasize the participation of the poor so as to become active participants in the development process. The findings reveal that SC has managed to reach to 70% of OVC (Quarterly Report 2010), although its resources are failing to keep up with the increase in OVC. There sustainability and legitimacy of the services offered by SC is needed in order to verify its effectiveness in the lives of OVC. Isolated projects do not always result in a significant and sustained reduction in poverty, particularly at the national level (UNDP, 2009). For example, the provision of psycho-social support needs to be complemented by other needs, such as health and food. In particular, some of the projects do not cater for the emergence of severe food shortages like the food programs where OVC are expected to receive food parcels on a monthly basis but which is not always consistent. Even co-ordinated projects which help OVC do not always have the perceived developmental benefits of channelling resources through local systems. In addition, the project approach is often unable to focus on the most important issues because donors are in dialogue with sector planners rather than central decision makers and the children in question (OVC). Services do not reach all OVC who are in dire need like those who are in the rural areas; Marondera town also has rural district areas which remain untouched by SC.

8.4 Challenges faced by SC in the provision of services to OVC.

SC Marondera has encountered a number of problems in its efforts to ensure that it addresses the plea of OVC, the realization of children's rights and the eradication of all forms of abuse. Findings from this study reveal that the available financial resources are constrained due to the prevailing hyper inflationary environment. There are only a few NGOs working in the area, therefore the resources available to OVC do not give SC the flexibility to effectively respond to the challenges faced by OVC. The available resources for SC make it difficult to address all the needs of OVC. The resources do not match the rising numbers of OVC. Findings reveal that some areas are not accessed, therefore the OVC who benefit from these programs are those who stay in towns rather than their counterparts in the Marondera rural district.

Although the national HIV rate has dropped significantly, the number of OVC and infected children is still high. Some challenges which come to the SC are beyond its capacity to successfully deal with; for example, acquiring birth certificates therefore remains unsolved. Acquiring certificates for OVC remains difficult as the Registrar General's office insists that birth registration is a policy issue and, as such, regulations governing the issue of birth certificates have to be adhered to. The temporary ban of NGOs led to interrupted access to OVC and its partner communities; consequently, the operating environment was not conducive to the work of many NGOs. Findings reveal that even though the socio-economic environment has witnessed some positive changes, chief among those being the government of national unity, most children's needs have not yet been addressed. The cost of education remains prohibitive which has led to many children dropping out of school and failing to register for the national examinations.

8.4.1 Further reflections on the findings of the study

- Although HIV/AIDS is only one of several factors leading to the changes observed in traditional patterns of child care, it is undoubtedly the main contributory factor predisposing to the phenomenon of OVC in this study. In this study, although HIV/AIDS has lead to the phenomenon of OVC, there are other factors which contribute to the rising numbers of OVC including the death of one or both parents, negligence on the part of the parents to keep up with their parental responsibilities, the socio-economic and political environment. In addition, the extended family, once the safety net for vulnerable children, is fast disintegrating because of poverty, high rates of unemployment and the difficult socio-economic environment. The HIV/AIDS epidemic resulted in family disintegration and the creation of OVC which is evidence that extended families could not cope up with situations created by HIV/AIDS.

- The findings also reveal that the SC works with the government; they have established links with government ministries, particularly the Department of Social Services, as well as other NGOs and Community Based Organizations (Community Mothers and Fight Club) in what they term the Marondera DCPC. These links have further strengthened positive coordination and communication between all sectors in terms of service provision to OVC. It is clear that formal and informal stakeholders in Marondera have responded to the escalating numbers of OVC with local initiatives and resources, although a number of OVC have not yet benefited from these support initiatives.

- Statutory support for OVC is limited and the Department of Social Welfare does not have the capacity to care for the large numbers of OVC that exist. While it is acknowledged that Zimbabwe has a wide range of laws and policies in place to support children, it needs to be accepted that such laws were fashioned on the basis of a case oriented welfare approach. The present legislation is inappropriate for dealing with large numbers of OVC.

Zimbabwe has a National Plan of Action in support of OVC; unfortunately, policy and implementation are two distinct and mutually exclusive processes. It is the application, not formulation, of policies that presents the real challenges. The lack of linkages between policies and existing legislation creates gaps in social service provision.

- The findings reveal that the participation of OVC is crucial to the quality and credibility of the services provided by the NGOs. To understand the extent and the nature of the needs in order to design more meaningful and effective responses to the needs of OVC, it is of paramount importance that NGOs make OVC the centre of the programs they initiate. SC's overall strategic vision is based on the CRC in which children's rights to participate is promoted by listening to children and supporting their influence. Child participation is facilitated by the meaningful participation of children in matters that concern them. SC has also managed to strengthen local participation in order to fulfil children's rights, including local communities and the intended beneficiaries in programs pertaining to them as well as matters that concern them.

- The findings reveal that funding the DCPC through local authorities contributes to the sustainability of programs and ensures that funds are used for the benefit of children. Having a child protection focal person, within the local authority, is critical in maintaining collaboration amongst stakeholders in Marondera. This enables the stakeholders in Marondera to share information regularly and to document the district's child protection efforts**.**

8.5   Recommendations

In line with the findings presented in this inquiry, related recommendations are made. The aim of this section is, essentially, to propose strategies that may lead to enhanced support for OVC.

- Governments need to re-dress the deepening poverty at the national level and police the implementation of policies in order to protect the rights of children, especially OVC. Free social services should be accessible to children living in difficult circumstances. In addition, subsidized services should be accessible to OVC who cannot afford to purchase them. The researcher discovered that some of the children were orphaned as a result of their parents dying from AIDS-related illnesses, and such children need care and support.

- Policies and initiatives from various NGOs, Education and Social development departments should be developed and implemented so as to support children from child-headed families. Thus far, however, the support measures within the socio-economic constraints of the country focus on the needs of OVC.

- NGOs need to work with the Department of Social Welfare to ensure that Child Protection Committees, at all levels, have the training they need. It is important to build the capacity of the DCPC so as to monitor the community and facilitate child participation.

- NGOs need to improve or scale up their activities in rural areas. Currently, this is a significant obstacle in effective NGO interventions. Strategies for improving collaboration between rural and urban districts are necessary so as to reach out to OVC who have not been receiving assistance from NGOs.

- NGOs should employ more qualified personnel. They know and understand the implications of certain situations, particularly those related to OVC, and can therefore be effective. They need to source some more donations.

- Welfare departments need to transform from social welfare service delivery towards "development" activities in bringing about an attitude change which is more oriented towards empowering communities. The Department of Social Welfare should develop strong links with the community, providing inputs such as technical expertise,

administrative support and financial assistance. With the help of NGOs, the Welfare department should also take a proactive role in supporting community strategies, by encouraging and supporting child care in the community. This may include recruiting, training and supervising support persons in the community so that they are able to assist with caring for children in formal and informal care.

- It is crucial that such children interact with each other so that they share experiences and can become sources of emotional support and empathy for each other. Networking amongst OVC can be a means through which children in difficult circumstances voice their concerns regarding the way society or the state treats them.

Implications for existing theory

The study has focused on investigating the roles of SC in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera. This study applied the integrated model of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC, in the analysis of roles of NGOs, for the purpose of gaining a more comprehensive understanding of it. This model was an attempt to gain a greater understanding, beyond one specific theory, and allow us to understand how different basic tenets of the theories can resolve the problem at hand. While one theory could suffice to describe a phenomenon (an isolated element) using other theories was necessary to explain other elements and the relation between tenets. The study gives a more elaborate understanding of the role played by NGOs, as it counterpoises state failure using the model by adopting the main tenets. From the study it was noted that although the state has programs and a legislative framework it has failed to deal with the needs of OVC. In the context of the socioeconomic and political crisis, SC has managed to cushion OVC from poverty. This concurs with one of the tenets of the model of state failure leading to the surge of NGOs derived from the Performance Failure theory.

Community based organizations, like the fight club and The Community Mothers group, have concurred or substantiated one of the core principles of the model of participatory development, which is people centred. NGOs are an enabler of that participatory development; the OVC and the community are the centre of the development process. The study has broadened the understanding of this proposition by showing that in Marondera the community plays a major role in assisting OVC and Zimbabwean government policies have impacted significantly on the livelihoods of aged people. Findings reveal that SC plays an important role in stimulating participation of the OVC and the community and is able to reach those OVC who are by-passed by public service delivery systems. SC has realized that child participation is one of the fundamental principles for achieving the rights and needs of children.

The study has also widened knowledge and understanding of existing theory by showing that cooperation amongst organizations which assist OVC enhances poverty alleviation for OVC therefore agreeing with another core principle of the model of collaboration. The principle of collaboration is derived from Rousseau's SCT. The actors involved, like Community Based Organizations, NGOs, the government and OVC, cooperate in DCPC to adequately address problems that OVC face in Marondera and adopt strategies to secure their livelihoods. The role of the DCPC has shown the holistic and cooperative approach of the model as it brings together different development actors to address the needs of OVC. A collaborative approach to averting poverty has positive results given that the failure of one sector allows others to fill the gap. Clearly, it then shows how the study has cemented the core principles of the model in achieving better livelihoods for poor people.

The fulfilment of basic needs is essential to poverty eradication in the model. Findings reveal that SC has been involved in a number of programs in presenting a pragmatic poverty alleviation agenda. These programs include the provision of education, health, HIV/AIDS

mitigation programs and psychosocial support to address the needs of OVC in Marondera. This concurs with the belief that the fulfilment of basic needs is a fundamental prerequisite for addressing the issue of poverty. The integrated model of analysing the role of NGOs, in addressing the needs of OVC, utilizes the concept of fulfilment of basic needs from the BNA which was later extended by Max Neef's theory of human needs. This is closely linked to the issue of basic needs in the model which maintains that the provision of services is essential and may substantially improve the lives of OVC. In order to attain development, the poor should be able to attain the minimum requirements for survival. The theory is based on the premise that any fundamental human needs that are not adequately satisfied reveal human poverty.

Therefore, the focus of the integrated model of analysing the role of NGOs in dealing with the needs of OVC has been elaborated by the findings of this study.

8.6 Recommendations for further research

This study intended to investigate the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC within an urban community in which HIV/AIDS was prevalent. Based on the strength of this study, with its comprehensive conceptual framework and analysis of primary data, other research programs can use this study as their starting point. The results of this study were derived from a particular socio-economic context i.e. from an urban context. Similar research projects in other geographical areas, especially rural areas and groups with different socio-cultural backgrounds, are needed in order to assemble a more comprehensive understanding of OVC issues. This will increase the body of knowledge that will allow future researchers to generalize on the needs of OVC and the role that NGOs play in supporting OVC. Such knowledge will assist policy makers in making decisions about the contexts of OVC. Brink (2006) is of the view that an inquiry is considered valid if it makes sense to the community

to which the research is disseminated. It is also considered valid if the procedures were conducted with as much precision as possible.

8.7   Conclusion

This chapter has presented the major findings of the study. The failure of the state has led to the growing importance of NGOs in development. The results confirm that the role of NGOs has evolved accordingly. Owing to the socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe, SC has played an important role in addressing the needs of OVC. The integrated model presented a platform for an analysis of the roles of SC in addressing the needs of OVC in the Marondera District.   It acknowledges that, in order for NGOs to adequately address the poverty experienced by OVC, SC needs to make their beneficiaries the centre of their programs (participatory development). The narrative descriptions in this study assisted in drawing attention to the gaps that have been left by the government to assist or act as a social safety net for OVC. As a result, SC has been involved in HIV/AIDS mitigation programs, the provision of education, health, for and psychosocial support. In relation to the theoretical framework underpinning the study, results confirm that communities have been active in assisting OVC in Marondera and collaboration among stakeholders has necessitated the eradication of poverty for OVC (Marondera DCPC). Despite the challenges faced by SC, it has been able to combat the poverty experienced by OVC in Marondera thus counteracting the failure of the government in the area of social welfare provision. In essence, the context of Zimbabwe per se, has necessitated the growing importance of SC in addressing the needs of OVC in Marondera.

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APPENDICES

University of Fort Hare
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FORT HARE UNIVERSITY: ALICE CAMPUS

Research project on the role of Non-Governmental Organizations in addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children: The case of Save the Children

My name is Tendai Garutsa and I am currently doing my Masters in Sociology at the University of Fort Hare. I am undertaking a research project which attempts to investigate the role of non-governmental organizations in addressing the needs of orphans and vulnerable children. In this study OVC refer to all children who are in difficult circumstances under the age of eighteen who have either lost one or both parents and also those children who are exposed to factors that threaten their well being. Your participation in this study will remain confidential and all information given here will be discarded once the study is completed.

Names and addresses will not be included for confidentiality purposes. Answering questions from this interview may be difficult and sometimes distressing and therefore we apologize in advance for any inconvenience. Your cooperation in participation of this interview is greatly appreciated and we would like to thank you for your careful and honest replies to our questions thus making the study more scientific.

Thank you

APPENDIX 2

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Informed consent and declaration of participation
Participants name:

Researcher: Tendayi C Garutsa

Supervisors: Mr V Duma and DR F Nekhwevha

Title of study: **The role of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in addressing the needs of Orphans and other Vulnerable Children (OVC).**

I declare that I will voluntarily participate in the research that has been explained to me and I will cooperate by sharing my honest experience. I understand that the interview is part of a research project and that my information will be treated confidentially and published anonymously for research purposes only. I agree to being interviewed, yet as my participation is voluntary, I am at liberty to withdraw from the interview at anytime.

Signed at…………………………. On this……….. Day of …………………..2010

Signature: Participant:…………………   Signature: Researcher:………………….

Appendix II

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Thank you for coming I am grateful for your time. My name is Tendai Garutsa and I am a Masters student at the University of Fort Hare. As this project is meant for the fulfilment of the requirements for this degree, I will be facilitating the discussion myself. I am doing an investigation on the role of Save the Children Zimbabwe (SC) on addressing the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). In this study the term OVC refers to all children who are in difficult circumstances under the age of eighteen who have either lost one or both parents and also those children who are exposed to factors that threaten their well being. We are all aware of the impact HIV and AIDS, the socio-economic environment and other issues are causing in our community. The number of children orphaned and made vulnerable is rising significantly. The purpose of this session is to learn about the needs and challenges of orphans and vulnerable children and to evaluate the extent to which SC has managed to address these needs. Only the summary of the discussion will be included in the final report and none of your individual comments will be identified with individual names.

Focus group guide for OVC (discussions to be tape recorded)
- What do you understand by the terms - orphan

-vulnerable children

-Orphans and vulnerable children

- What are the reasons which have rendered most children orphans and made them vulnerable?

- What are problems faced by OVC?

- What are the main risks of OVC?

- Are you aware of your rights as OVC and as children?

- What support do OVC receive from the community?

- How do OVC meet their needs? (Probe for answers relating to basic needs, such as, food, shelter, clothing, education, health,etc)

- How long have OVC been receiving support from SC?

- What type of support do they offer OVC?

- Do you think the services provided by SC are meeting the needs of OVC?

- Do you think SC could do more?

- Are you satisfied with the services offered to you by SC?

- Do you feel some OVC are receiving preferential assistance from SC? If so please explain.

- Do you have any other form of support other than SC?

- What kind of support do OVC get from i) your relatives and

ii) the community

- How is the department of social welfare and other government agencies dealing with the OVC phenomenon?

- Is the government doing enough to address the needs of OVC?

- What other issues relating to the OVC phenomenon do you think need attention from SC, government and the community?

Appendix   III

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

THE ROLE OF NGOS IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF OVC: THE CASE OF

SAVE THE CHILDREN

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OVC

The following mostly open ended questions should be asked of each person interviewed:

1. How old are you?

2. How many siblings do you have?

3. How do you define a) orphan

       b) Vulnerable child

       c) Orphans and vulnerable children

4. Describe your experiences concerning your life before and after being orphaned?

5. What are the reasons of being orphaned or vulnerable?

6. What are your needs as a child?

7. Do you have knowledge of the kind of support available? If so please elaborate

8. How long have you been receiving support from SC?

9. What types of support do you receive from SC?

10. Are the services provided by SC meeting your needs as OVC?

11. Do you have any other form of support other than SC?

12. Do you still attend school? If not what are the reasons for not attending.

13. How do you manage to make a living?

14. What is your source of income?

15. Do you encounter any difficulties as a family in securing food?

16. Do you receive any form of support from the community?

17. What are the general attitudes of your relatives and neighbours towards your situation?

18. What kind of support do you need?

19. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX IV

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

THE ROLE OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATINS IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN: THE CASE OF SAVE THE CHILDREN

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE SC PERSONNEL

1. How many years have you been working with SC?

2. What is the mission of SC?

3. How many years have you been involved with OVC?

4. The term OVC has its own difficulties as a construct, since it is has no implicit definition or clear statement of inclusion and exclusion. In your own view how can you define an

   - orphan

   - vulnerability

   - an orphan and vulnerable child

5. What are some of the indicators that confirm a child to be orphaned and vulnerable (OVC)

6. What is the age range of OVC in your support?

7. How best can you describe the needs of OVC?

8. What is the scale of the problem of the OVC phenomenon?(Follow up question, if it increasing have the role players increased in terms of number or scope and vice versa)

9. What are the survival strategies of OVC?

10. What are the problems faced by OVC?

11. What are the main risks of children orphaned and made vulnerable?

12. How does SC identify OVC?

13. What services do you offer to OVC?

14. In what ways do these the services meet the objectives of SC?

15. How have the social services impacted OVC?

16. From your professional involvement with OVC, what are the major challenges faced?

17. What is the geographic scope of organizations in terms of the villages or districts covered in Marondera?

18. a)How do you gather information about the needs of children?

     b)What do you do with the information?

19. a) Do you collect data about OVC, Interventions you partake as an NGO and demographic information?

    b) Is this information available to the public?

20. Concerning the scaling up or down of activities as SC how do you deal with the rising numbers of OVC?

21. Can you briefly tell me about Child Protection Committees, why they exist and their importance to OVC?

22. Does the community help the OVC in any way? If so, please explain

23. What are the responsibilities of the role players in dealing with issues regarding OVC?

24. How is the department of Social Welfare and other government agencies presently supporting OVC? (if no government OVC programs exist, answer question 25 below)

25. How should the government deal with OVC?

26. Do you ever hold any stakeholders meetings to discuss issues in relation to OVC? If yes do they help in attending to the needs of OVC?

27. Does your mission link to the objectives of the National Plan of Action of Zimbabwe?

28. What government policies are available to cushion OVC from the deteriorating economic situation?

29. Are these policies doing enough to cushion OVC from the deteriorating socio-economic environment?

30. In what ways can NGOs improve service delivery to OVC?

31. What are your comments on the resources available for OVC?

32. What other issues related to the OVC phenomenon you think need attention?

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

THE ROLE OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATINS IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN: THE CASE OF SAVE THE CHILDREN (SC)

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE COMMUNITY REPRESANTATIVES

1. How do you define an orphan and vulnerable child?

2. What are the social indicators which assist to identify OVC?

3. What is the magnitude of the problem of the OVC phenomenon?

4. What is the age range of people who are orphans and vulnerable children in your community?

5. What are the causes of the phenomenon of OVC?

6. How best can you explain the needs of OVC?

7. Do these OVC have proper accommodation?

8. Do OVC in your community attend school?

9. What are the problems faced by OVC?

10. What are the main risks of children orphaned and made vulnerable?

11. How many years has SCN-Z worked with OVC in this area?

12. Do you know any OVC who have benefited from SC programs?

13. How have their lives changed since SC started assisting them?

14. What services are offered to OVC by SC?

15. How has SC managed to scale up their activities to deal with the rising numbers of OVC?

16. Has SC managed to successfully address the needs of OVC? If yes, please elaborate.

17. What relationship as a community do you have with NGOs in regard to the OVC phenomenon?

18. How are the department of Social Welfare and other government agencies presently supporting OVC?

19. How should the government deal the current OVC phenomenon?

20. What are the responsibilities of the role players in dealing with issues regarding OVC?

21. Do you ever hold any stakeholders meetings to discuss issues in relation to OVC? If yes do they help in attending to the needs OVC?

22. What other support systems are available for OVC?

23. Do you think the government is doing enough to assist OVC?

24. Is there anything else about the OVC phenomenon you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX VI

University of Fort Hare
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

THE ROLE OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATINS IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN: THE CASE OF SAVE THE CHILDREN (SC).

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS AND/OR GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

1. What is the agency type of your organization?

2. How long have you been a social worker?

3. How many years have you worked for the present welfare organization?

4. For how many years have you been involved with OVC?

5. The term OVC has its own difficulties as a construct, since it is has no implicit definition or clear statement of inclusion and exclusion. In your own view how can you define an

   - orphan

   - vulnerability

   - orphans and vulnerable children

6. What are some of the indicators that confirm a child to be orphaned and vulnerable (OVC)

7. What is the age range of OVC in your community?

8. What are the causes of the phenomenon of orphans and vulnerable children?

9. How best can you explain the needs of orphans and vulnerable children?

10. Do OVC have proper accommodation?

11. Do OVC in your community attend school?

12. What are the major challenges that OVC face in their lives?

13. How would you describe the family circumstances of OVC?

14. Can you briefly tell me about the National Action Plan and how it regards OVC?

15. Are there any government policies regarding OVC you know of? If so, please indicate if these policies have been successfully implemented and their effectiveness in addressing the needs of OVC?

16. How is the department of Social Welfare and other government agencies presently supporting OVC?

17. How should the government deal the current OVC?

18. a) Do you collect data about OVC, Interventions you partake as an organization and demographic information?

b) Is this information available to the public?

19. How many years has SC worked with OVC in this area?

20. Do you know any OVC who have benefited from SC programs?

21. How have their lives changed since SC started assisting them?

22. What services are offered to OVC by SC?

23. How has SC managed to scale up their activities to deal with the rising numbers of OVC?

24. Has SC managed to successfully address the needs of OVC? If yes, please elaborate?

25. Can you briefly tell me about Child Protection Committees, why they exist and their importance to OVC?

26. How does the community assist OVC?

27. What relationship do you have with other stakeholders (NGOs and community) pertaining to the OVC phenomenon?

28. How do you work together in terms of coordination and leadership roles?

29. Has the government managed to successfully address to the needs of OVC? If yes, please elaborate.

30. Is there anything else related to the OVC phenomenon you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX VII

Sample of the Interview transcripts
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW WITH THE SOCIAL WORKER AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOCIAL WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT.

The informant was a social worker who worked at the Ministry of Social Welfare and Development. The social worker and NGO personnel will provide data or information to cover the most important areas in the research process. The key informant interview has a very specific purpose. The social worker is especially knowledgeable about the needs of OVC and role of NGOs towards addressing them. The organization deals with providing adequate social services to the community including Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs). The researcher debriefed the social worker in early October of her intention to interview her. Research entry was sought through contact by a written and informed consent to access the social worker. The participant was invited to participate via a consent letter explaining the study as well as their ethical rights during the research process. The informant agreed to undertake the interview but agreed to take part in the interviews on the condition that the name of her organization was not mentioned as well as the information provided would remain confidential. The researcher produced her credentials (student card and ID card) to assure the respondent that there were no ulterior motives. The researcher did not provide the interviewee with a set of prepared questions to scan and reflect for a while because this could pre-empt certain responses and make him provide unbiased results.

The interview

On the day of the interview, the researcher had to consider some of the important techniques about the in-depth interview. Permission was sought from the informant to use the audio tape recorder. It was indicated that the tape recorder could be turned off at any point if so wished. Also of importance was to allow the informant to be comfortable to omit questions he felt uncomfortable to talk about. The interview took place in the informant's workplace to make the informant more comfortable.

6.2.5 Transcript file

Topic: The role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC: The case of Save the Children

Place: Ministry of Social welfare and development Marondera District Office

Date: 14 January 2010

Time arrived: Arrived at the organization around 2.00pm and started the interview around 2.30

Researcher: How long have you been working in this ministry?

Informant: 6 years

Researcher: How many years have you been involved with orphans and vulnerable children?

Informant: About 6 years

Researcher: How do you identify OVC?

Informant: Let me start by defining an orphan. We have two types of orphans- one can be a double orphan and be so whereby both parents are deceased and one can be a single orphan whereby it is the mother who is deceased and the father is alive or vice versa. The OVC we define them according to the Child Protection and Adoption Act now the Children's Act. We have section 2A it has a number of clauses I think its 7 and 2H where among the definition you, can define him/her as abandoned. You can define him/her as one whose parents or guardians are failing to take control like "Habitual truancy" the parents can no longer discipline that child; we say that the child is vulnerable. W e also have children whose parents are seriously ill, mentally ill, the children are said to be vulnerable.

Researcher: What support systems are available to these OVC?

Informant: We have got quite a number like in the rural areas we have the Zunde RaMambo to cater for the OVC were the communities are sensitised about the OVC.

Researcher: So has the government managed to address these needs?

Informant: A lot has to be done like considering a number of OVC who need to be assisted we cannot reach all OVC e.g. in the government we have some constrains- lack of transport and personnel so we cannot adequately address the OVC situation.

Researcher: What is the age range of OVC in your care?

Informant: Government policies protect the child from 0-18.

Researcher: So what are the major causes of the OVC phenomenon?

Informant: Basically the HIV/AIDS pandemic and then poverty. Long back we used to have extended families willing to cater for OVC.

Researcher: From your professional involvement what are the major challenges which OVC face?

Informant: Mmmmmm among other things they basically lack love and basic needs.

Researcher: Has the government manage to address the needs of OVC? If yes how have the lives of OVC changed?

Informant: We have organisations that hold awareness campaigns in this sense OVC are being empowered. When they are being abused they know where to go and they are placed in some institutions. We have a National Action Plan for the OVC it is a community based project where the community is mobilised to cater for OVC. So to some extend through lack of funding the projects fail, there is still has a lot to be done on the ground.

Researcher: What government policies are there to cushion the OVC from the deteriorating economic?

Informant: We have the orphan Care Policy which has culminated in the National Action Plan. In terms of legislation we have a quite a number like the department is the custodian of the legislation governing children's protection. Like the children's sect we have the criminal procedure and

codification act for child offenders, *The Maintenance Act*, *The Guardianship of Minors Act*.

Researcher: Are these policies doing enough to cushion the OVC?

Informant: Yes they are doing a lot.

Researcher: What are the barriers which hinder the OVC to attain the services available for them?

Informant: Lack of knowledge and the debilitative distances, like a child is abused here in Marondera from the rural areas there is no transport to go there or the child does not know where the social welfare department is. There is no way he can be assisted and also cultural barriers: it's acceptable for a girl child to be given up for marriage to a man at the age of 12 so it is acceptable.

Researcher: What are the constraining factors which inhibit the government to effectively address the needs of OVC?

Informant: Lack of funding e.g. BEAM *Basic Education Assistance Module*, like right now it's catering for primary schools only and those who are attending secondary school cannot access due to lack of funding. An OVC finishes grade seven, he/she cannot proceed to secondary school because the government does not cater for that, it does not have funds.

Researcher: What is the role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC?

Informant: In Marondera we have some OVC who are being given food handouts, which is not consistent. Some pay for school fees like Red Cross but they just make a once off selection. They choose 20 pupils at the beginning of the year and they continue to support them till the end of the year.

Researcher: So how can the selection be improved to cater for other OVC?

Informant: They need more funding.

Researcher: In what ways can NGOs improve service delivery for OVC?

Informant: They should employ more qualified personnel per se who have a social work background. They know and understand the implications of some situations particularly to OVC so maybe if they choose such people who have the OVC factor at heart then they can be effective. They need to source some more donations.

Researcher: Does child participation improve service delivery to OVC?

Informant: To some extent it does not it's only the elite child who participate other than an ordinary child .A child from Peter House or Marondera High who is participating on the quiz or debate. Issue of accessibility e.g. distance.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

A group of children comprising of orphans and other vulnerable children was selected using the purposive sampling method. The researcher carefully selected the informants for inclusion, based on the possibility that the group would expand the validity of the sample. It is for this reason to consider who could be included to fully understand the experience of OVC in relation to the services provided by NGOs of OVC. This group was preferred by the researcher because of its representativeness. It consisted of OVC under the age of 18 who were either orphans (single and double) as well as other vulnerable children from different backgrounds. Some scholars distinguish between single and double orphans.

In mid June the group was approached and asked whether they were willing to be interviewed and the topic was explained to their group representative. Research entry was sought through contact by a written and informed consent letter to access the informants. Initially the informant thought the researcher was working for an organization which offered support for vulnerable children. The researcher made it clear that the information was going to be used for research purposes only and it would be kept as confidential as possible. She made it clear that she was a student of the University of Fort Hare doing her post graduate studies. The researcher produced her credentials (student card and ID card) to assure the respondent that there were no ulterior motives. The respondent then showed signs of willingness to participate in the interview. The researcher did not provide the group with a set of prepared questions to scan and reflect for a while because she felt it could pre-empt certain responses and alerts the group unnecessarily sensible questions. Permission was sought to use the tape recorder.

Transcript File of the Focus Group Discussion

Informants: OVC

Topic: The role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC

Place: Save the Children Marondera

Date: 26 June 2010

Special circumstances: The use of vernacular language since some of the informants were under the Age of 5.

Researcher: What do you understand by the term orphan?

Informant A: Basically I think it is a person without parents who does not have any one to take care of him or her.

Informant B: A person who has lost either a father or mother who does not have parents.

Researcher: What if the child has one parent can that child be as an orphan?

Informant A: Yes

Informant B: It depends with how the extended family treats them.

Information C: In the Africa context there is nothing like an orphan 'nherera' but according to NGOs anyone whose parents are dead below the age of 18 is an orphan.

Societal definitions of orphans.

Researcher: How can you define vulnerable child?

Informant A: Those children who lack some things in life.

Informant B: Children with parents who are unemployed or who don't have a decent life like buying food etc.

Researcher: What are the reasons which have rendered most children orphaned or made them vulnerable?

Informant A: The improper care of the orphans by the people or guardians who are left in charge of the children after the death of their parents.

Informant B: With the economic situation it becomes hard to take care of two or more families most children would end up vulnerable.

Informant C: The children will not be able to pay for their own school fees and may end up engaging in risky behaviours that increases the chances of them getting HIV and AIDS.

Informant D: Some are child headed households so it becomes difficult to take care of them therefore becoming more vulnerable.

Researcher: What are the problems faced by OVC?

Informant A: Abuse of their rights like child labour for example being farm labourers instead of attending school and they may end up being raped.

Informant B: The child may be denied of his or her rights and therefore may end up going to the streets.

Informant C: The case comes back to our rights whether they are being fulfilled, that are the major problems we are facing as OVC.

Information D: We might have a situation were the father dies so the mother engages in prostitution so there might have the risk of spreading HIV.

Researcher: What are the main risks faced by OVC?

Informant A: Abuse including rape.

Informant B: Loss of proper care givers.

Informant C: Lack of protection.

Informant D: Child Labour

Researcher: Are you aware of your rights as children or as OVC?

Informant A: Right to education.

Informant B: Right to express ourselves

Informant C: Right to protection

Informant D: Right to learn

Informant E: Right to be heard.

Researcher: What support do OVC receive from the community?

Informant A: They give us social support.

The informants gave out a number of challenges OVC face including child labour and being left in vulnerable situations like engaging in prostitution.

Informant B: Physical Support.

Researcher: How do they help you?

Informant A: They are there to identify children in wards that they are in who are in difficult circumstances.

Researcher: How do OVC meet their needs?

Informant A: They get help from Red Cross

Informant B: From their relatives

Informant C: Churches

Informant D: NGO's

Informant E: Neighbours

Informant F: The Company where their parents used to work before their death.

Researcher: How long have OVC been receiving support from SC?

Informant A: From the information that I have its 7 because it started operating in Marondera in 2003?

Researcher: How does SC help OVC or children?

Informant A: Stationery.

Informant B: They build places where OVC stay.

Informant C: Paying fees.

Informant D: We have a pre-school in ward 7 which is also under SC.

Researcher: Do you think SC can do more?

Informant A: We are being helped by other children in Norway; SC cannot do more if we are just sitting so we should engage in projects that should sustain us.

Informant B: They can set up a place where we can meet as OVC, organise camps and awareness campaigns.

Researcher: What other support systems do you have other than SC?

Informant A: BEAM

Informant B: UNICEF

Informant C: CARPENUM

Researcher: How do the department of Social Welfare and other government agencies assist OVC?

Informant A: They assist OVC to access free treatment from public hospitals.

Researcher: How does the SC work with the government in addressing the needs of OVC?

Informant A: SC identifies issues which need to be addressed especially pertaining to children and try to work together in resolving them.

Informant B: They work together in making the constitution.

Intersectoral collaboration.

Researcher: Is child participation fully realised by NGOs?

Informant A: With NGOs there is no problem but the government does not fully realise child participation.

Informant B: NGOs are helping us in a great way and these days they are the only sector which is assisting OVC.

Informant C: Some children do not have the knowledge of our rights as children therefore leading to a situation where their rights are not fully realised.

Researcher: Are you satisfied with the services offered by the government to OVC?

Informant A: On behalf of children we are not really satisfied with the services they offer to us. They should work hand in hand with the NGOs.

Respondents show signs of being discontent.

Informant B: The NGOs are not doing enough. I think they are not fully established yet so you find out that most African countries are sponsored by European countries.

Informant C: In some government schools the fees keeps on rising such that some children are finding it difficult to cope.

Researcher: Are there any other issues that you think need attention related to OVC phenomenon?

Informant A: There must be an amendment of the constitution.

Informant B: The cases of abuse are on the increase which needs to be tackled.

Informant C: Rural areas are also being left out of the support programs because community mothers are only looking at urban areas and these issues need to be tackled.

Informant D: They are some churches who are not allowing girls to continue with their education.

Informant E: Some churches are forcing children into early marriages.

Informant F: Social workers must move around and help OVC who are in need.

Informant G: The government should help OVC attain birth certificates.

Researcher: Thank you so much and for your time and your honest replies.

The Donors- NGO relationship affects the way that NGOs are operating.

Recommendations from the participant's point of view.

The issue of birth certificates is one of the issues that have greatly affected most children and it has hindered them to access social services provided by both formal and informal sectors

INTERVIEW 7

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW WITH THE SAVE THE CHILDREN PERSONNEL.

The informant was a district coordinator under Save the Children who worked closely with the Marondera Municipality. Save the Children. The organization deals with providing adequate social services including Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs). The researcher debriefed the social worker in early October of her intention to interview her.   Research entry was sought through contact by a written and informed consent to access the social worker. The participant was invited to participate via a consent letter explaining the study as well as their ethical rights during the research process. The informant agreed to undertake the interview but agreed to take part in the interviews on the condition that the name of his organization was not mentioned as well as the information provided would remain confidential. The researcher produced her credentials (student card and ID card) to assure the respondent that there were no ulterior motives.   The researcher did not provide the interviewee with a set of prepared questions to scan and reflect for a while because this could pre-empt certain responses and make him provide unbiased results.

The interview

On the day of the interview, the researcher had to consider some of the important techniques about the in-depth interview. Permission was sought from the informant to use the audio tape recorder. It was indicated that the tape recorder could be turned off at any point if so wished. Also of importance was to allow the informant to be comfortable to omit questions he felt uncomfortable to talk about. The interview took place in the informant's workplace to make the informant more comfortable.

6.2.9 Transcript file 8

Topic: The role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC: The case of Save the Children

Place: Save the Children's offices at the Mbuya Nehanda community hall.

Date: 25 June 2010

Time arrived: Arrived at the organization around 12.00 and started the interview around 12.30

Special circumstance: None

The name of the   confidentiality is applied.
informant is not
used here because
relative

Researcher: How many years have you been working with Marondera Municipality and SC?

Informant: This is my seventh year?

Researcher: What is the mission of SC?

Informant: On the project that I am working on we are using the SC mission which is that, it fights for children's rights and for children to live a dignified life whoever they are, wherever they are.

Researcher: How many years have you been involved with OVC?

Informant: Seven years.

Researcher: The term OVC has its own difficulties as a construct in your own view how can you define OVC?

Informant: They are types of orphans; we have a double orphan i.e. an orphan that has lost both parents. Then we have single orphans i.e. a child that has lost either a father or mother and lately in Zimbabwe we are also seeing what we term as "Diaspora orphans" children whose parents are in Diaspora and they have left them on their own.

Researcher: How can you define vulnerability?

Informant: Every child is a potential vulnerable child. Every child in Zimbabwe is vulnerable because of the current economic situation because all their rights cannot really be attained so vulnerability is when the children's rights have not been achieved.

Researcher: So how can you define OVC?

Informant: Orphans are those children that have lost one or two parents, orphans are also vulnerable in the sense that they are at the risk of having their rights being pushed aside and then vulnerable children maybe I will give you an example children living in the streets they could have both parents but because they cannot, make ends meet they become vulnerable.

Researcher: What are some of the indicators that confirm a child to be OVC?

Informant: mmmmm we look at issues of health and all the other basic social services like education, are they getting enough food.

Researcher: What is the age range of OVC?

The international accepted legal definition of a child.

Informant: Since we are talking about children we use the country's definition of a child and we also use the one i.e. used by the UNCRC the United Nations Convention of Rights of Child is someone between 0-18.

Researcher: How can you best describe the needs of OVC?

The respondent gives an example of OVC discrimination.

Informant: Their needs are varied they are really varied ,I remember in the case study when they revealed what they need most is love because you see most of them when they loose their parents they live with the extended family. In some situations these OVC live with the extended family and they are subjected to abuse. The OVC are discriminated and stigmatised especially those who have parents who have parents who have died from HIV. They need love first and foremost and then issues like school fees school related materials like uniforms and stationery, most of the OVC have health problems, when programming started on HIV and AIDS people focused on the adults hence all people living with HIV and AIDS that's how they were termed and nobody considered that these PLWH also infected their own children and they has to be a strategy to look at children living with HIV and AIDS so as such it has a long time for these children to be recognized. I think if we talk of paediatric care it only started in this country maybe last year and how long have they been living, so you can imagine children have health problems and there has been an influx of those children who have been infected.

OVC are also subjected to discrimination whether from their own relatives and the communities they live in.

Researcher: What is the scale of the problem of the OVC phenomenon in Marondera?

Informant: Marondera is a very small town it has a population of about 53000 and of those about 88% are OVC of the 19000 we have 80% of OVC.

Researcher: What are the survival strategies of these OVC?

Informant: Some live on their own as child-headed households then try selling firewood, they look after themselves. Before the project intervened some OVC used to peddle drugs at beer halls at night, they had people that sent them to do that some would actually be taken to brothels especially the girl children, we have those cluster accommodation residential like flats, they will be taken there and given to men in exchange of a loaf of bread by the person running the brothel.

Researcher: What are the main problems faced by OVC?

Informant: Like I said before the issue of accommodation, basic social services like health, education and shelter, lack of love it's an array of things.

Researcher: How does SC identify OVC?

Informant: SC does not work on the ground by they work through the municipality and they have established channels of operation because umm when we started the projects there wasn't anything on the ground so we had to formulate what we call the child protection committees that are based in the wards. They are quite close to where these children stay. Out of these Child Protection Committees that were there we had a group of Community Mothers these are women that work on the ground so when we started they had to do some sort of survey, it wasn't really a survey but a data collection exercise where they went about from house to house trying to establish the status of the children who were in those households and come up with a database.

Researcher: What services do you offer to OVC?

Informant: Merely when we started what we did was to coordinate the efforts of those people who

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Are involved in child protection work so we didn't have much that we did besides referring the children to where they are supposed to receive those services and when there is a gap that's when we give support in terms of school fees. If there is no one who can pay the money for CD4 count then we do that but basically what we have managed to do is to bring these people together so that at least they know, we have what we call District Child Protection Committees where people from various NGOs and sector ministries meet so suppose a child does not have a birth certificates, I would have gone there and said we have so many children from Dombotombo who need Birth certificates, the guy from the registrar's office will be there and take note of it so it will be easier for me when these children come in and I refer them to the registrar. We have managed to facilitate speedy and accessibility of the social services to the children. They have been various changes some children who were not going to school have started to go to school; those who did not have birth certificates have attained birth certificates. We have children that have graduated from secondary school and have gone to universities and it has made the community aware that it should take care of its own because the people that work as community mothers work voluntarily but they have realized the need to be there for the child.

Researcher: Have the NGOs managed to realize child participation in the services they provide to OVC?

The informant smiles.

Informant: Sure, actually Child Participation falls as one of our basic principles there is one saying that" *nothing for us without us is against us*" so we have tried to involve children in all aspects we do from planning to implementation. We have what we call the Fight Club and we also have the junior council, we work hand in hand with them and they form part of the Child Protection Committees.

Child participation is one of the main principles of SC and their services to OVC become child friendly.

Researcher: What is the geographic scope of organizations in terms of wards that you cover in Marondera?

Informant: We are covering Marondera Municipality which has 12 wards.

Researcher: So you do not cover Marondera Rural?

Informant: Marondera rural is covered by the rural council which is some part of Save the Children.

Researcher: Do you gather information about the needs of OVC?

Informant: Like I said we have the community mothers and the Fight Club so there are the ones who gather information. We hold quarterly meetings and discuss the needs of OVC. Sometimes there is mere observation from the community members that's the advantage of working with the council. We are situated at a community hall where there is a library you don't need to be told that the children are being sent away from school for not paying school fees.

Researcher: Do you collect data about OVC, which you partake as an organization?

Informant: With some organizations like the Ministry of Health they don't disclose that information because it's quite sensitive but other organizations like how many OVC we have in Marondera and their needs and so for the is available.

Researcher: With the increasing numbers of OVC how are you scaling up your activities in order to address the needs of OVC?

Informant: Working with the municipality is a new phenomenon because local authorities are only known for sewer systems, water retention and so forth but the fact that this council has put in place an officer that is involved in SC's programs that's a plus and what we have aimed for is that other offices in the council get involved in these projects so that when I'm not there they are also able to attend to issues pertaining to OVC.

Researcher: Can you briefly tell me about the Child Protection Committees and why they exist?

The community is well involved in activities initiated by NGOs for OVC.

Informant: Child Protection Committees are a coalition of different sector ministries and all organizations that work with children and they exist because we realized that there was a lot of stepping on each other's toes, double dipping where a child would benefit from SC whilst benefiting from Red Cross and we also realized that some children were also being left out whilst some were double dipping so basically what we needed to do was to share the same information because we were targeting the same children.

Researcher: Does the community help the OVC in anyway?

Information: Yeah sure.

Researcher: How are the department of social work and other government organizations assisting OVC?

Informant: The department of Social welfare assists us when we have children who are ill, they go there and are given Assistance Medical Treatment Orders (AMTOS) so when a child is displaced they offer them a place of safety and also give public assistance in form of grants but it's not enough because the resources are few.

Researcher: Does your mission link at all with the National Plan of Action?

Informant: ………………This project is actually the, National Plan of Action. It is a pilot project and from this project there was a development of the NAP, the NAP derives it's objectives from SC.

Researcher: What government policies are available to cushion OVC from the deteriorating economic situation?

Informant: We have the BEAM the Basic Education Assistance Module. We have the PODAC, I don't know if these policies are still functional like the poverty reduction strategies

what not, but they were eroded by the 2008/9 economic situation. The National Action Plan is yet another policy.

Researcher: In what ways can NGOs improve service delivery in general?

Informant: I think a lot of emphasis is placed on capacity building where training and workshops are done. I was looking at the internet right now and I was laughing at a friend of mine who works for an NGO who was saying there is nothing going on we workshop and document so I think there should be a paradigm shift from just workshops and documenting to supporting the basic livelihood . Right now there is not much to do.

Researcher: What are your comments on the resources available?

Informant: They are not enough and there will be never enough we have always talked about child friendly budgets and so forth and I still feel like we still have a long way to go until that is really achieved.

Researcher: Lastly but not least what are the issues related to the OVC phenomenon that you think need attention?

Informant: Ok like we are saying the OVC are our window of hope and I wonder how much of a window of hope that we have. A regime of infected children is our window of hope. It only means they will in turn infect their partners and they will in turn infect their

INTERVIEW 9

Interview with the Community member

The informant was a community member and was purposefully selected for inclusion in the research. The informant has worked with OVC as a community mother and is familiar with the needs of OVC; the role of SC in addressing the needs of OVC therefore provides information which is useful for this study. Community mothers facilitate support for children in especially difficult circumstances, particularly OVC in Marondera and it works with SC. The informant was a retired teacher and had worked with OVC for a while. The researcher debriefed the community mother in mid June of her intention to interview her. Research entry was sought through contact by a written and informed consent to access the worker. The participant was invited to participate via a consent letter explaining the study as well as their ethical rights during the research process. The informant agreed to undertake the interview but agreed to take part in the interviews. The researcher produced her credentials (student card and ID card) to assure the respondent that there were no ulterior motives. The researcher did not provide the interviewee with a set of prepared questions to scan and reflect for a while because this could pre-empt certain responses and make him provide unbiased results.

The interview

On the day of the interview, the researcher had to consider some of the important techniques about the in-depth interview. Permission was sought from the informant to use the audio tape recorder. It was indicated that the tape recorder could be turned off at any point if so wished. Also of importance was to allow the informant to be comfortable to omit questions he felt uncomfortable to talk about. The interview took place in the informant's home to make the informant more comfortable.

6.3.8 Transcripts file 17

Informant: Community mother

Topic: The role of NGOs in addressing the needs of OVC: The case of Save the Children.

Place: Mbuya Nehanda Community Hall

Date: 18 January 2010

Time arrived: Arrived at the organization around 1100am and started the interview around 1130am

Researcher: How long have you worked with Save the Children as a community mother?

Informant: Three years.

Researcher: From your professional involvement how can you define an OVC?

Informant: An OVC is a child who is under the age of 18 who is in risky situation.

Researcher: What of over 18 like 19?

Informant: Basically from the age of 19 most children will be still living with their parents so in a way they will be vulnerable.

Researcher: So how do you identify OVC?

Informant: The community refers vulnerable children to us the community mothers and we assess the children's needs and refer them to the appropriate service providers. We are the eyes within the community; we identify different kinds of orphans who are in need. Then we have the Fight Club who also helps us to identify OVC in schools and also at homes in difficult circumstances.

Researcher: You also mentioned the Fight Club, what is its role?

Informant: It is a group of children and Fight Club is only a name they use to refer to themselves. They help OVC to address child abuse problems in Marondera District.

Researcher: How long has Save the Children operated in Marondera?

Informant: Since 2003.

Researcher: What services do they offer to OVC?

Informant: SC helps OVC in supplementary feeding programs for children less than 5 years which is mainly implemented with the community mothers, the health workers and local clinics. Save the Children also pays school fees and also refers OVC to particular service providers like the Ministry of Social welfare and

Development. Generally theses are some of the services they provide oh and advocacy workshops.

Researcher: Is it possible to have OVC who are over 5 years to be also included in those food programs?

Informant: Yah it depends and if we don't have we refer them somewhere.

Researcher: How has SC managed to address the needs of OVC?

Informant: Since SC has started assisting OVC in Marondera a number of children have benefited, we have seen quite a number of children coming forward and others have been referred through the Fight Club and the numbers of children we have been helping has increased.

Researcher: What is the age range of the OVC in the support of SC?

Informant: From o to 18.

Researcher: What are the causes of the phenomenon of OVC?

Informant: Most of these families were having problems because of the economic situation and also of the HIV/AIDS epidemic left most children orphaned and vulnerable.

Researcher: So how can you best explain the needs of OVC?

The informant seems confident and certain.

Informant: Their basic needs vary, but mainly from accessing services like education, health, shelter, food and clothing. Some of them need love, caring and support that's the reason we engage in counselling because most of them have stress problems. Whatever we share during the counselling sessions we keep it confidential although we have to do what we refer as shared confidentiality especially in cases where decisions are to be made regarding the OVC in question.

OVC do not face homogeneous experiences therefore their need are relative.

Researcher: What are the survival strategies of OVC?

Informant: Some receive assistance from NGOs, churches, community based organizations and some of them have to employ their survival strategies like selling vegetables, fruits, sweets, firewood etc.

Researcher: What are the major challenges faced by OVC?

The economic situation negatively affected everyone including the OVC.

Informant: As of last year food was a major problem from the transition of the US Dollar to the Zimbabwean dollar, it was difficult for them to get food. It was also difficult for them to access services like health, education.

Researcher: What support systems are available for OVC?

Informant: We have candle making, and different projects that are done to assist OVC like dress making, peanut butter making and sewing machines etc.

Researcher: Which areas do community mothers cover?

Informant: We cover all the wards i.e 12 wards and there are leaders among the community mothers who monitor particular streets in each ward.

Researcher: Approximately, in numbers how many OVC did you assist since the inception of the program?

Informant: We have managed to assist about 25 000 - 30 000 OVC.

Researcher: What government policies are available to cushion OVC from the deteriorating economic situation?

Basic Education Assistance Module.

Informant: In Zimbabwe we have an education policy called BEAM so that all OVC will be assisted with basic education. The under 5 would be treated for free in hospitals and clinics.

Researcher: Are these policies doing enough to cushion OVC?

Informant: Yes.

Researcher: What are the constraining factors which inhibit OVC from accessing the services available for them?

Informant: Resources are a constant challenge , they are never enough, also sometimes we have to take in some of the OVC in need because the foster homes and orphan care centres are full to capacity,