



An investigation into the nature and extent of economic exploitation of street children in Zimbabwe: A case study of Harare Central Business District

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ABSTRACT

The exploitation of street is among the social problems in Zimbabwe. This study had five objectives, these were: to determine the basic characteristics of working street children in Harare Central Business District (CBD), to identify types of economic exploitation experienced by street children in Harare Central Business District (CBD), to identify sources of economic exploitation of street children in Harare CBD, to establish the challenges faced by children working on the streets of Harare CBD and to identify perceptions of working street children in Harare CBD. In order to understand the phenomenon of street children and the subsequent economic exploitation the study relied on the social capital theory propounded by Coleman (1988) and Maslow's Hierarchy of needs. The study used observation and interviews as tools for data collection on the lives and working experiences of street children in Harare. The information was gathered from a sample of 30 street children who were living and working on the streets. These were children of the street and children on the street. Additional information was sought from five (5) key informants. Two (2) of whom were staff members of two Non-Governmental Organisations dealing with street children in Harare and three (3) street adults who had lived and worked on the streets of Harare for more than 10 years. The study also revealed that the community at large was not made accountable for the economic exploitation of street children. This was due to laxity on the part of authorities to take action and the general attitude of the public regarding street children as a nuisance. On the other hand, the study found that street children faced several challenges while working on the streets of Harare for their survival. Among the challenges faced by the street children were abuse and harassment from their employers, sexual exploitation, underpayment, being forced to work in hazardous environments and engagement in criminal activities. The study also established street children's perceptions and future aspirations. The study concluded that children living and working on the street face a number of challenges which included engaging in exploitative activities in order to survive, and experience emotional and physical abuse by members of the community. The study came up with the recommendations as to enhance the government and NGOs' efforts towards the alleviation of the problems faced by working street children and the street children phenomenon. Government should assist children while on the street by supporting NGOs and Social services department in protecting street children. Members of the corporate sector urged to contribute to the alleviation of problems facing street children. The community should discourage the children's flow to the street by denying their services and stop the attitude of offering them petty things. Street children should attend all programmes and training offered by government and Non-Governmental Organisations in order to be assured that their ideas are involved in decision-making.

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DEDICATION

To all struggling street children, who are tirelessly pursuing all sorts of activities on the streets with the hope of a better life!

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Any errors and or misrepresentation are my responsibility.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAS	Catholic Actions for Street Children
CBD	Central Business District
CD	Compact Disk
DVD	Digital Video Disk
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking in Children for Commercial Exploitation
HIV	Human immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MSW	Master of Social Work
NAP	National Action Plan
NODED	National Organisation for the Development of the Disadvantaged
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
OVC	Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UNCRC	United Nations Children's Rights Commission
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Education Fund
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
WHO	World Health Organisation

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Child refers to a person below the age of 18 years.

Child labour refers to the employment of children at regular and sustained labour. This practice is considered exploitative by many International Organizations and is illegal in many countries. Child labour was employed to varying extents through most of history, but entered public dispute with the advent of universal schooling, with changes in working conditions during the Industrial Revolution, and with the emergence of the concepts of workers and children's rights.

Child protection refers to prevention and responding to violence, exploitation and abuse against children. These include commercial sex exploitation, child trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices such as child marriage. UNICEF's child protection programmes also target children who are uniquely vulnerable to abuses, when living without parental care, in conflict with the law and in armed conflict.

Child prostitution refers to the sexual exploitation of a child for remuneration in cash or in kind, usually not always organized by an intermediary (Ennew, 1996).

Children of the street refer to children that have abandoned their families and come to stay permanently on the street.

Children on the street refer to children that are spending a lot of time on the streets but return home from time to time.

Exploitation refers to a persistent social relationship in which certain persons are being mistreated or unfairly used for the benefits of others. It is the treatment of human beings as mere means to an end or as mere "objects" or use of people as resource with little or no consideration of their well-being. Exploitation can also be seen in social relationships where one person is using the other for his own personal benefit or taking something off a person or

a group that rightfully belongs to them. Taking advantage of a person in any way is exploitation.

Economic exploitation refers to the act of using another person's labour without offering him an adequate compensation.

Informal Sector refers to activities that are unregulated by the state and thus untaxed and uncontrolled by state bureaucracies.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by discussing the background to the study. It also provides an outline of the statement of the problem, justification of the study, aim and objectives of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

According to Ferguson (2006) children's street work is a global problem affecting the academic, economic, social and health development of millions of children around the world. Children and youth engage in street labour due to the interaction of multiple underlying influences such as poverty, economic inequality and increases their social marginalization. The study conducted in Tbilisi by the World Vision Georgia (2007) found that the main reason for children ending up on the streets was the difficult social-economic situation they live in. Majority of these children were hired workers and were not allowed to manage funds they earned on the streets. They are usually engaged in begging, physical labour, sexual activities and theft.

According to Konanc (1989) and Anarfi (1997) cited in Ruparanganda, (2008) street children could be put into two categories namely; children of the street and children on the street. Children *of the street* are those that have abandoned their families and come to stay permanently on the street, while children *on the streets* are those that are spending a lot of time on the streets but return home from time to time. In Brazil, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 1992) has classified street children into the following categories; *Children on the street*: is the largest group consisting of children who work

on the street and go home during the night and *Children of the street*: these include runaways, abused, and alienated children from deprived and poverty stricken families whose parents were unable to maintain normal family units and abandoned children whose parents may have died from war, illness or simply been unable to look after the children because of their family circumstances. *Children in the street*: this is the smallest group covering orphans, children born or brought up on the street and in this category some children lived with their parents on the streets. This study focused on children of all these categories involved in economic activities which are exploitative.

The United Nations estimates that the street children population in the world is approximately 150 million with a constantly increasing number (Hosny *et al*, 2007). According to Hosny *et al* (2007), about 40% of these are homeless. The other 60% work on the streets to support their families. These children do not attend school and are considered to live in especially difficult circumstances. Street children are vulnerable to brutal violence, sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, child labour, neglect, chemical addiction and human rights violation (Bauchner, 2004; Reyes-Arias, 2005; United Nations, 2007) cited in Fernandes and Vaughn (2008). According to Ferguson (2003) there were estimates of 100 million to 140 million street children worldwide, 40 million in Latin America, 25 million in Asia, 25 million in East and Western Europe and 10 million in Africa. According to UNICEF (2006) the number of children moving to the street is increasing worldwide. It is estimated that there are more than 40 million street children in Latin America. It is estimated that in 2020 there will be 100 million indigent children in Latin America, many of whom will predictably live on the streets (Fernandes and Vaughn, 2008). In this case, there is no hope that the number of street children will decrease but rather may increase. There is a need to ensure that street children are

protected whilst efforts of removing them from the streets should be implemented as a long-term solution.

A survey in Harare towards the end of 2000, estimated that there were about 5,000 street children on the streets of the capital city (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:3). At the end of 2002, Streets Ahead, an organization focusing on children living on the streets, had 1,500 children on its books, of whom over 200 were girls [*Ibid*]. Authorities seem to be in a dilemma on the course of action to resolve the street children problem, as Ruparanganda (2008:156) observed. One of the officer working with these children actually lamented saying: “*Street children are a problem we are really worried about, efforts have been made to remove the street kids from the street but they are always coming back. These are street kids and they say we must not remove them from the streets because it’s their home*”. In this case, many governments are making an effort to remove these children from the street rather than assisting them while on the street. When they come back to the street they are perceived as disobedient and little criminals. Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003: 9) noted that over the years episodic removal of children from the streets has not proved a solution. However, opinions differ as to whether street children should be assisted on the streets or removed to another place.

In Zimbabwe a survey of children working on the street conducted by Muchin and Nyandiya- Bundy, (1991) cited in Bourdillon (1994:518) showed that about 15% of children working on the street were living on the streets. There are children on the streets in high density suburbs most noticeably at Mbare Musika, a large market 4 km from the city centre. Bourdillon (1994:519) noted that in Mbare, street children are found in a variety of money- making activities such as guarding parked cars, child porters and

many are child vendors. In Mbare there are children who work after or before school hours for pocket money, school fees, food and to buy clothes just to supplement what their parents could provide. The findings of a study conducted by Msekiwa (2009:32) showed that children living on the streets of Harare were involved in various activities such as vending, luggage carriers, collecting empty containers and begging. This study also found these as common activities that children were involved on the streets.

Zimbabwe has shown its support to children's rights to protection by ratifying the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child. It also adopted the protection rights recommendation in the Zimbabwe's Children's Act, Chapter 5:06 as amended in 2002. Despite the presence of such conventions and instruments both internationally and locally, children living on the streets are vulnerable to all forms of abuse and maltreatment due to the very nature of their lives on the streets (UNICEF, 2001). Children living on the streets are vulnerable to abuse and maltreatment due to lack of adults' guidance on the issues pertaining to their behavior as well as being left all alone to fend for themselves. They are vulnerable to violence, body injury, rape, sodomy, sexual abuse, child labour, casual and commercial sex. They are prone to criminal activities such as drug taking, drug supply, and various health related problems, including sexually transmitted diseases and HIV and AIDS (UNICEF, 2001). In a study carried out by Bourdillon (1994:516) in Harare, 5% of children working on the street are girls. Girls who are homeless are quickly taken up by "aunties", these are usually women who are at an age when their attractiveness as prostitutes is on the wane and they need to collect some younger girls through whom they can continue to make money. In this study, it was found that the number of girls

who are used for prostitution is bigger than the number of girls who practice prostitution independently.

According to the Orphan and Other Vulnerable Children (OVC) report of 2009, 33.7% of street children interviewed felt that parents or guardians should be responsible for their children's food, clothing, shelter and education, about 28.6% said that government should be responsible for street children's needs while 13.3% said NGOs should be responsible for street children's basic needs. When asked about general public opinion about street children, they commented that people disliked them, however, few reported that the general public people were very supportive (OVC, 2009). According to Ennew (2000) children usually called street children seemed to have the very opposite of childhood. Many adults ignored them thinking they were a social nuisance. Popular images of street children are an extra problem that the public simply does not need. However, street children are individuals with their own history, problems, needs and hopes. Children living on the streets are not different from those in the homes. They are called street children but it is clear that the street does not become pregnant and bear children as one child stated as observed by Rugaranganda (2008). He also observed a street child saying: "*Members of the public scorn us, they think we are a nuisance and some of them laugh at us and think we are criminals*". (Rugaranganda, 2008)

In Zimbabwe there have been many studies which have been carried out on working street children such as Bourdillon (1994); Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003); Dube (1999); Dube (2002); Muchini and Nyandiya-Bundy (1991) and Musekiwa (2009) to mention but a few. They have profiled the live experiences of street boys and girls with some of the narratives being quite depressing and horrifying. The above mentioned authors did

not put much emphasis in the issue of protecting street children against economic exploitation and children's perceptions on such economic exploitations. According to a study conducted by Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003) it was recommended that efforts should be made to protect street girls from abuse and provide guidance for their activities instead of criminalizing their work. It seems that the recommendations of Rurevo and Bourdillon, (2003) have not been acted upon as it is now more than 8 years children are still being abused. This present research concentrated on the nature and extent of economic exploitation among street children and how they perceived their working conditions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Just like in many other countries in the world, Zimbabwe's urban areas have children who live and earn a living on the streets. Studies about street children have been done in different countries in Africa like Tanzania (Kopoka,2000, Lugalla, 1995), Kenya (Dalape, F. 1988) Ghana (Hatloy and Huser, 2005, Beauchemin, 1999) and Zimbabwe (Dube, 2002, Bourdillon, 2000) to mention just few. They confirmed that street children are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Children who live and work on the street face several social and economic problems which may not be experienced by children living within the family environment. Life on the street exposes street children to various forms of economic exploitation and torture (UNICEF, 2001) To begin with, in the context of Zimbabwe, most of working street children are below the statutory employment age as provided for by the Labour Act, Chapter 28:01. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate into the nature and extent of economic exploitation of street children in Harare Central Business District.

1.3 Justification of the Study

The study will fill in the gaps that have been left by other researchers like Bourdillon (2000) Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003) and Msekiwa (2009) who recommended that children should be protected from the economic activities that are hazardous. They did not emphasize on the perceptions and future aspirations of street children. This study focused on the extent to which street children were being exploited by adult members of the population in ways that affected their well-being and upbringing.

This study sought to provide information to the children's rights actors on the plight of working street children and their need for protection. The information would assist policy makers and other children stakeholders to take appropriate courses of action for the welfare of street children. It would also stimulate more research and debate on the issue of street children's protection against economic exploitation in Zimbabwe. The study also sought to add into the repository of knowledge on social economic welfare of street children in Zimbabwe and in particular the right to protection against economic exploitation.

1.4 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to investigate the nature and extent of economic exploitation of street children in Zimbabwe focusing on the Harare Central Business District.

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

- (i) To understand the basic characteristics of working street children in Harare CBD.
- (ii) To identify types of economic exploitation experienced by street children in Harare CBD.
- (iii) To determine the source(s) of economic exploitation of street children in Harare CBD.
- (iv) To identify challenges faced by working street children in Harare CBD.
- (v) To establish perceptions of street children.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

Due to limitation of current statistical data the researcher's sample may not represent the whole number of street children in Harare Central Business District but the information found may help to effect changes for the benefit of all street children in Zimbabwe.

Language: the researcher is not fluent in Shona, which is the common local language in Zimbabwe. She used an interpreter to assist her in the data collection processes. This involved a lot of time in the interview sessions as well as writing down the findings. Most of the interviewees could speak fluent English especially the key informants and street children who had attended school. Those who had not attended school were comfortable to express themselves in Shona even those from Matebeleland.

1.7 Organization of the study

The study is organized in 5 Chapters. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework and literature review on the street children's economic exploitation and the phenomenon of street children. Chapter 3 articulates the research methodology used in the study. Chapter 4 contains the data presentation, analysis and discussion of the results. Chapter 5 presents conclusions and recommendations.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the background of children working and living on the street, statement of the problem, justification of the study, objectives of the study and possible limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the notion of street children and how their lives are affected in the streets due to economic exploitation and the challenges that they face. This section commences with an outline of the theoretical framework, which is based on the social capital theory. Subsequently, the global overview of working street children, regional overview, national overview and Harare overview of economic exploitation of street children will be presented. This chapter will also review studies carried out in other countries and in Zimbabwe on street children. In this regard it will review literature relating to; the phenomenon of street children, underlying causes of street children, child rights and legislative provision on the protection of children against economic exploitation.

2.1 The Theoretical Framework

In an effort to understand the phenomenon of street children and the subsequent economic exploitation they faced on the streets by the adult population, the study employed the social capital theory and Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory.

2.1.1 The social capital theory

The social capital theory offers a beginning point in the theoretical analysis on the plight of street children in the world. According to Coleman (1988) social capital is defined as resources available within the structure of relations between children and adults within the family, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be achieved. This theory draws a correlation between family structure and home-

leaving. For a child to have access to other resources in society, the family should possess some social capital, which should be accessible to the child in the present time and a promising future. The social capital of the family is the relationship between children and parents. Social capital of a child should include the combination of the family social capital and community social capital (Coleman, 1990).

According to Coleman, (1990), in the absence of social capital in the family, provision of basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter becomes a problem, leading children to leave home to seek alternative avenues that may meet their basic needs, hence the streets are seen to be an option. In this case children are likely to be involved in child labour and abuse. According to Wright *et al* (2001), children with little or no social capital are bound to leave their nesting home in search of better life and other avenues of comfort. In this case, children living on the streets are likely to be involved in activities that are exploitative. Unlike other forms of capital, social capital is vested in the structure of relations between persons and among persons. Thus family structure becomes the important component in the transmission of the social benefits to its members (Coleman, 1990).

Socio-cultural factors as propounded by Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:4) was also supported that social capital theory by asserting that traditional perceptions of childhood and the roles of children by gender might also play a critical part in determining who amongst siblings should work to support the family. That could be the reason for having so many boys on the streets compared to girls. To fulfill traditional obligations in a crisis, children might work to settle family debts, pay medical fees, and contribute to their own education and or of their siblings. Some children are perceived as an economic

burden rather than an investment and are forced out of school to earn money to solve the problems in hand rather than their future life. This may lead the children to leave their homes and spend more time or eventually live on the streets. In this case their rights to protection are compromised. Lack of social capital within the children's cycle of existence in the family setting is a major catalytic causality of their decision for leaving their nesting homes to the streets.

2.1.2 Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory

Maslow's hierarchy of need theory explains the psychological theory of human motivation, which includes five sets of needs, that are (i) physiological needs, (ii) safety, (iii) love, (iv) self esteem and (v) self actualization (Maslow 1954). Maslow's theory can be used to explain the reason why children resort to live on the street. Human beings are motivated by having these needs fulfilled. According to Maslow all human beings require the first need in the hierarchy to be fulfilled, that is, physiological needs (basic needs), which include, food, shelter and clothing. Once these basic needs are met human beings seek to achieve the next set of needs on the hierarchy. In this case children may opt to come and work or live on the street in order to get the basic needs. The life of children in the family setting will greatly depend on the fulfillment of these basic needs. In the absence of such (that is lack of food, shelter and clothing), it may lead children to the streets where they think these needs can be met. In other instances, where families have provided basic needs, but the other needs in the hierarchy are not met such as security may also cause children to leave their nesting home for the streets. Lack of love and affection may cause the child to move to the street. Among the causes of children to move to the street was a feeling of rejection. When a child feel like no one cares about him or her may run away from home. These needs are commonly violated by domestic

violence and physical and sexual abuse. These situations may lead the children to move to the street to work or to stay.

2.2.1 Working Street Children: A Global Overview

The abuse and exploitation of children happens in all countries and societies across the world. Children's street work is a global problem affecting the academic, economic, social and health development of millions of children around the world (ILO, 1999). While there are considerable variations in nominal definition of children living and working on the streets, the phenomenon of street children is global, alarming and escalating. (Alianza, 2000; Mhiza 2008) in Gwatirera and Chitsiku (2009) According to Sanders (2004) in Ferguson (2006) children and youth engage in street labour due to the interaction of multiple underlying influences, such as poverty, economic situation in a country, inequality and social marginalization by society. Street children have been considered a workforce commodity as much as adults in rural areas as well as a means of survival in urban areas and especially on the streets (UNICEF, 2006). In many developed countries, it is considered inappropriate or exploitative if a child below a certain age worked in a family shop, or school-related work excluding household chores. An employer is usually not permitted to hire a child below a certain minimum age depends on the country and type of work involved. (Sanders (2004) in Ferguson (2006) In developing countries it depends on the culture of a particular tribe or ethnic group. In some cultures children are considered as sources of income. The more the children, the more economic problems are solved. Examples of economic exploitation are child labour, forced labour, forced prostitution and wage slavery.

In 2008 there were 215 million children working illegally in the eyes of International Law, almost 14% of all the world's children under eighteen years old. In sub-Saharan Africa, this proportion rises to 25%. Countries with a particularly high incidence of child labour include Nigeria, Malawi, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The global total includes one hundred and fifteen (115) million children below eighteen engaged in "hazardous work" which could threaten their safety or health, such as handling chemicals, carrying heavy loads, mining and quarrying or for long hours. The remaining hundred (100) million child labourers are those aged under fifteen (The international minimum age for legal employment) whose tasks are not hazardous but are more substantial than "permitted light work" (UK One World, 2011). The most significant change is a 31% drop in hazardous work for children under fifteen, but this is countered by a 20% rise amongst the fifteen to seventeen age group. Figures are gender-sensitive for the first time and suggest that child labour amongst girls fell by 15% over the period between 2005 and 2008. The accuracy of this child labour data is improving but is based on national surveys conducted over the period 2005-2008. The impact of more recent economic instability and rising food prices on poor households is, therefore, not yet reflected in the figures (UK One World, 2011).

Child labour is still common in some parts of the world, it can be factory work, mining, prostitution, quarrying, agriculture, helping in the parents' business, having one's own small business (for example selling food), or doing odd jobs. Some children work as guides for tourists, sometimes combined with bringing in business for shops and restaurants where they may also work as waiters. Other children are forced to do tedious and repetitive jobs such as: assembling boxes, polishing shoes, stocking a store's products, or cleaning. However, rather than in factories and sweetshops, most child

labour occurs in the informal sector, “selling many things on the streets, at work in agriculture or hidden away in houses—far from the reach of official labour inspectors and from media scrutiny”. And all the work that they did was done in all types of weather; and was also done for minimal pay. As long as there is family poverty there will be child labour (UK One World, 2011).

According to Ennew (2000) the situation of many street and working children in many countries is that, the children have no option but to take on some form of work. Children who belong to families where the household head is unemployed are more likely to engage in child labour. According to ILO (2000), two hundred and forty six (246) million children aged five and seventeen work as child labourers around the world. 60% in Asia, 23% are in Africa, 8% in Latin America and the Caribbean and 6% in the middle and North Africa. The rest can be found in developed countries (Crowley and Johnson, 2004). According to an ILO Report (2000) Brazil has the third largest number of working street children in Latin America after Haiti and Bolivia. Children and adolescents in eight cities in Rio de Janeiro are working in abusive, painful and unhealthy condition. Some of them do not go to school. Some are involved in drug trafficking. Ten to fourteen years old are economically active in Brazil. These children believe that working is the only way of getting out of the problem they were facing. Children working on the street as one of the most visible populations in the informal sector, they encounter risks from the nature of precarious labour, faced multiple hazards from the street environment, including traffic, exhaust fumes, harassment and violence (ILO, 2002).

ILO (2002) noted that street children may also have earned a living through theft, prostitution drug trafficking or other illicit activities, for example, carrying contraband goods across national borders. Child workers in general encompass a broad gambit (range) of labour environments including fishing, agriculture manufacturing, tourism, domestic services, construction and street activities such as selling food, shining shoes, watching and washing cars and begging. Ferguson (2006; 705) cited ILO (2003) considering street children as one of the most visible population in the informal sector, child street workers not only encountered risks from the nature of the precarious labour, but they also face multiple hazards from the street environment, including traffic, exhaust fumes, harassment and violence. Children and youth engaged in street labour due to the interaction of multiple underlying influences such as poverty, economic inequality and social marginalization. A number of children were migrating to the streets of urban areas to fulfill the needs that their families and communities were often unable to meet. Street children were sometimes emotionally abused by people who employ them in one way or the other

Basu (2003) in Ferguson (2006) noted that it is prevalent in the informal and underground economies where street children were often exposed to exploitative employment, illegal substance, urban crime, prostitution and abuse by authorities with little or no protection. Due to the nature and milieu of their labour, street working children often endured consequences affecting their health, safety and moral and social development. According to the Brazil's Executive Secretary of the National Forum on Childhood Labour Prevention and Eradication, the index of working children grew from 7.3% in 2004 to 7.8% in 2005 (Neves, 2006). According to US Department of Labour (2000) street children tended not to receive protection from federal work laws and

frequently performed unskilled and labour intensive tasks on the streets for long hours while receiving minimal pay. This research will come up with findings as to whether the street children in Zimbabwe are protected against economic exploitation.

2.2.2 A Regional Overview

Poverty is prevailing in many of Africa countries. Studies about street children have proved that economic hardship was the main causative factor for the big number of children living and working on the street. According to Kopoka (2000:8) Africa today is a continent characterized by extreme poverty. It's poverty that has resulted in children being forced to work on the streets to support themselves and their families. This poverty made many families to break-up and made rural population including children to move to urban areas with hope of a better future. It can be argued that poverty was a major cause of children living and working on the streets. Adults were increasingly using children as sources of income and thus violating and denying children their basic rights as human beings.

Reduced income due to cases such as redundancy, terminal illness to the parents and guardians increased the pressure to put children to work to support the family. This also caused school drop-outs or low performance at school. Children were likely to permanently move to the streets and engage in dangerous or hazardous works. They were vulnerable to all forms of exploitation (Kopoka, 2000:9). According to Kopoka (2000:10), in many African countries where the problem of street children was most acute have been unable to give it the attention it desired, and have unintentionally contributed to its continuation. Regardless of the efforts, these governments were doing good for the welfare of the children, such as formulating children's policies and Acts,

establishing ministries and departments that dealt with children and youth as the number of street children was increasing.

Rwebangira (1998) cited in Ngulube (2009) states that a good number of girls who move into urban areas for economic wealth ended up as either full-time or part-time prostitutes. However, due to the fact that they were poor, uneducated and lived on the street, they found it hard to compete with sophisticated commercial sex workers. In this case they fell into the trap of unsafe sex or being used by the experienced sex workers as their source of income. According to UNICEF (2001) a third of children in some parts of southern Africa started working on the street between the age of five to eight. This is the age when a child is supposed to be starting primary school, but most of them may not be going to school. Malawi is dependent on the labour-intensive tobacco crop for most of its foreign exchange. Here too legislation for a minimum working age had made little difference to widespread engagement of children on the farms (UK Oneworld, 2011).

Makambara (1999) cited in Kopoka (2000: 15) asserted that street children are indeed a special group of children needing special protection. Governments in Africa should renew the existing laws to ensure the protection to the marginalized children such as street children. Kopoka (2000) came up with the key initiatives that needed to be taken into consideration such as promoting and enhancing the education alternative, empowering the poor, mobilizing all levels of society to combat the exploitative forms of child labour and campaign to persuade parents and other community members to take responsibility of orphans and children with disabilities. According to Boakye-Boaten, (2006:2) in Ghana street children as young as 9 years old were found fending for themselves on the streets by engaging in odd jobs.

Government effort must aim to release children immediately from the most damaging situations, rehabilitate those children who were released from work through the provision of adequate services and facilities, and protect working children who could not immediately be released, to make their life safe. The condition of children living and working on the streets of most urban areas in Africa has assumed problematic dimensions because many people were beginning to identify with the situation as needing an urgent and pragmatic attention. However, social and political accountability of most African societies to these children is non-existent and to a large extent not challenged either by internal or external elements (Boakye-Boaten, 2006: 6). African countries government should put strong measures which protect vulnerable children and other vulnerable members of the society (Kopoka, 2000:22). These governments should face the reality that street children are there and while the effort of removing them is on process, they need to be assisted on the street.

2.2.3 Overview of economic exploitation of street children in Zimbabwe

Most literature relating to child workers showed that street children usually started working at very early age. When children started working at such an early age, the likelihood of them not to attend schools was high. They worked long hours, the situation which is detrimental to children's development because children were exposed to a number of risks that impacted negatively on them (Ennew, 2000) cited in Msekiwa, (2009). These children were unable to advance themselves academically and therefore not guaranteed the future life and the future generation might be affected. According to Linda (2002: 17), a street child who narrated his life story asserted that after failing to cross the border to South Africa he resorted to seek employment as a vendor. He used to

sell boiled eggs to people on transit within the main bus terminus in Dulibadzimu, Beitbridge. This boy indicated that, he worked for very long hour, especially nights if a sizeable number of boiled eggs were not sold in the day time. The employer would not easily allow him to come back with the boiled eggs as he said they would go bad and lose taste if they stayed until the next day.

Linda (2002:24) noted that street children were also observed cleaning the heads of trucks in the town centre of Beitbridge. The researcher established that the informal sector within the town centre of Beitbridge is generally small. She asserted that, there seemed to be a close relationship between the growth of the informal sector and the burgeoning of the phenomenon of street children. That meant the economy of this town depended much on the involvement of street children as cheap labour. These children were working very hard and for long hours so that they could get some funds to flee to South Africa illegally without travelling documents. This situation indicated that children were facing difficulties to stay not only in their families but also in their country. The study observed engagement of very young girls in prostitution through the mushrooming of brothels in this area of Beitbridge. Some of which were disguised as lodges for travelers who were crossing the border to South Africa. (Linda 2002:3). In Zimbabwe the cross border business is common to adults especially women. Children seemed to be attracted by the gains that cross border business has been bringing to the country after the shaking of the economy of Zimbabwe. This also encouraged child traffickers as they had support of the children themselves.

According to Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:18) one of the interviewed girl indicated to have been employed as a baby minder at one point and lost his job with the accusation of

being a thief. This girl just left with no benefits since there was no proper procedure concerning her employment. People were taking advantage of the homeless children by abusing them in various forms such as sexual abuse, torture and child labour. In Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003)'s case study, there was a family of an old woman known as Mbuya Mamoyo with her two daughters living in Mukuvisi River with no stable source of income. They used to sell anything that they could lay their hands on from rags to plastic packets or plastic containers. They were also exposed to gambling with cards. The elder girl, 15 years old seemed to bear all the responsibility of the welfare of the family by what she called 'being nice to men'. Some interviewed street boys informed the researchers that, they surrendered to Mbuya Mamoyo some of the money they earned through begging, minding cars in return for food and the right to have sex with the girls who were under the care of this old woman (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:23). This woman never liked to be interviewed by the researchers. The boys added that, sometimes the girls were handed over to old men who gave large sums of money to this old woman. One of the street children was living with her grandmother. Her grandmother used to collect waste papers and sell them, selling marijuana and other illicit brews to supplement her income. She organized street children to collect waste paper and plastic for her then she passes on to those who sold directly to recycling companies (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003: 22). There is no arrangement of protecting children from working with this woman. This old woman may have ended up involving the street children into her illegal business of drug peddling and abuse. Some members of the public used street children to vend for their business as observed by the researcher, "*Occasionally, I observed this girl selling boiled eggs, popcorn and cigarettes to other street children and passers-by*" Some foster parents exploited the children and used them as domestic servants especially girls (Rurevo and Bourdillon 2003:29). If adults who were expected to be protecting children from economic exploitation were themselves exploiters, there

was a danger of facing difficulties in implementing child protection policies in Zimbabwe.

Sexual exploitation is a form of economic exploitation which is usually practiced in many societies without recognition due to the nature of the actions involved. Street children are involved in commercial sex work. Through observation, sex workers patronize places such as Beitbridge Inn, The Truckers Inn, Andy and Peter's Motel and Limpopo Lodge. Within the general township of Dulibadzimu they patronize places such as Machembere Beer Hall, Terry's Night Spot and often similar places that operate as lodges and drinking places (Linda 2002; 18). In the Study which was conducted by Linda (2002) in the border town of Beitbridge, the researcher visited one of the brothels which seemed as most young sex workers were using the place as their meeting point. Through observation, girls were paying amount of fee to the brothel operator after service with the client after using one of the rooms. In this brothel premises, the girl who was selling beer to the customers looked as if age ten years. She was helping clients to light their cigarettes, which she took couple of puffs, before passing it on to the owner (Linda 2002:21). According to Linda (2002: 21), one of the girls aged seventeen years rented a room at Machuk's where she was working as a commercial sex worker and commented, that is how she can take care of her one year old son. In the interview, this girl revealed to be disappointed with the nature of work that she is involved, commercial sex work. She indicated that she doesn't like it at all because even the money she is paid have to be divided and the "aunt" usually takes her share. Apart from rent, she pays the nominal fee to the old woman (tenant of the rooms) after every service with her client.

2.2.4 Overview of economic exploitation of street children in Greater Harare

Msekiwa, (2009:32) noted that children living on the streets of Harare are involved in various activities such as vending, luggage carriers, collecting empty containers and begging. These are the common sources of income mentioned by children working on the streets of Harare, however there are also criminal activities such as prostitution and stealing children are engaged. There is no specific organization which is responsible for protecting street children from being exploited, however government officials are making efforts to remove them from the street time to time. Muchin and Nyandiya-Bundy (1991) cited in Bourdillon (1994:518) showed that about 15% of children working on the street were living on the streets. There are children on the streets in high density suburbs most noticeably at Mbare Musika, a large market four kilometers from the city centre. According to Bourdillon (1994:519) in Mbare, street children are found in variety of money- making activities such as guard parked cars, child porters and many are street vendors. In Mbare, there are children who work after or before school hours for pocket money, school fees, food and clothes just to supplement what their parents could provide. All these services are enjoyed by the members of public who are supposed to be protecting the children and have the ability to organize themselves to provide for these children. According to Bourdillon (1994: 521) car theft is common in Harare. Street children are employed to mind the cars in the city centre during the day and around places of entertainment during the night. According to the boys interviewed, a good income can be derived from minding cars (Bourdillon, 1994). The issue is how safe street children are to mind cars, car thieves are people who are prepared for disaster and sometimes may have dangerous weapons. But people are employing these street children to mind their car while doing their errands around the city.

In Harare central business district, some older street children own areas for parking where they employ smaller boys to operate. Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:3) asserted that motorists dislike being harassed by youths who own parking bays. People object to having to pay fees to have their cars parked and guarded whether or not they wanted this service. According to Bourdillon (1994:520), there are different categories of street children in Harare. There are guides to blind beggars, who may be sent by their families on some kind of roster basis to lead a blind relative for a share of the income. Most of these children attached to the beggars do have a home to go back in the evening.

2.3 The Phenomenon of Street Children

Kopoka (2000) asserts that there exists a school of thought that the emergence of street children is bound up with the totality of urban problems, that the phenomena is exclusively urban: that, there are no “rural street children” while it is true that street children are usually found in urban areas, many of them have rural origins. So to say some problems in rural areas became push factor to the children to migrate to urban areas. Therefore the problem is beyond urbanization. Street children survive through experience and gather together in gangs to create a family and support structure (Munkuli, 1994). In cities throughout the world, street groups provide friendship, security, stability and work (Boyden and Holden, 1991).

According to Lugala and Mbwambo (1996) one main characteristic of the children of the street is that they live alone in streets, without proper or reliable shelter; they have lost contact with their parents and as such they do not enjoy parental protection, love and care. Some children are offspring of prostitutes, handicapped children who are rejected by the family and children of street beggars constitute a distinct and relatively large

category. Some children have been disowned by their respectable parents unwilling to acknowledge the embarrassing outcome of an affair they had out of wedlock. In such cases the children might have well off parents and not poor parents (UNICEF, 2009). According to Soares (1997) only 3% of street children consider the streets as their home unities (Peralta, (1995); Sandoval Avila (1999) in Fergurson (2006).

2.4 Underlying Causes of Street working children

According to Dybicz (2005) there is a myth that street children chose their life style because of the attractiveness of the freedom and adventure it offers. Dialogue centers on factors that “*push*” and “*pull*” a child into street life. Pushing a child into street life are factors such as abuse at home and maternal deprivation. Pulling a child into street life are factors such as opportunity to earn income. All factors leading to street life are rooted in extreme poverty.

Pull factors; Urbanization, electricity, relatives and peer pressure contributes to rural – urban influx among rural youth. To children urban offers an opportunity that does not exist in their areas of origin, the rural areas. Rapid urbanization and the promise of employment attract many children and young people from the rural areas to urban centers (Boakye-Boaten, 2006). According to Beauchaemin (1999) report states that: the arrival of electricity has profound impact on rural communities and particularly on the young people. People starts watching television and realize that the city have much to offer so they run to the city. Their eyes are open to the “modern” world. Some street children came to look for their relatives without proper address and they ended up dwelling in the street. Some were attracted by other adolescents who stay in the city when they come for holidays especially Christmas and New Year holidays. The study

shows that so many children flow in the streets after New Year seasons. The excitement and glamour of living in great cities and the hope of raising one's standard of living, is also one of the pull factors that increase the migratory flow from the rural areas to urban areas (Kopoka 2000).

Push factors; among the triggers or the push factors that contribute to children leave their homes to the street include domestic violence, societal violence, rural underdevelopment and abuse. Rural under-development probably may be the biggest trigger for the children leaving the rural areas for the urban areas. Rural areas offer few employment opportunities, low educational standards and poor facilities (Beauchemin, 1999). Children might decide to move to the street as a result of poor protection at the home environment. The explanation of the phenomenon of street children point out that family and community deprivation, parental rejection and authoritarianism, physical hardship, neglect, physical and sexual abuse force children to move to the street to work and to escape adversity (Aderinto, 2000).

Poverty is the main cause of child labour and children seek work. Poor parents send their children to work, not out of choice, but for reasons of economic expediency. The hunting grounds for child traffickers are invariably areas of the most extreme poverty where families have exhausted all other strategies for survival. Poverty is also a symptom of child labour. Denial of education blocks the escape route from poverty for the next generation of the household (UK Oneworld, 2011). The disparity between the urban areas and rural areas is largely a function of underdevelopment and societal inequalities. Children who live and work on the streets often come from slums and squatter settlements where poverty and precarious family situations are common, schools

are overcrowded with no safe places to stay. However, other children come from middle class or well to do families, who run away from their homes due to ill-treatment and deviance (Kopoka, 2000). Economic mismanagement, political instability and the policies of international donor agencies are partly to blame for the precarious situation in developing countries (Boakye-Boaten, 2006). Unequal distribution of resources and lack of access to available resources pushes many people on the brink of near survival. The family, which is supposed to be the bedrock of children's welfare and protection, is today becoming a major cause of the problem of street children. They are sending their children to the streets to steal, beg, or engage in petty trade. Children are being forced to the streets as a result of poverty, abuse, torture, rape, abandonment or orphaned by HIV and AIDS (Kopoka 2000).

According to Kopoka (2000), the number of children living and working on the streets has increased in places experiencing armed conflict, for example Freetown (Sierra Leone) Kigali (Rwanda) and Monrovia (Liberia) where parents and care givers have been killed, the economy disrupted and family or community ties severed. In rural areas, natural increase has pushed the population above the carrying capacity of the land. In parts of Rwanda where the average number of children per family is eight, the resulting subdivision of the land has made agriculture akin to gardening. Families are therefore forced to move to urban areas in search of employment [*Ibid*].

In a research conducted in Brazil on street children, 23% of street children reported having suffered different kinds of domestic violence and abuse as a reason for becoming street children (Soares, 1997). Psychological, emotional and sexual abuses are all reasons that push children to the street. Family break-ups in the cities contribute to

children being forced to the streets. Cutbacks in government social and educational budgets, breakdown of traditional family and community structure leaves children unprotected. (Abdelgalil *et al*, 2004). Economic setbacks arising from recession, climate disaster, conflict or family bereavement will therefore regenerate the supply side of the child labour equation. This has been one consequence of HIV and AIDS in Africa - household resources have been depleted by prolonged absence from work and by medical expenses. This supply of child labour is matched by the demand of unscrupulous employers for a cheap and flexible workforce. This attribute appeals especially to small-scale enterprises, including those whose owners exploit their own family members.

2.5 Sex and Age of Street Children

According to Msekiwa (2009:26) The majority of street children were aged 14 to 16 years while least number of respondents involved in economic activities was observed in the 17 year old category where there was only one respondent who fell in that age range. UNICEF (1986) cited in Ennew (2000) children start working at an early age and this is detrimental to children's development because children are exposed to a number of risks that impact negatively on them. UNICEF (2001) observes that a third of children in some parts of Southern Africa start working between the ages of 5 to 8 years. Nsekiwa (2009) observed that boys are more than girls on the street. 62.9% of respondents were males and 37.1% were females. This can be attributed to the fact that girls usually work in the homes doing household chores that is taking care of younger siblings, cooking and generally looking after the home.

2.6 Educational background of street children

Some street children are facing difficulties to maintain their families and education costs. Children who managed to study and work are faced with the dual responsibilities of school and work. Studies exploring educational outcomes for street working children have found that working street children often fall behind in their studies, repeat grades and even drop out from school. This is due to the incompatibility between their work and school hours and the conflicting demands placed upon them to manage both work and school (Mickelson 2000 cited in Ferguson (2006:709). The Brazilian Government is finding it difficult to locate and incorporate the school drop outs back to the classroom [*Ibid*]. Reyes Arias (2005) cited in Fernandes and Vaughn (2008) asserted that the law for compulsory education for children aged 7-14 years old in Brazil school non-attendance has some major one of them being children from large families usually start working at an early age to supplement family income.

Wright *et al*, (1993) cited by Di Carlo (2000:109) noted that approximately one-half of the street children were attending school and none had received more than three years of formal education and a slight majority of the children was able to read or write at some level. According to OVC Report (2001: 95) over 25% of street children had never attended school. Slightly over 22% had some lower level primary education (grade 1 to 3) whilst 38% had some higher primary education (4 to 7). Around 9% had one or two years of secondary education while 6% had three to four years of secondary education. Children of the street were the least educated, followed by those who slept at home and came to work on the streets [*Ibid*].

According to ILO (1990) cited by Ferguson (2006) promoting income-generation programs with street working youth and their families can generate both individual and

community development and the same time defend and guarantee children's rights to an education and to be protected from exploitative working conditions.

2.7 Sleeping places and duration of staying in the streets

According to OVC Report (2001:9) the results confirm that street children exist along a continuum of varying degrees of connection with their families. There are children in a grey stage or transitional stage other than the usual characterization of children as "of" the street and children "on" the street. Sleeping both at home and on the street, the child finally chose the street when home conditions are no longer supportive due to death of a parent (s) or guardian or due to increasing poverty and or child abuse. They live individually or mostly in groups on the street or rented shacks in high-density suburbs such as Mbare and Epworth [*Ibid*]. Children "on" the street appear to be smarter than children "of" the street. This category had better access to shelter, water, sanitation and health facilities (OVC Report, 2001:92). The majority of the children on the street were aged 12 to 18 years [*Ibid*].

According to Di Carlo, *et al* (2000:108) were considered to be children "in the streets" who worked in the market by day and went home to their families at night. They came from large families consisting of several siblings and separated parents or parents living in a state of unmarried or cohabitation. Nearly 40% of the children lived in single parents homes with their mothers. Approximately 9% of the children were considered abandoned by their families. These were children "of the streets" because they had no home at the end of the day [*Ibid*]. According to OVC Report (2001:94) nearly 40% of the children who stay on the streets had spent one to three years on the street. 24% had spent one-half to one year on the street, 18% had spent four to six years 4% had spent

seven to ten years and 2% had spent over eleven years. Children “of the street” tended to have stayed longer on the streets than the children “on the streets” and children who slept both at home and on the street [*Ibid*].

2.8 Legislative Provisions on protection of children against Economic Exploitation

According to the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999); Article 15 provides that, “*Every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development*”. The UNCRC (1990) provides that, State parties should recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or that will interfere with the child’s education. The Convention further provides that children should be protected from work that is harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development and from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse [*Ibid*: Article 34].

The Zimbabwe Children’s Act 2002, Chapter 5:06 prohibit child participation in economic activities. It defines hazardous work in relation to a child or young person as any work that is likely to interfere with their education, make them contact hazardous substances or working in underground mines, exposure to electronically powered hand tools or cutting tools, night shift jobs or exposed to extreme heat, cold or whole body vibration. Children living and or working on the street are vulnerable to participate in such prohibited economic activities. The Act defines a child in need of care, to which a street child falls squarely. Since it is stated under Section 2 that, a child in need of care means a child or young person who is destitute or has been abandoned or both whose

parents are dead or cannot be traced and who has no legal guardian or whose legal guardian or parents do not exercise proper control and care over him. This is the case of most street children. The same section also states that a child in need of care is who is habitual truant; or who frequents the company of any immoral or vicious person or is otherwise living in circumstances calculated to cause or conduce to his seduction, corruption or prostitution; or who begs, or being a child, engages in street trading contrary to this Act or any other enactment. Street children exhibit such characteristics and thus require to be protected as children in need of care under the Act. The question that arises: are street children practically provided such protection against economic exploitation despite such explicit provisions of law?

Children living on the street are likely to be bypassed by these legal instruments, as there is no one responsible for their situation. They are left to fend for themselves and hence vulnerable to be exploited by the adult population for economic gains. Children's Act (2002) states that, any person who allows a child or young person to reside in or to frequent a brothel shall be guilty of an offence. Any person who causes or conduces to the seduction, abduction or prostitution of a child or young person shall be guilty of an offence. In urban areas this is one of the sources of income usually go unnoticed especially when adults take advantage on children living in difficult circumstances. Establishment of Juvenile courts in Zimbabwe is one of the children protection measures (Children's Act 2002, Chapter 5:06 Sect. 3) The National Action Plan (NAP) for orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) programme has been put in place by the Government of Zimbabwe to ensure the welfare of Zimbabwe's youth. Orphan and vulnerable children in this programme are children under the age of 18 years whose parents may have died

(one or both parents) or are unable to provide for them. Children living or working on the streets are likely to be by-passed by these models of child protection.

2.9 Working Conditions of street children

Di Carlo (2000:109) noted that almost all street children interviewed were working in open-air market vendors earning money for their families. Filho and Neder (2001) cited in Ferguson (2006) noted that in many developing countries situated on different stages of industrialization, children often work on the streets because their country's formal economy is unable to absorb their labour as well as the labour of their parents.

2.9.1 Types of jobs children are engaged

According to Bourdillon (1994:519) in Mbare, street children are found in variety of money-making activities such as guard parked cars, child porters and many are street vendors. In Mbare, there are children who work after or before school hours for pocket money, school fees, food and clothes just to supplement what their parents could provide. Other activities include domestic work such as baby minders and maid services especially for girls (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:18). Street children are also engaged in illegal activities for money such as prostitution and other crimes such as theft and selling drugs such as marijuana [*Ibid*: 22].

2.9.2 Challenges faced by children working on the Street

Lugala and Mbwambo (1996) noted that one main characteristic of the children of the street is that they live alone in streets, without proper or reliable shelter; they have lost contact with their parents and as such they do not enjoy parental protection, love and care. Street children share the streets with millions of adults who some time do similar

activities, they fight over customers and spaces. These adults regard them as nuisance and dangerous mini-criminals. Street children are exposed to the harms of the streets, being both victims and agents of violence and crime such as drug abuse and prostitution. One of the areas where street children are exploited is through sexual activities. One of the street children claimed that the police do not spare them; they are arrested for loitering when found walking along the streets at night and sometimes instead charging them fine, they exhort sexual favor from the girls in return for freedom especially when they do not have money to pay the fine (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:31). They are forced to defend themselves by physical fighting with other boys and sometime with adults. Street children are involved in dangerous activities such as stealing, selling drugs, begging from the moving cars and scavenging from the bins in order to survive (Soares, 1997).

According to Ngulube (2010:58) the situation is worse for street girls who have virtually no means of getting sanitary facilities. For those who resort to use pieces of cloths, problem arises due to lack of soap to wash their pieces of cloths. They do not have private places to hang those pieces of cloths. In addition, these girls are subjected to extreme sexual violence especially by sugar daddies (adults who force themselves to have sex with young girls in the exchange of money or material) that patronize the street preying on these vulnerable girls. Lack of sexual and contraceptive knowledge, along with difficulties in obtaining contraceptives, results in continued early childbearing among teenagers – living on the street. This may lead to spontaneous abortion, premature or difficult deliveries high caesarian rates, infections, fistulas trauma to the new born and low birth weight (Ngulube, 2010).

Children in the streets are exposed to illicit drugs, abusers and violence. To the children, streets are place of fear, especially at night and where the constant preoccupation is sheer survival. Street children are embarrassed and or beaten by police or members of the public. Street children may also face imprisonment or detentions when found vending on the streets. Diseases such as sexual transmitted diseases (STI) and AIDS are common to the street children. Being murdered in the city violence such as in Latin America death squads: street children are killed in Brazil before they are eighteen years in the name of cleaning the city (UNICEF 1992). Street Children is a growing problem in most African cities and towns. Relations of the street children and Police are not cordial. Children are indifferent when it came to their relations with Police. They clearly expressed their non-preference to the police due lack of assistance from the Police or because the children are afraid they will be arrested due to engaging in illegal activities whilst in the streets. This disadvantages the children as even when they are abused, harassed or engage in grievous body harm fights they fear to report to the Police (UNICEF, 2002). UNICEF noted that in Masvingo town, street children normally fight over resources on the street. There was a case of a child who died in such fights in 2001. In this case no one accepted to be involved in the particular fight, neither being accountable for the death [*Ibid*].

2.10 Perpetrators of economic exploitation of Street Children

This study established the sources of economic exploitation as it identified the perpetrators of economic exploitation of street children. These were categorized into three categories: adults from the community, older street children and parents or guardians.

2.10.1 People from the community

According to Bourdillon (1994: 521) car theft is common in Harare. Street children are employed to mind the cars in the city centre during the day and around places of

entertainment during the night. According to the boys interviewed, a good income can be derived from minding cars (Bourdillon, 1994). The issue is how safe street children are to mind cars, car thieves are people who are prepared for disaster and sometimes may have dangerous weapons. But people are employing these street children to mind their car while doing their errands around the city. Some of the street boys worked as push-cart operators, at Dulibadzimu bus terminus there is an informal trader who owned a number of push carts and four of his employees are street children. The boys interviewed indicated that they start their work as early as five o'clock in the morning and completed very late depending on how many trips they had made (Linda, 2002: 17).

2.10.2 Older Street children

In Harare central business district, some older street children 'own' areas for parking where they employ smaller boys to operate. They end up sometime not paying them or pay very meager amount. Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:3) asserted that motorists dislike being harassed by youths who 'own' parking bays.

2.10.3 Parents and Guardians

Some parents make agreements with people from their rural areas or relatives who stay in the urban areas to take their children in order to look for jobs or to work for them and remit the payment to those parents for their up-keep. When these children see there is no direct payment to them, they opt to move to the streets and become 'independent' (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:31). Other children are forced to be guides to blind beggars, who are sent by their families on some kind of roster basis to lead a blind

relative for a share of the income. Most of these children attached to the beggars do have a home to go back in the evening (Bourdillon, 1994:520).

According to Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:18) one of the interviewed girls indicated to have been employed as a baby minder at one point and lost her job with the accusation of being a thief. This girl just left with no benefits since there was no proper procedure concerning her employment. People are taking advantage on the homeless children by abusing them in various forms such as sexual abuse, torture and child labour. In Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003) case study there was a family of an old woman known as Mbuya Mamoyo with her two daughters living in Mukuvisi River with no stable source of income. They use to sell anything that they could lay their hands on from rags to plastic packets or plastic containers. They were also exposed to gambling with cards. The elder girl, 15 years old seemed to bear all the responsibility of the welfare of the family by what she called 'being nice to men'. Some interviewed street boys informed the researchers that, they surrender to Mbuya Mamoyo some of the money they earn through begging, minding cars in return to food and right to have sex with the girls who are under the care of this old woman (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:23). This woman never liked to be interviewed by the researchers. The boys added that, sometimes the girls are handed over to old men who give large sums of money to the old woman. One of the street children was living with her grandmother. Her grandmother used to collect waste papers and sell them, selling marijuana and other illicit brews to supplement her income. She organizes street children to collect waste paper and plastic for her which she passes on to those who sell directly to recycling companies (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003: 22). Some foster parents are also noted to exploit street children by using them as domestic servants, especially girls [Ibid]. If adults who are expected to protect children and are

trusted by authorities to take in the vulnerable children are themselves exploiters, it will be very difficult to implement child protection policies.

2.11 Sexual Exploitation against Street Children

Kembo and Nhongo (2002) noted that there are significant numbers of children involved in prostitution. Street children, especially those that live on the streets are vulnerable to sexual exploitation abuse. Sexual abuse and exploitation of children and young women in Southern Africa is on dramatic increase all the time. According to Kembo and Nhongo (2002), the sexual exploitation dimension highlighted by Chirwa and Boudillion (2000) revealed that some street children were required to pimp for the prostitutes of Harare as part of the contract; the street children were expected to enforce payment if the client refused to pay and were entitled to a percentage of the fee exacted. This puts the street children in a position where they can be exploited and given the prevalence of HIV infection in Zimbabwe, the future of these children is in danger. Laewenson (1991:27) cited in Kembo and Nhongo (2002:22) noted that children have also turned to prostitution as one form of informal sector employment. Newspaper reports have reported the recruitment of young men into brothels for the homosexual market, while young girls have been found in brothels in many parts of the city of Harare. Many of these children do not take earnings themselves. The sale of child bodies often benefits a brothel keeper, who appropriates the earnings and keep the children in impoverished dependency.

According to Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003: 5) in the past, girls were more protected than boys within the same family, only few girls were to be seen on the streets. Nowadays many girls opt to the streets, it seems like society is no longer caring. However, they are

quickly taken up by the 'aunties' who would give them shelter, clothes and food in exchange for their services as prostitutes. They are just being used to finance these 'aunties'. As more families are sucked into poverty and income from children becomes more important for the livelihood of such families, protection has diminished and girls are finding their way onto the street in greater numbers. Women often without male support (single mothers) get a meager living from informal trading on the streets, their daughters help with the stall and the sale of wares. Such girls move into their own informal enterprises often following their mothers in supplementing their income through the trade of sex (Mapedzahama and Bourdillon, 2000 cited in Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003: 5).

Ngulube (2010:39) noted that children living on the street face numerous physiological and sexual risk factors. These risk factors are mainly a result of their being on the street alone which in many cases cause challenges to their wellbeing. The risks encountered on the street mentioned were rape, bullying and arrest. 80% percent of girls alluded to the prevalence of sexual abuse on the street and mentioned one particular gentleman as number one perpetrator of sexual abuse to both boys and girls on the streets of Harare (Ngulube, 2010:40). A recent investigation into child prostitution in the state of Paraiba indicates the existence of organized networks both within Paraiba and links to cities in neighboring states. It is illegal in Brazil to exploit a child for purposes of prostitution. But studies shows that approximately 2 million children aged between 10 years and 15 years have been forced into prostitution (Jubilee Action, 2011).

Sodomy is also a problem faced by male street children. According to ECPAT (1999) a Catholic Nun Sister who works with a slum project in Kenya observed that, Arab and

Kenyan men take boys from the streets for sex, but unfortunately these boys are more traumatized because they do not have words available in their language to express what happened to them. According to Kembo and Nhongo (2002) a child psychologist in Zambia mentioned that boys who are victims of sexual violence can depict it in drawings but not tell what has been done to them in words. According to Dube (1997:177) children find it hard to resist and many participate because of the pressure to earn money and to survive. The research findings showed that there were instances whereby some street children sold sexual favours to adults in order to survive, thus putting children at greater danger of contracting HIV and AIDS. Some children who have been sexually abused by adults or engaged in commercial or survival sex, usually cope with a sense of frustration and powerlessness by engaging other children in similar sexual activities [*Ibid*]. Dube quotes other street children saying, “those who envy his relative success on the streets, often talk of the boy known as Nhamo as gay”. One boy remarked, “Nhamo is not successful because he works hard here on the streets. He often moves around town with white men and have sex with them”.

2.12 Street children involvement in Crime

Basu (2003) cited in Ferguson (2006:707) observed that the prevalent in the informal and underground economies, street children are often exposed to exploitative employment, such as selling illegal substances, urban crime and prostitution. This situation usually affects their health, safety, moral and social development.

2.13 Perception of Street Children

According to OVC (201:97) when children asked how do they perceive their lives on the street 28.5% of the street children felt hopeless and helpless they mentioned that they had no other option concerning what to do about their lives except to live on the street. Nearly twenty six percent (25.8%) mentioned that their live on the street were tough. 20.8% felt fatalistic and mentioned that their lives were bleak and without a future. 11.3% said that their lives on the streets are temporary and 10.3% mentioned that they enjoy living on the street. The majority of children in all categories felt that their lives were tough and that they had no future.

Rurero and Boudillion (2003:6) noted that people in power often perceive street children as criminals or at least potential criminals and in any case a slur on the City. Consequently they take punitive approach towards street children; forcefully removing them from the street. Adults often take for granted that they know better than children. They often seek to solve the problems of children without references to the children's views and perspective. They easily forget that children are persons with their own experience and knowledge, leading to their individual feelings, preferences and choices about their lives. Public reaction to street children often reflects the view that children are competent only for learning and play under the control and care of adults. When some children do not fit this paradigm people become uncomfortable and readily judge the children and their situation as anti-social. People frequently refer to street children as urchins and thieves and often violent passing little attention to their personal circumstances or to the motives that drive them onto the streets. Girls on the street are particularly stigmatized, they are perceived as prostitutes and unemployable lazy girls (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003).

2.14 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the notion of street children and how their lives are affected on the streets due to the nature of their life on the street. This section commenced with an outline of the theoretical framework which is based on the social capital theory and Maslow hierarchy of needs theory. The theoretical framework presented in this chapter, has underscored the underlying causes of the phenomenon of street children which includes social and economic problems that pull and push children to the street. Global, regional and local overviews have shown that street children and subsequent exploitation by adult population for economic gain is on the increase despite existence of legislative provisions or international conventions on child rights. The global overview of working street children, regional overview, national overview and Harare overview of economic exploitation of street children were presented. This chapter also reviewed studies done in other countries and in Zimbabwe on street children. It reviewed literature relating to; the phenomenon of street children, underlying causes of street children, types and sources of economic exploitation and legislative provision on the protection of children against economic exploitation.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes various methods used in this study and the reasons for choosing such methods. Kothari (2002:10) noted that methodology is the various steps that are generally adopted by the researcher in studying his research problem along with the logic behind them. This chapter outlines the study location, study population, research design, sampling procedure and the data collection instruments that were used in this study. It also describes how data was analysed.

3.1 The Study Location

The study was undertaken in the City of Harare Central Business District (CBD) where a lot of street children are involved in various money making activities. The researcher zoned the CBD as the area lying between the following streets: Herbert Chitepo (on the North side), Fifth street (on the East side), Robison Manyika and Keneth Kaunda (on the South) and Rotten Row road (on the west). Within this zone some of the areas where street children could be found include Harare Garden, Julius Nyerere Street, Kaguvi Street, corner Charter road and Mbuya Nehanda, First Street, Samora Machel Avenue near the Presbyterian Church and Road Port (4th Street). The researcher of this study got her respondents from these areas.

3.2 Research Design

The study used both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

3.2.1 Qualitative Methodology

The study employed more of qualitative design due to the nature of the population under study. It is difficult to congregate street children and study them as a group. The researcher applied in-depth interviews where street children explained their feelings and narrate their stories as provided in chapter four.

3.2.2 Quantitative Methodology

The study also employed quantitative design in the information that needed quantity. Presentation of quantitative data included demographic data, characteristics of the population and illustration of frequency tables and other graphical illustrations.

3.3 Target Population

This study focused on 307 street children who are involved in various economic activities on the street of Harare Central Business District. According to Gwatirera and Chitsiku(2009) street children who engage in economic activities in Harare Central Business District were 307.

3.3.1 Key Informants

A total of 5 key informants were identified to participate in the study. One from Street Ahead and one from City Presbyterian Children's Club and 3 street adults who have been on the street for more than 10 years were interviewed.

3.4 Sampling

The researcher selected 30 street children boys and girls out of 307 street children through convenience sampling. This constitutes 10.2% of the target population. The researcher purposively sampled 5 children from 30 children for in depth interviews. 2 officials from NGOs were identified using purposive sampling. 3 street adults were identified through snow-ball sampling.

3.5 Research Instruments

Interview guide was used for key informants.

Interview schedule with closed and open ended questions was used for the selected street children.

Direct observation was employed to obtain data on working conditions of street children.

3.6 Data Collection

The researcher trained one research assistant and one interpreter who helped her in the interview processes. This was important, as interviews involving children require gaining the confidence of the child. The structured interview guide was prepared in English and then in the actual interview session the research assistant translated it into Shona language for the children to express their feelings easily. The interpreter was also using Shona language to interpret the questions and answers for children who could not speak fluent English.

3.6.1 In-depth Interviews

The researcher and her research assistant conducted the in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted face to face and confidentially. Respondents who did not understand English were asked in Shona about their background, reasons for them to be on the streets, their money-making activities on the streets, their working environment, their perceptions and sexual activities. Researcher could not administer questionnaires to street children due to the nature of their life on the street. They do not have permanent places of abode, neither do they have places to store questionnaire papers hence administration of questionnaires to the street would not have been feasible. The researcher could not use focus group discussion to collect data because street children are mobile and busy working for their survival. It was not easy to work with them as a group. The researcher also appreciated narrative stories of street children about their working life on the street. The researcher realized that some children felt free to explain about their lives more than just answering the interview questions, so the researcher made new appointment with 5 children who explained themselves clearer by providing their life experience. Only 3 children turned up and were interviewed. Their stories were captured and are presented in chapter four. The researcher herself solely conducted interviews with key informants. Interviews with key informants helped the researcher to ask questions about the reasons for children moving to the streets, their working conditions challenges and forms of economic exploitation.

3.6.2 Direct observation

The researcher was observing the way street children were busy with their daily errands. She needed to see street children working on the street. She prepared observation check list which included; areas where children concentrated, activities

children do on the streets, their reaction when they are not paid and adults' behaviour when enjoying street children's services.

3.6.3 Locating street children

With the assistance of one staff member from Street Ahead and the personal interpreter, the researcher managed to go to the sleeping places during the night. These places were such as Kaguvi street and in the Dural wall at the corner of Charter road and Mbuya Nehanda street to interview the children. Night sessions were not successful as most of the children refused to be interviewed saying that they were tired unless if they are paid. So the researcher decided to go for interview in the day time when children were in their normal errands. The interviews were carried out for 2 nights and 5 days only in order to avoid the possibility of interviewing a child more than once. In order to check this, the researcher asked the children if they were interviewed before. Only one respondent indicated to have been interviewed before in the same study and the researcher stopped the interview with this child.

3.6.4 Pre-testing of Instruments

The researcher did a pre-test of the interview instrument with the interpreter by randomly interviewing street children at Harare Garden to check if the use of interpreter would effectively work and to check the clarity of questions and responses given. It was Saturday 23 July 2011 children were just sleeping complaining that the weekend was not good for them as they did not get money as they did during week days. The researcher realized that week days were proper for interview processes. She managed to review her interview schedule to fit in week days.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

In Social science, scientists face a number of ethical dilemmas when conducting research. According to Shamoo and Resnik (2009), codes and policies for research ethics have been adopted by many different professionals associations, government agencies and universities. These are informed consent, confidentiality, integrity, honesty and issues of incentives.

3.7.1 Informed Consent

The researcher had to seek consent from the respondents in this project. She also made it clear that it was an academic research paper. The researcher was aware of the sensitive nature of the study and the implications of observing informed consent. Dooley (1995) noted that the matter of informed consent often plays a key role in deciding approval for research. The people in the concerned community have rights to know the purpose, duration and the benefits of the research to both the researcher and the community.

3.7.2 Honesty and Integrity

The researcher had to act with sincerity and was honest to the respondents on the intention of the research without giving them false hopes or unpredictable results of the research findings. Dube (2002) noted that a number of studies focusing on street children have shown that the children are no longer willing to participate in studies, they were complaining that the studies they had participated in had not led to any meaningful changes in their lives. However in this study street children responded well and were so cooperative.

3.7.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality was highly maintained in this study. Confidentiality and anonymity is crucial in research as private lives of children were discussed and assurance of protection of privacy was required. The researcher explained to the children and assured them of protection of their privacy. The researcher observed the principle of confidentiality. Shamoo and Resuik (2009) noted that confidentiality should be assured and maintained. A researcher should protect confidential communications such as personnel records and identity. In this study there were personal issues such as sex life, sodomy and participating in crime, which needed high confidentiality. In order to protect the identity of her respondents, the researcher used pseudo names to represent the actual names of the respondents. Therefore all people's names used in this study are not respondents' real names.

3.7.4 Issues of Incentives

Researches on street children have a challenge in observing the ethical principle of not soliciting information by providing payments. Muchin (2000) noted that researchers had to entice children to participate in their studies with payment of nominal fees ranging from Z\$15 to Z\$50 (in the year 2000). In the case of this research, the researcher did not entice children to answer questions because it is considered unethical. However, she was providing some snacks to the children as a thank you token after every interview session. Children expected more than that as one of the boys lamented, *"Is this all you can offer me?"* It was a startling statement but very interesting. The researcher asked him what else he expected. He answered he expected some money. The researcher asked how much he expected to be paid and he answered, *"People who are doing research usually*

give us US \$5 or more". To avoid future problems the researcher explained that she is a student and gave him US\$2. He smiled and left without saying anything. The researcher realized that the responses that she got from the street children were not for nothing, they expected some payment however they appreciated the snacks and the relationship they had with someone who is a foreigner (not Zimbabwean).

3.8 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed manually. This was due to the small sample of the respondents. The responses from the interviews were sorted and ordered into conceptual categories deduced from the theoretical propositions and research objectives.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter described methodology used in this study. It described various methods used in this study and these were interviews and observations. This chapter outlines the study location, study population, research design, sampling procedure and the data collection instruments that were used in this study. It also described how data was analysed. Issues of research ethics such as informed consent, confidentiality, and incentives were also discussed.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the study's findings. It does so in line with the aim and objectives of the study. The aim of the study was to investigate the nature and extent of economic exploitation of street children in Zimbabwe focusing on the Harare Central Business District (CBD). The objectives were to determine basic characteristics of the respondents, to identify types of economic exploitation experienced by street children in the Harare CBD, to determine the source(s) of economic exploitation of street children, to identify the challenges faced by working street children, and to establish the perceptions of street children. The first section of the chapter, however, presents the findings in terms of the demographic profile of the respondents.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

Demographic characteristics of respondents are essential in this study as they contribute to an understanding of social and economic problems that cause children to be on the street. The section also helps to understand the most affected group of society and the possible actions that may be taken to alleviate the problems of street children. This study targeted working children on the streets of Harare by selecting 30 children.

4.1.1 Sex and Age distribution of street children

The table below shows the sex and age frequency distribution and the percentage distribution of the respondents. This was the population from which the researcher purposefully sampled 5 street children for in depth interviews.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of Sex and Age of the Respondents

Sex	Age group/Percentage						Total	
	6-10 years		11-13 years		14-17 years			
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Boys	15	50	7	23	3	10	25	83
Girls	0	0	3	10	2	7	5	17
Total	15	50	10	33	5	17	30	100

As shown in Table 1 above, the targeted respondents were 30 out of which 25 (or 83%) of the respondents were boys while 5 (or 17%) were girls. This indicated that there were more boys than girls on the streets of Harare. This confirms the finding by Ngulube (2010:34) that the majority of children living and working on the street were boys. The results were also consistent with findings by Msekiwa (2009:27) that there were more boys than girls who engaged in economic activities on the streets of Harare. The results also confirm findings by Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:3) that out of the 1,500 street children in Harare receiving services from Street Ahead, only 200 (or 13%) were girls. Girls were fewer on the streets because in many societies girls were seen as ready to help with household chores and child care for younger siblings (Ngulube, 2010). For those who opt for the streets, they were not easily seen because they were quickly taken by older prostitutes or sex workers known as ‘*aunties*’ who would give them shelter, nice

clothes and food in exchange for their services as prostitutes (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:5). The testimonies of the boys and girls interviewed revealed that there was existence of such “*aunties*” who engaged girls into prostitution. These girls were exploited by the “*aunties*” who sold them out into prostitution. Other reason for fewer girls on the streets was that some were hired as domestic workers through arrangements of some ladies who acted as agents, but again these girls were exploited. One male key informant stated that girls were engaged in prostitution and domestic work by women from the community. The findings are consistent with the social capital theory propounded by Coleman (1988) and supported by Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:4) that traditional perceptions of childhood and the roles of children by gender might have also played a critical part in determining who amongst siblings should work to support the family. Traditional perceptions required girls to do domestic work and boys to work on the fields. Therefore, this could be the reason for having so many boys on the streets as compared to girls.

Table 1 also shows that the age of street children ranged from 6 years to 17 years of age. Fifteen children (50%) of the respondents were in the age group of 6 to 10 years of age and they were all boys. Ten children (33%) of the respondents were in the age group of 11 to 13 years of age, out of whom 7 (23%) of the respondents were boys and 3 (10%) of the respondents were girls. In the age group of 14 to 17 years of age there were 5 children (17%) of the respondents out of which 3 (10% of the respondents were boys and 2 (7%) of the respondents were girls. These findings indicate that the majority of children interviewed were aged 6 to 13 years of age who constituted 83% of the respondents that is, 25 children. The remaining 17% of the respondents that is 5 children were aged 14 to 17 years of age. These findings indicated that the majority of the

working street children on the streets of Harare were below the statutory age of employment. This conform the findings by Ennew (2000) cited in Msekiwa (2009:26) that children started working at an early age. This is a form of exploitation as was asserted by UNICEF (1986) that to starting work at an early age is detrimental to children's development because children are exposed to a number of risks which may hinder their normal development. UNICEF (2001) noted that one third of children in Southern Africa started working between the ages of 5 and 8 years old. According to the key informants, during outreach they found children as young as 5 years of age working on the street and some of these children refused assistance from NGOs. The findings indicate that majority of the working street children on the streets of Harare CBD are below the statutory age of employment.

4.1.2 Respondents' Level of Educational

As shown in the previous table (table 1) more than 83% of children interviewed were at primary school going age and 17% were at secondary school going age. Given the nature of their life in the streets, there were slim chances for these children to get a proper education.

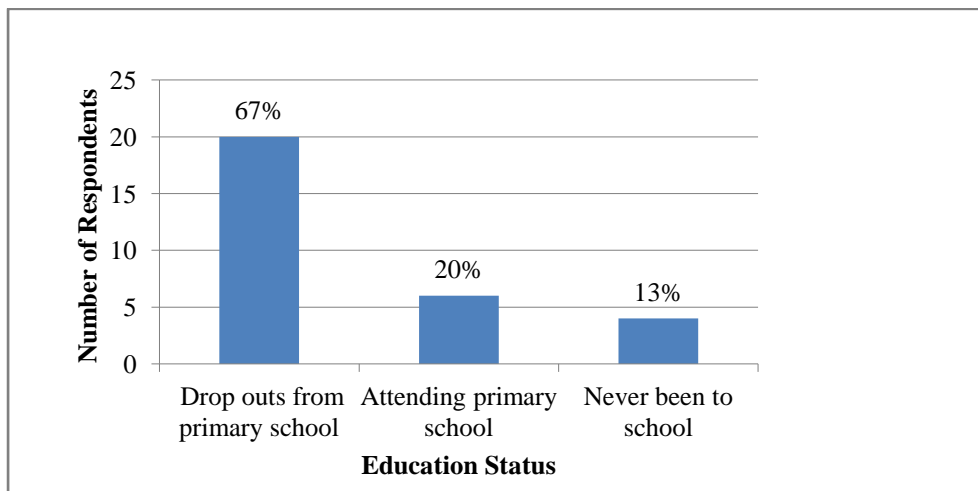


Figure 1: Respondents' level of education

Figure 1 above shows that 20 (or 67%) of the respondents indicated that they dropped out of primary school and moved to the streets whilst in lower grades due to various socio-economic circumstances such as orphanhood due to HIV and AIDS, family economic hardships and mental and physical abuse. This is consistent with the findings by Ngulube (2010:35) that a total of 55% of the girls attained at least primary school education while 30% of the boys also got primary school education. In this study 6 (20%) of the children interviewed were still attending primary school of whom 2 (7%) were girls and 4 (13%) were boys. These 4 boys were children of the street attending primary school education from the City Presbyterian Christian Club while the 2 girls were children on the street getting primary school education from their localities. Four

(13%) of the working street children had never attended school. These findings were contrary to the findings by Msekiwa (2009:31) who observed that 94.3% of working street children interviewed were attending school, with 71.4% of them attending primary school and 22.9% attending secondary school. The reasons for this contradiction was revealed by key informants who said they had observed an increase of children moving on to the streets due to increased poverty caused by economic hardships, HIV and AIDS and inadequate coverage of educational programmes by NGOs. Ngulube (2010:36) asserted that in developing countries poverty is a major barrier where limited resources affected the provision of education to children.

4.1.3 Reasons for Street Children’s engagement in economic activities on the Streets

The table below gives a summary of the reasons for street children to work on the streets.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of the causes for street children to work on the streets

Causes	Frequency	Percentage
Orphans hood	15	50%
Economic hardship at home	7	23%
Abuse by relatives	6	20%
Begging	2	7%
Total	30	100%

Table 2 above indicates that 20% of the respondents came to the street as a result of abuse by people they trusted, relatives or step-parents in their homes. Twenty three percent (23%) of the street children came to the street to work to support the family due

to economic hardships in the family of both parents or single parents. Fifty percent 50% of the respondents were orphans who had lost one or both parents, due to accidents and diseases such as HIV/AIDS, the cholera outbreak and political persecution of their parent(s). Seven percent (7%) of the children accompany their blind parents to beg on the streets. These findings were consistent with the findings by (Beauchemin, 1999) and (Aderinto, 2000) who noted that children decided to go to the street for work so as to escape adversities caused by poor protection of the home environment, poverty, neglect and sexual abuse.

4.1.4 Sleeping places and time spend working on the streets

The sleeping places and duration of stayed on the streets for the children interviewed was essential to establish children *on the street* and those *of the street*. Forty percent (40%) of the children interviewed were children “on the street” who indicated that they sleep in ghettos or homes while 60% were children “of the street” who slept on the street corridors, packing bays, bus stands, and supermarket corridors. This finding confirms the findings of the OVC Report (2001) which pointed out that Children “of the street” tended to have stayed longer on the streets than the children “on the streets”.

Plate 1: Street Children Sleeping on the Corridors of a Shop



Forty percent of the children had stayed on the streets whilst working for a period of 6 to 10 years. Thirty three percent (33%) had lived and worked on the streets for more than 10 years. This is a significant amount of time that the children had spent on the street which may indicate society and government’s failure to address the plight of street children. Street children who had stayed longer working on the streets were aged 11 to 17 years of age and they constituted 50% of the respondents, while the other 50% were aged 6 to 10 years of age. Figure 2 below illustrates the duration of stay of street children on the streets of Harare.

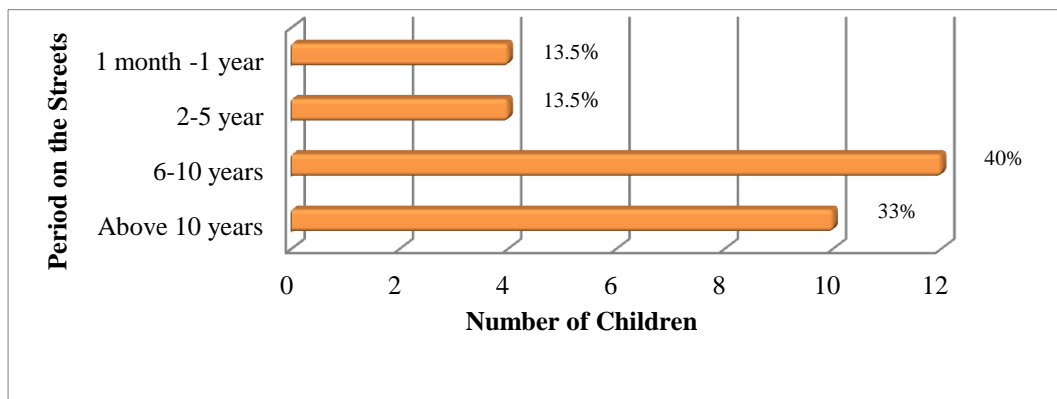


Figure 2: Percentage distribution of time spend working on the streets

The figure above indicates that 40% of the respondents had worked on the street for 6 to 10 years and 33% had worked on the streets for more than 10 years. The minority of the children 13.5% had spent one month to one year and 13.5% have spent 2 to 5 years working on the streets. This is contrary to what was observed by the authors of the OVC Report (2001:94) who found out that 26% street children had spent six months to one year on the street and nearly 48% had spent one to three years on the street. The report also revealed that 18% of the street children had spent four to six years, 6% had spent seven to ten years and 2% had spent over eleven years. It seems that government’s effort

to remove the children from the street is not bearing fruits. Ruparanganda (2008:156) observed one of the officers who actually lamented saying “*Street children are a problem we are really worried about, efforts have been made to remove the street kids from the street but they are always coming back. These are street kids and they say we must not remove them from the streets because it’s their home*”. In this case governments are making an effort to remove these children from the street rather than assisting them while on the street.

4.1.5 Places of work for street children

The table below gives a summary of the places of work for street children.

Table 3: Percentage distribution of places of work for street children

Places of work	Frequency	Percentage
On the street	22	73%
Outside the street	8	27%
Total	30	100%

Table 3 above indicates that 73% of children interviewed had worked only on the street while 27% had worked outside the street, that is, on farms and people homes as domestic workers and gardeners. Afterwards they returned to the street. This indicated that the majority of street children were engaged in economic activities on the streets.

4.1.6 How street children get jobs

Street children had their networks where they informed each other about the availability of employment. Eighteen children (60%) of the respondents working on the streets said that they were connected to a job by other street children, while ten children (33%) of the respondents said the employers came to the street to look for the labourers. It is clear that these kind of employers were looking for cheap labour. They were not sensitive to labour laws which forbade employment of under age children. They continued to employ street children for their own benefit. Even when members of the public looked for labourers they only faced one of the children and all the other children around would alert each other and a number of children would be ready to go and work on the particular task. However, two children (7%) of the respondents indicated that they had looked for jobs they were doing after having seen advertisements. They revealed that sometimes they did not have the qualifications, which were needed according to the advertisement, but they got the job and were paid lower than those who had qualifications.

4.2 Types of economic exploitation experienced by street children in Harare

4.2.1 Types of jobs street children are engaged

Street children interviewed revealed to had been doing a number of economic activities for their survival. They also revealed that the activities they were engaged in were mostly other people's business. They either worked on piece work activities or whole day activities. These findings are consistence with findings of Bourdillon (1994:519) who noted that in Mbare, street children are found in a variety of money- making activities such as guarding parked cars, carrying luggage for people and vending. These children's expressions have confirmed social capital theory which was propounded by

Coleman (1990) that in the absence of social capital in the family, provision of basic needs becomes a problem leading children to leave their homes to seek alternative avenues of comfort. In this case, children were involved in activities that are exploitative.

4.2.1.1 Street Vending

One key informant stated that street children who had advanced are trusted to sell pre-paid mobile phone airtime cards for some phone shop owners, for example, one older street boy known as *Rambo*, sold pirated movies and music DVDs and CDs. These older street boys at times distributed their merchandise to the younger boys to sell and paid them in cash or kind. The boys said that they usually bought 4 CDs for US\$ 1 from people who seem to be pirates and sell the CD for US\$ 1 each. One boy revealed that although the business moved slowly but it paid much at the end of the day. One of the respondents said; there is Indian man along Mbuya Nehanda street who usually give him some stuff to sell on the street and bring the money afterwards. Then he was paid according to the number of items were sold. If nothing was sold he was not paid. He said: *“Mother we have to use our brain to survive, whenever I see some drops of rain I run fast and pick some umbrellas from this Indian man and sell them to the passer-byes.”* Vending was common among street children. This was also observed by Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:29) that some members of the public used street children to vend for their business: *“Occasionally I observed this girl selling boiled eggs, popcorn and cigarettes to other street children and passers-byes”* and one of the girls was vending her mother’s stuff to sustain the family.

4.2.1.2 Offloading Trucks and packing goods

Street children were employed by supermarket operators to offload merchandise from trucks. During interviews one boy complained about back pains as he had offloaded a truck with 20 bags of cement the previous day. He did this job without prior agreement for payment but he expected the owner to consider the heaviness of the load to pay him. But to his surprise he was given only US \$5. He said they always rushed to do the job before negotiating, as they fear that other people might take the job. They also pointed out that, sometimes after offloading vegetables they washed potatoes and pack them into small packets. They were also employed to pack onions in small packets as well as fruits.

4.2.1.3 Washing Cars

Washing cars was another activity that most of the boys did on the street. Some older street children who “own” parking bays made arrangements for washing cars at specific areas where water was available and cars could be washed without any complain from neighbours. These “owners” of the parking bays employed younger street children to wash cars. One boy revealed that at times they were taken by car owners to their houses to wash their cars due to lack of clean water on the streets especially when they had more than one car. One boy revealed that payment for washing a car ranged from US\$ 1 to US\$ 2 per car.

4.2.1.4 Guarding Cars

Street children are employed to mind the cars in the city centre during the day and around places of entertainment during the night. Thirteen boys (52%) of the boys

interviewed said they had guarded cars at one point in town and believed that minding cars paid good money, while twelve boys (48%) of the boys said minding cars was stressful because some people did not pay them. The job required enduring long hours of watching since one might not know how long the car owner would take to come back and that in most cases there was no prior agreement. Twenty boys (80%) of the boys said it was a risky job. Bourdillon (1994:521) also found similar findings pointing that car theft is common in Harare. It is now more than fifteen years since Bourdillon conducted his study but nothing has changed. Children were still guarding cars that belonged to the adults from the public and members of the community were enjoying these children's services.

Older boys 'owned' the parking bays. This was among the respectable activities on the street where the parking bay 'owners' felt like land lords. They employed strong boys to operate the parking bays on a daily basis. Smaller boys were used as watchmen who counted the number of cars packed and one boy collected the money from car owners and handed over the money to the parking bay 'owners'. These findings are consistent with the literature in Bourdillon (1994: 521), which observed that, older street children 'own' areas for packing where they employ smaller boys to operate. According to the boys interviewed, there was no fixed amount for parking a car. Car owners give anything they feel to the car minders and sometimes they offer nothing. Parking bay 'owners' pay the boys in kind or in cash on weekly basis.

4.2.1.5 Carrying people's luggage

Carrying people' luggage from wholesale shops and supermarkets was a common job that most of the street children indicated to had done it at one point or another in their

lives on the street. The children said they usually waited on entrances of big shops and supermarkets to help people carry their groceries to their cars and sometimes to the bus termini. They mentioned some common places where they get jobs such as Mohammed Musa Cash and Carry Shop, wholesale shops at the corner of Rezende Street and Butte and also at the Gulf area. Street children also said they usually hang around Road Port to help people to carry their luggage. At corner Mbuya Nehanda and Albion streets, the researcher observed two boys running towards an adult who seemed to be known to them. One of them was given the luggage and disappeared together with this adult towards Harare street. The other boy came back disappointed. According to the key informants children can carry heavy luggage from the Show Grounds to the Fourth street (Road Port).

4.2.2 Sexual Exploitation

Children living and working on the street were sexually exploited by adults. In this study, children themselves expressed their feelings and narrated their stories about their sex life. Children declared to have been engaged in sex for money and not for leisure. Laewenson (1991:27) cited in Kembo and Nhongo (2002:22) noted that children had also turned to prostitution as one form of informal sector employment. They seemed to take sex as a simple way of getting money but in actual fact they are suffering.

Plate 2: Street Girls Involvement in Prostitution



4.2.3 Prostitution

Boys revealed that, older women connect street girls to rich men. According to the boys who were interviewed, these girls were not given a chance to bargain with those men. The women picked the girls almost every night but the girls received payment at the end of the month. One of the girls said that she got pregnant and was sacked. She opted for an abortion but that woman never took her again even after the abortion. The woman shouted at her for allowing herself to get pregnant by lamenting; *“That was carelessness. I do not want to work with you anymore”*. This means that adults used street children to gain income, to these adults it did not matter how old the child was, what mattered was the amount of money they got. One of the boys by the name Tawanda narrated his story about how he came to be engaged in sex with older women. Here is his story:

“I have been on the street for 8 years now. I was in grade one when my father died and my mother left us because our uncles were accusing her of being the one who killed our father. Last year, during one of the evenings we were walking along the street when a car stopped and a woman asked us; ‘Ko kuKarigamombe ndekupi?’ meaning where is

Karigamombe building? We started to direct her, but she asked: "Can one of you come into the car so that we can go together?" I was the first one to say, "Let us go". Through experience, when one show someone directions there an expectation of getting a dollar or something to eat. I got into the car and realized there were other two ladies inside the car. I did not see them before as the car had tinted windows. When we got to the place, the lady just said, "OK, is this the place? I will come tomorrow". She did not stop the car. She continued driving outside the city, and it was already dark. I started to worry and shouted so that she could stop the car, but they laughed at me and asked, "What kind of a man are you?" We arrived at a big house where I was asked to relax. I was given food since I was very hungry I ate the food and drank one bottle of beer. I had sex with one lady, I was forced to have another sexual encounter but I couldn't because I was now nervous. I was given \$10 and said that if I could satisfy more ladies I would have been paid more. From that day, we agreed to bring my friends with me so that they are paid US\$ 5 each and I got US \$1 per person. The lady who was driving the car on the first day was always at that house, but her friends changed from time to time. These days they do not give us food they give us beer, whisky and some money as payment. Nowadays she no longer comes to the street. I take some boys with me, and we board a 'Kombi' (commuter bus) to her place. Some of my problems were solved because I am assured of income every week. One day she asked me if I could bring some girls with me to her house. I talked to some girls and two of them agreed to go with me. This lady paid me US \$ 5 for each girl. After a few days they were richer than me. I brought another girl but I was told those two were enough. When I asked the girls what activities they were doing they did not tell me, until when one of their friends told me secretly that they were making phonographic movies while naked. These girls occasionally came back to the street but they spent most of their time in that house. They now look more beautiful and attractive. This lady introduced me to her friends as her own son. One day

I tried to ask for a job in her compound as a gardener but she refused. But I told myself not to worry since this business gave me good money and freedom. I can eat, drink and be smart, but I am still on the street. This life is difficult but it is better than staying at home with people who believed my mother was a witch.”

Girl street children are vulnerable to engage in prostitution. Three (3) or 60% of the girls interviewed agreed to have engaged in prostitution in brothels because they needed money. Two (2) or 40% of the girls indicated not to have engaged in prostitution in brothels but agreed to have engaged in prostitution from the streets. All girls indicated that they did not know that practicing prostitution was a crime. Key informants mentioned that commercial sex workers usually went to the street to look for young and beautiful girls and sold them as prostitutes to men, getting payments on behalf of the girls. The commercial sex workers bought these street girls new and sexy clothes, perfume and makeup to make these girls look attractive in order to get income through them. The researcher asked the girls about being used by women and the girls agreed. The researcher also observed that the girls were smartly dressed and it was difficult to identify them as street children. This confirmed what the key informants said that women with motives of using the girls as prostitutes provided them good clothing. These findings are consistent with the findings of Linda (2002:3) who observed involvement of very young girls in prostitution through the mushrooming of brothels in Beitbridge. These children depended on customers who were travelers crossing the border to and from South Africa.

Female street children are often allured to engage in sexual activities in exchange for money. Two girls (40% of the girls) mentioned names of commuter omnibus drivers and

conductors who usually took them for sex in exchange for money. They acknowledged to have been engaged in fulltime prostitution. They mentioned that the price for an hour was US\$2 and the price for the whole night was US\$5. There were also price differences between using condoms and not using them. On the case of using condoms there was no fixed price but they usually bargained and agreed because the price was higher for not using condoms. The girls did not want to reveal the price.

Plate 3: Street Girls involvement in Prostitution



Children living and working on the street are vulnerable to sexual abuse due to the nature of their life on the street. People were not even ashamed of coming to the street and just pick these children, take them to some places and abuse them. This was also consistent with the findings of Kembo and Nhongo (2002) who noted that there were significant

numbers of children involved in prostitution. Street children, especially those that live on the streets, are vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Sexual abuse and exploitation of children and young women in Southern Africa is on a dramatic increase all the time (Kembo and Nhongo 2002)

4.2.4 Sodomy

Street children were also exploited through sodomy. They are used to satisfy adults sexually in order to get some money for food and clothes. Key informants pointed out that using the word sodomy would not bear fruit in gaining information from the boys as they had their own way of mentioning the practice. The word used is “*Chimhondoro*” which is a Shona word meaning someone who is possessed by ancestral spirits. Eighteen boys (72%) of the boys said they knew nothing about sodomy while seven boys (28%) of the boys agreed to have an idea of sodomy and that some of the boys from the streets were willingly involved in sodomy. They mentioned a young man they called Mukoma JJ who usually came to the streets and picked the boys to take them to a certain man with a silver coloured Prado-Land cruiser. Mukoma JJ usually took the boys to his friends who usually gave the boys strong alcohol and abused them sexually. What usually happened was that, the boys always came back to the street on the same day. The following day Mukoma JJ would come back to the street and pay the boys. The boys interviewed claimed that Mukoma JJ changed these boys from time to time. Some boys seemed to be comfortable with the situation in such a way that whenever they saw Mukoma JJ they just followed him before he even called them.

According to key informants, boys were sodomized by adults from the community as well as older street boys. At first, they complained of pains but they ended up going back

to these people because they had no choice especially when they were in need of money. The key informant pin pointed that one of the boys was already infected with HIV and AIDS through this risk sexual behaviour. Children were approached during the night by male adults known as *Mangochani* meaning homosexuals who engaged them in sex for money. These findings are consistent with Dube (1997:177) who noted that when children are approached for sex, they find it difficult to resist and participate because of the pressure to earn money and survive. Some older boys from the street were also accused of taking smaller boys especially new ones and take them to some men who came with their cars to sodomize the boys. The older boys usually received the payments. One respondent pointed out that some boys were taken to people's houses for sodomy. Other boys were sodomized right on the streets in the perpetrators' cars.

4.2.5 Street children involvement in criminal activities

Adults from the public were taking advantage of employing street children in activities that were illegal. After being involved in a crime street children were threatened. In these cases people took advantage of the ignorance of street children to exploit them by involving them in illegal activities. Six (6) street children or 20% of the respondents agreed to have been involved in crime for their survival. Twenty four (24) street children or 80% of the respondents refused to have been involved in crime while two (2) street children or 7% of the respondents agreed to have been involved in crime for payment whilst knowing it was a crime but had to engage in the vice because they needed the money. Four (4) street children or 13% of the respondents said they did not know if it was a crime before they committed it.

4.2.6 Types of Crimes in which Street Children are involved

Street children revealed that they agreed to be involved in crimes because they were offered good money and they really needed the money. Six (6) street children or 20% of the respondents who agreed to have been involved in crime said they had been employed by their fellow street children while twenty four (24) street children or 80% of the respondents indicated to have been employed by adults who stayed on the street and from outside the street. The following are types of crimes street children got involved.

4.2.6.1 Stealing

One of the boys by the name Masumbuko said ‘*I was involved in stealing by being employed by an adult to stay by the car park on the junction of Julius Nyerere and Sam Nujoma. I used to disrupt drivers of the parked cars that their car tyres were flat, at the same time another child would be on the other side of the car stealing whatever was close to the car window. I benefited from this kind of job, especially when we manage to get female handbags*’ People were using street children to commit crimes knowing that if these children were caught they had nothing to lose, only those children are going to suffer. Another boy by the name Mangi (not his real name) indicated to have been involved in crime by assisting shop-keepers who stole from their employers. Mangi revealed that shop keepers would put some valuable wares from the shop in the rubbish bins then street boys would scavenge from the rubbish bins and sold the wares at half-price and then share the money with the shop-keepers. Mangi also mentioned that they also steal supermarket goods when they were employed to offload trucks in the supermarket back-yard by throwing some stuff outside the Dural wall and collected them after the work. These children sold the stuff especially vegetables to street vendors. One of the boys, by the name Mtikisiko (not his real name) alluded to the crime of stealing

people's cell phones. Mtikisiko pointed out that there was a young man who always came to the street to buy second hand cell phones and cell phone memory cards. This encouraged them to steal cell phones whenever people were careless with their cell phones. Mtikisiko lamented, "*We were assured of a cell phone market that is why when we got a chance we just take people's cell phones. We needed the money. Nobody cares for us. We take care of ourselves.*" In addition, Mtikisiko pointed out that they also stole clothes lined in people's compounds and sold them in the Flea Markets to vendors who readily accepted second hand clothes for resale. Mtikisiko confessed that some of the vendors send them to steal and paid them when they brought used clothes. Pindisha not his real name pointed out that there were some adults from the public who took some of the boys from the street to go to farms to steal farm produce for payments. They were paid right after the incidence. When asked where those people took the produce, Pindisha said he did not know and he did not bother to find out, for what was important for him and other street children was the payment for the job.

4.2.6.2 Prostitution

Prostitution is illegal in Zimbabwe. The researcher observed prostitutes running from the police at corner Jason Moyo and Kaguvi one night. Therefore prostitution is not allowed in Zimbabwe. All girls interviewed agreed to have been involved in prostitution, in one way or the other but they did not know it is a crime. One of the girl said: we usually run when we see the police because they will take all our money. These girls said they got their customers in brothels and sometimes they have lined themselves on the streets half-naked during the night as independent prostitutes. The girls declared that, there were some men who use to come to the street to look for girls. These girls agreed to be picked by these men for sex transactions. They pointed out that there were some older women

who came to the street to look for girls, provide them with food, clothes and drinks then took them to their houses where men would come and sleep with them.

4.2.6.3 Involvement in Illicit Drugs trade

Street children who were interviewed did not mention directly that they had been involved in drug trafficking or peddling but they agreed that some street children were involved in supplying drug. One of the respondents said: *“Sometimes our boss could send us to deliver something well raped to someone and we took it not knowing it was illegal drugs until when we get caught by the police was when we realize it was illegal drugs”*. The respondents reiterated the incidence of the old woman who stays in Mukuvisi River employing some children to sell opium or in Shona language ‘*mbanje*’. When asked if she pays as agreed they said she is very faithful in payment than any other employer. Drug dealers pretended to make friendship with street children in order to use them in supplying of drugs and drug abuse. One boy revealed that some children were involved in the delivery of some illegal drug without their knowledge until when they were caught by the police. When they were caught, they went with the police to the shop of the drug -lord where he used to sell radios and DVD players but he denied knowledge or ever having seen those street children before. They were then locked up in a cell for six months without bail and later released without charges. The drug-lord moved his business to somewhere else and none of the children knew where he moved to.

4.2.6.4 Conning

Street children were also involved in the conning business. They did this by delivering blackmailing messages from people who pretended to be investigation officers;

investigating foreign business men. These children would be used in delivering these messages until when the deal was accomplished. When they succeeded in these rackets, the children were paid good money. Usually Congolese and Nigerians were mentioned by the street children as being the target of the conning scam.

4.3 The source(s) of economic exploitation of street children

The study found that there are various perpetrators of economic exploitation of street children. These perpetrators could be categorized into three broad groups which were older street children, adults from the public, and guardians or parents.

4.3.1 Older Street Children

Older street children usually used the younger ones in various activities. The researcher observed one small boy busy collecting empty plastic containers from the bins at the corner of Cameroon Street and Speke. He said he was sent by Smart who is an older street boy. Older street boys 'owned' parking bays where they employed smaller boys and paid them meager wages or in-kind, that is food, clothes and or some protection from street children enemies. These findings are consistent with the literature from Bourdillon (1994: 521) which indicated that, older street children owned areas for parking where they employed smaller boys to operate. Older street boys also employed smaller boys to sell DVDs and CDs for them and paid them in cash or in kind. The common kind of payment was security, food, to share blankets during winter and clothes. Children revealed to have been forced to give all the money they earned to the older street children.

On the part of girls; older girls used smaller girls to earn money or protection from older boys by allowing those boys to have sexual relationship with these new girls. Sometimes the older girls connect these smaller girls to men from the public for sexual encounter.

4.3.2 Adults from the public

There was a woman who was mentioned by most of the girls interviewed as their savior. This woman worked in a supermarket in the city centre. She came to the street and picked girls and took them to some rich people's households especially foreigners to work as maids. She was the one who paid these children at the end of the month. This meant that she was the one who negotiated the wages, received the wages and paid the street children a small amount and then took some part of the wage for her own use. This is considered exploitative because this lady benefited from the street children's sweat. One of the girls by the name Furaha narrated her story as follows:

"I came to the street because my step-father used to abuse me whenever my mother was out of the house. No one would believe me as my step-father pretended to love and care for me when there were other people around. I left home and school at the age of 11 years, I was in grade 4. I never gave my identity to anyone. There was this lady who worked in a supermarket in town. She was our savior. She used to look for jobs for us. We worked for those people and this supermarket lady is the one who received the money and pay us. I always worked hard but what I do not like is her behavior to move me from one boss to another. She took money from a person who was looking for a maid, which comprise of her bus fare to the rural area and the bus fare for the maid and herself from the rural area. She asked me to pretend that I just came from the rural area and never been to the city before. I would be required to change my name as I moved to another boss. To my first boss my name was Karen, sometimes she would call me, and I

would keep quiet because I would not remember that I was Karen. Somebody phoned and said that my mother was admitted into Mutoko Hospital but it was not true. They directed my boss to take me to Fourth Street where my “uncle” would pick me and get together to see my mother. My boss left me at Fourth Street and gave me bus fare for travel back to her house and some pocket money. It was one month and one week since I started working. The supermarket lady came and took me to another boss where I started a new job and pretended to have come from the rural areas the same day. To this boss I stayed only for 2 months and 3 days. The supermarket lady came and lied to my boss that my grandmother who lived in the rural areas had died. My boss gave that lady my salary. The money was more than what she told me was my salary. From that day on I realized I was receiving only a quarter of the real salary. I kept quiet. I was taken to another boss where as usual I pretended not to know anything about the city. My name this time was Nyasha. I was employed to take care of a newly born baby while his mother started to go to work. This was a single mother. In the afternoon the putative father of this boy would come and play with his son for some minutes and threaten me that if I mess with his only son, he would kill me. One day he came and the baby was asleep, he started to touch my breasts and then all over the body. When I asked him to stop, he threatened to dismiss me if I would not cooperate. I needed the job and the money. Secondly, I could not let down the supermarket lady whom I had a contract with. The father of my boss’s child started to abuse me sexually in the afternoon when the mother of his son was at work. I keep quiet because he is paying me every time we had sex. I was now facing a problem because the supermarket lady wanted me to go somewhere else but I refused because as for here I am getting double payment. On the street, big boys used to abuse me sexually without any payments so it is better here, I get food, shelter and payment for my service to my boss’s boyfriend. I know if my boss realized she would have kicked me out of her house. Every Friday evening I always

pretend to go to my aunt and come back Monday morning but in actual fact I come to the street. That is why I was here since yesterday”.

Life on the street exposes these children to exploitation and abuse. Adults were taking advantage of street children by using them for their own gain.

The above story is consistent with the findings of Rurevo and Bourdillon (2003:23) who presented a case study of a street family. The case was about family of an old woman known as Mbuya Mamoyo who stayed with her two daughters in Mukuvisi River with no stable source of income. They used to sell anything that they could lay their hands on from rags to plastic packets or plastic containers. They were also exposed to gambling. The elder girl, who was 15 years old, seemed to bear all the responsibility of the welfare of the family by what she called ‘*being nice to men*’. Some interviewed street boys informed the researchers that they surrendered to Mbuya Mamoyo some of the money they earn through begging, minding cars in return for food and the right to have sex with the girls who were under the care of this old woman (Rurevo and Bourdillon, 2003:23).

Children revealed that there were some people who owned farms who would send their employees to come to the streets and pick a number of street children every weekend, usually ten or more to go and work on their farms. Activities that street children were involved in were processing maize and pack it into sacks, slaughtering chickens and packing them, cleaning compounds and weeding. These children also revealed to have seen some top officials from government visiting those farms over the weekend. According to children who worked on those farms these officials witnessed the children working on the farms but did not make any comment. Children interviewed said they

also found another group of children from the streets of Harare suburbs whom they worked together on that farm.

There are people who had contracts of delivering used plastics to be recycled in industries every week. These people used street children to collect these used empty plastics for them for meager amount of money while selling them to the industries for a reasonable price. This was a very common practice for the street children. Children complained of being paid very small amount of money, that is, US \$1 for 200 empty plastic containers regardless of the size. Most of the children mentioned that the soft drinks manufacturers usually used street children to collect and arrange empty bottles at the factories. Children revealed that they were casually employed in such factories every morning and in the afternoon where they were paid a daily wage ranging from US \$2 to US \$3 depending on the effort of the child.

People who owned take-away food outlets used children from the street to clean up their back-yard storages and to offload trucks that delivered groceries such as potatoes, onions, cabbages, fruits and vegetables, cooking oil, maize flour and wheat flour. Hardware shops operators employed strong boys to offload trucks with various building materials such as cement, tiles and timber. These kind of materials were so heavy according to the boys interviewed. One of the boys by the name Mofat (not his real name) lamented “*Mother cement is heavy like hell, but surprisingly two of us would offload a twenty feet container of cement for only US \$5. But there is nothing we could do. We need the money*”. This shows that people were not only using street children for their own benefit but also ill-treating them. ILO has raised concern about working

children by introducing regulations regarding the minimum age and type of activities children could be engage in. (UK oneworld, 2011)

Street children also revealed to have been physically abused by adult members of the public. Three (3) boys (12%) of the boys indicated to have been physically abused by men they call '*Nigerians*'. When asked how they knew they were Nigerians they said those people couldnot speak Shona language and they spoke like men in the Nigerian movies. They usually took them to their houses to work, after having worked for hours they threw them out of the house without payment. One of the boys said; '*They say to us, go and report anywhere, nothing will happen to us, your police know us very well*'. One of the boys pointed out that even if these Nigerians were lying about being known by the Police, street children would never go to the police to report the abuse or make a claim for their money, since the police would lock them up. This revealed that even foreigners might have known the weaknesses of some government officials, thus taking advantage and exploit children on the streets.

4.3.3 Guardians and parents

The researcher observed children accompanying blind adults they claimed to be their parents or guardians. In African culture a child should obey whatever ordered by their elders. Therefore some of street children are sent by their parents to look for money from the streets. One of the reasons for children to come to street found by the researcher was economic hardship. 23% of children interviewed revealed to have been came to the street in order to take care of their families due to economic hardship.

4.4 Challenges children face while working on the street

Street children face a number of challenges when working on the street. They declared to have been suffering on the street for their survival.

4.4.1 Non-payment for services

Some girls who were involved in prostitution mentioned the problem of not being paid for the services they offered to men. Sometimes the agreement was made by their ‘aunties’ and when they had provided the service the ‘aunties’ would take all the money and gave these girls some food and drinks only. One of the girls, Sikujua said they were always scared especially when they were picked by someone who could not speak Shona language. Sikujua revealed that one of her friend was taken by a certain man and from that day she never came back. Sikujua also said that she heard that there were two girls who were taken by the foreigner and they were forced to have sex with a snake and since then they have been suffering from severe stomachache.

More than 50% of the respondents revealed to have been working for no payment at the end of the work. They said that even when they were prior agreement people were not ashamed to let them go without being paid.

4.4.2 Underpayment

Underpayment was a common exploitative practice expressed by street children interviewed. Children who worked with adults complained that adults usually took a bigger share of the reward even if children did most of the work. Most of the time they worked on behalf of some employed adults and earned little amounts of money while those adults were paid a lot of money. Children were unable to complain about such

situations because they believe ‘grown-ups were always right’. With such mentality children may not understand their rights and may continue to be oppressed and exploited. Three children (10%) worked with adults in weeding fields, where adults were paid more money while children were paid only US \$1 per day or US \$5 per week. One of the children said he was once had his money grabbed from him money by an adult employee after the employer had paid this child. When he reported the incidence to the employer, the employer did not mind, he just told him to go to the police and report the case while laughing at him. Adults sometimes take advantage over street children because they know these children have no shoulder to cry on. They live on their own on the street. One of the boys interviewed by the name Tendai revealed that he was underpaid but when he complained, the employer said, “*I am doing you a favour, you do not have skills, no identity card, just receive what you are paid and appreciate*”. Tendai decided to keep quiet in fear of losing his job. Street children who were involved in distributing flyers for advertisements were promised to be paid US \$1 in every 50 flyers distributed and a T-shirt at the end of the job. But at the end each was given US \$2 regardless of the number of flyers they had distributed. They were also not given the T-shirts as they were promised. When these children asked for the T-shirts they were told that the T-shirts are for sale and it was US\$ 3 each. The findings showed that members of the community were using street children in the name of helping and favouring them while they were in fact exploiting them. Members of the public take advantage of the street children situation engage them in various activities but then pay them less than what they would originally agreed to pay them. People know that street children are defenseless; they live alone or work alone on the street and nowhere to go to and make a complaint.

4.4.3 Torture and Harassment

Children especially those who worked on farms and households had experienced torture and harassment. Street children complained to have been facing problems with their employers especially those who worked for more than a day with the same employer. These children were emotionally abused when working in the households. Sometimes they were abused even by their employer's children. One girl by the name Chipu who worked as a domestic worker said; *"My boss is not a problem, the problem is her children. They cannot stand seeing me resting for a second they send me in and out like a robot. They never felt pity for me even when I fell sick"*. In this case this child is complaining because human beings need love and affection especially when facing difficulties like sickness. This is the third need in the Maslow's hierarchy of needs. (Maslow 1954) Lack of love and affection may cause the child to move to the street. Among the causes of children to move to the street was a feeling of rejection. When a child feel like no one cares about him or her may run away from home. These needs are commonly violated by domestic violence and physical and sexual abuse. Children working as domestic workers endured working for long hours with little payment. Since street children are viewed with suspicion, domestic work often involved a middle-man who secured the job for these children and received the money on their behalf. They often pay them less than the agreed amount.

Some of the employers were never satisfied with the job that the children from the street did. These employers complained and accused these children of theft most of the time so that they could justify their low payments or lack of payment. One girl by the name Rudo said she worked for two months without payment and when she seriously asked for her money, she was accused of stealing;

“One day my boss asked me if I took a piece of pizza from the refrigerator. To be sincere I did not even know there was pizza in that refrigerator. I said I did not take it, she beat me up and said I was lying because there was no other thief in her house as the pizza was missing. I ended up being thrown out of that house without a single cent”. This finding is consistent with the findings by Rurevo and Bourdillon, (2003) that a girl declared to have been employed as baby minder at one point and lost her job with the accusation of being a thief. When asked Rudo what steps she took she said she went to see the woman who connected her to that family. The woman was working in a supermarket in town but she did not help her. This woman only made promises that she would make a follow up. Rudo was not allowed to step a foot in his boss’s house again. At the end the supermarket woman got Rudo another job. She worked for only two weeks and left because the supermarket woman claimed to be the one who will be taking the money from the employer and pay Rudo.. By the time of interview she claimed to had been waiting for a job she was promised by her friend’s aunt. But she declared not to know the nature of that job. Street children sometimes became desperate in such a way that they are ready to do any kind of work for survival.

4.4.4 Involvement in violence

Ten children (33.3%) of street children indicated to have used violence as their action against abusive employers. They usually report to other big boys on the street and organize a group to fight against the particular employer. However, twenty children (66.7%) of the children interviewed said they opted to keep quite to avoid what they called conflict with the police. When asked why they do not report to the police, they said they could not involve police in any of their business because it would be like surrendering themselves to the hands of the police. They vowed not to seek any help or

assistances from police because they did not trust the police. They claimed to be arrested by the police for no proper reasons. They mentioned one way of punishing their employers is by smashing their car windows.

4.4.5 Arrest and Imprisonment

Street children face arrest and imprisonment as a result of their participation in crime. Eighteen (18) children (60%) of the respondents said they had been put into police custody for some days. Twelve (12) children (40%) of the respondents said they have never been arrested by the police. Street children had also been bailed out by their employers from police custody. Some of the respondents indicated to have been rescued from police custody by their employers while other respondents were left to suffer without being bailed. One of the boys interviewed revealed that in 2009 there was a man who used to send them to the Road Port to steal bags of people coming from South Africa and Tanzania. He used to pay them per night even if they failed to steal something in a particular night. One day they were arrested by the police. They were thoroughly beaten by the police and spent three days in Harare Central Police Station. They did not see their employer. Later they realized he was aware of their arrest but did nothing to help them.

4.4.6 Hazardous working conditions

Street children were employed to carry bins with rotten garbage whenever the city council workers were on strike. They indicated to have been doing this kind of job without any protection tools such as gloves, uniforms and boots. Scavenging for plastics sold to agents of recycling company was conducted without any protective gear, exposing children to hazardous substances from the garbage bins

Plate: 4 Street Children Scavenging



4.4.7 Stress

Street children lamented that life on the street is itself a stress. They said that working on the streets is stressful. One of the respondents said: *“We wake up in the morning not knowing where do we start? What are we going to eat?”*

Among those that said, the police had never caught them, they said the only problem they had was stress. One boy lamented; *“Doing crime while knowing is a crime is so stressful but we cannot do anything else and we need the money. At the end of the day we enjoy the money”*. Sometimes they were sent to steal sight mirrors from vehicles and failed to get customers, as the employer might no longer need the stuff or he was nowhere to be found. This added to stress, as they were aware that they were in possession of a stolen item and the police might arrest them. Another stressful situation children mentioned were about minding cars. They did not have right to ask car owners how long would they take whenever they parked their cars. They were supposed to wait for as long as the car owner will take. They could not leave the cars, as they would have

promised to take care of them. If anything bad happens they always feel accountable. At the end of the day the car owners may come out take their cars and go without paying anything.

4.4.8 Beatings

Beating of street children caught stealing is common on the streets. Three (3) street children said they had witnessed their fellow street children beaten by the members of the public after being accused of stealing. Some were beaten by the police when resisting to be arrested. Smaller street boys are also beaten by the older boys on the street. Reasons for the older boys to beat the smaller boys were such as, refusing to work, stealing food and when they involve in fighting on the street.

4.4.9 Lack of contractual arrangements

According to Labour Laws worldwide, one common right of employment is a contract agreement between the employer and employee. Six children (20%) indicated to had been given informal contracts, which were verbal contracts that ranged from one week to three months. Twenty four children that are 80% of the respondents indicated that, they worked on a daily basis with no contracts. But none of the children had a written or documented contract. Conversely, the employers would not be keen to enter into a formal contract with the children because they knew they fell below the legal age of employment. The majority of the respondents that is 25 children (83%) were aged 6 to 13 years of age whilst only 5 (17%) were aged 14 to 17 years of age. The respondents also indicated that if one worked hard and was faithful the verbal contract was renewed. Twenty eight children (93%) indicated not to know what a contract or an agreement was,

but two street children (7%) knew the meaning of a contract. One key informant revealed that a child could be given a 10 days job but after working for 3 days the job could be terminated without any reasonable cause. The common activities street children were engaged in this informal or verbal contract arrangement included; vending cigarettes, collecting empty plastic bottles and minding cars. In these kinds of activities, informal contracts were used as a threat to the street children so that they did not run away with the merchandise or steal from cars. Some of their customers (car owners) took their pictures against their will using their cell phones in the name of keeping their identity just in case they stole from them.

Although children were seen to voluntarily engaging in these jobs, they were however forced by circumstances beyond their control such as poverty and the urge to survive. Being children they were naïve and did not understand the impact of the behaviour and dangers that they were involved in such work nor their rights as children. All children interviewed said they had no other alternative than working on the street despite the tough life they had to endure such as scavenging empty bottles from bins where there was dangerous rubbish (exposed to bacteria and dangerous expired chemicals) or being harassed and abused by employers. This was also observed in the OVC Report (2001:97) when street children asked how they perceived their lives on the street 28.5% of the street children felt hopeless and helpless. They mentioned that they had no other option concerning what to do about their lives except to live on the street. They also mentioned that their lives on the street was tough, bleak and without a future.

4.4.10 Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STI)

Sodomy and prostitution are type of crimes children were engaged in unwillingly. One of the problem children face in this crime is STIs. One girl indicated to have been suffering from STI's after being involved in sexual encounter for payments. She commented: *"The money we get from this business is not enough even to cover for the treatment"* As it was expressed by the girls in the previous section under sexual exploitation, they were usually being paid more when they agree to have sex without using condoms. Due to their need of money they agree to engage in unsafe sex and they end up suffering from STIs.

4.5 Perceptions of street children on economic exploitation

4.5.1 Street Children's Perceptions

Street children perceive themselves as normal people who are capable of taking care of their lives. They believed that, they only lacked resources otherwise they could make their lives better. More than 50% of the children interviewed said they did not want to continue staying on the street any more. Eighteen 18 children these are 60% of the interviewed street children said they would like to stop working on the street and look for other alternatives. Six children 20% said they would like to go to school or be given the starter capital to start their own business and have better future. Only six or 20% of the children said they would like to continue to work on the street because it was their only way to survive. These findings are consistent with OVC (2001:97) where it was found out that 28.5% of the street children felt hopeless and helpless they had no other option concerning what to do with their lives except to live on the street. Nearly twenty six percent (25.8%) mentioned that their lives on the street were tough. 20.8% felt fatalistic and mentioned that their lives was bleak and without a future. 11.6% said that their stay on the streets is temporary and 13.3% mentioned that they enjoy living on the

street. Street children thought they knew better about their personal needs than members of the community.

A key informant from Street Ahead narrated an incidence of a Malawian young lady who donated food and clothes to the street children through Street Ahead organization. After the donation she welcomed these children to come to a certain church in town the following Sunday to which they agreed. When they came at that church they were putting on their old and dirty clothes. This lady was shocked because she just gave them new clothes two days ago. When she asked them about the clothes she gave them, they became so harsh to her. They started saying they had the rights to do whatever they wanted because the clothes were already theirs and they did not owe anyone an explanation. Children misunderstood their rights and forgot that they needed adult guidance and counseling. Meyer *et al* (1989) constructed a theoretical framework through questions regarding the rise of International discourse on the rights of children, women and minorities and on how they could be addressed and analyzed. Otherwise norms and morality might end up being violated. Street children perceived NGOs that dealt directly with street children as organization that were just using them for their own benefit. The researcher observed one boy saying: *“They give us sadza! Who said we need sadza?”* Sadza means stiff porridge which is a main dish in Zimbabwe. *“We need money to do our own shopping and eat what we want. These people are just stealing our money”*. One key informant confirmed these children’s feelings saying that sometimes older boys might snatch food from staff members of the NGOs and especially those under training by saying that they were not included in the budget so they were spending children’s share. Children here thought that they are exercising their rights but at the end they found themselves in trouble. Human rights theory provides that; rights form either

the base of moral action or foundation for demands of sympathy and human rights facilitate condition conducive to human flourishing (Freeman, 2002).

4.5.2 Street Children understanding of their working conditions

Twenty two children or 73% of the respondents agreed to have the knowledge that adults were not allowed to employ children while eight children or 27% of the respondents said they were not aware of that law. Two children or 7% of the respondents agreed to have been taught by some organizations where they get assistance about the effects of child labour while twenty eight children or 93% of the respondents said they have never been taught by any organization about child labour. One boy was observed by the researcher saying: *‘Aah! We are not kids, kids usually have parents or guardians who takes care of them. We are all alone here working, just give us the job and pay us.’* It was worth noting that 73% of the respondents stated that they knew that child labour was illegal. When asked how they knew this, some said they read from newspapers while others said they heard people talking about it. However these children said they were ready to continue working. Street children are ready to work in any environment for their survival. Most of the time the researcher observed children saying: *‘What we need is money’* the children did not show that they were facing problems in their activities until when the researcher probed for more information.

4.5.3 Street children’s perception of society

Street children expected much from the society. They expected society to support them by providing homes and clothing. Street children complained about the way members of the public perceived them. The researcher further observed street children complaining

about the way people ignored and mistrusted them. One street boy lamented: *“When people see us they look at us with suspicion thinking we are thieves who may snatch their stuff and run away”*. Some children opted to continue staying on the street rather than going to institutions as they were afraid of being abused and stigmatized. Most of the children interviewed were insisting that society should consider providing them with accommodation while they take care of other needs themselves. Only a few needed to be provided with food especially the youngest ones. The common needs that the street children needed from the government and the society were accommodation (shelter), education (school), employment and clothing. Other needs were assistance with finding their parents, money to take care of the families, money to start business, money for treatment whenever they fell sick, security and to assistance to their disabled parents, protection from abusers, to take their grand-parents to the old people’s homes and provide them with food (Marima and Jordan, 1995). Street children have expectations from society but they have no way to express their feelings. Society has no arrangements or programmes where street children are given a chance to speak out their ideas and feelings. At the end of the day they are perceived as hopeless and criminals. Ruparanganda (2008) also observed this and he quoted a street child saying: *“Members of the public scorn us; they think we are nuisance and some of them laugh at us and think we are criminals”*.

4.5.4 Society’s attitudes toward street children.

Street children said that people have no confidence with them. The children complained about the way people call them names. According to Rurevo and Bourdillon, (2003:6) people frequently refer to street children as urchins and thieves and often pass very little attention to the issues concerning street children. People do not allow them to do things

on their own. Children were complaining that, people will always be around to supervise even when these children were given assistance by donors, adults from NGOs will always be there to direct them on how to spend the assistance they received. Rurevo and Bourdillon, (2003:6) likewise observed this, and they noted that adults often take for granted that they knew better than children. They often sought to solve the problems of children without considering children's views and perspectives. They easily forget that children are persons with their own experience and knowledge, leading to their individual feelings, preferences and choices about their lives. Public reaction to street children often reflects the view that children were competent only for learning and playing under the control and care of adults.

4.5.5 Street Children's hopes and future prospects

When children asked what they expected for their future, 24 children (80%) of the respondents indicated that they did not like street life but there was nothing they could do to change the situation. The researcher recalls one boy by the name Tatenda lamenting: *"What future! Can't you see! There is no future here? Ah! We are here waiting for our death. Nothing comes out of the street. We are abandoned and everyone knows that nothing we can do about it. Obviously, we do not want to continue working but this is the only way we can survive"* Six respondents that were 20% of the respondent said street life was a temporary life they were looking forward to prosperous future. They believed that something could be done to help them out. Some of them needed to go to school while others needed capital to start small businesses. Few said they needed a permanent job but they didn't have identity cards. All key informants from NGOs pointed out that street children were failing to process their identity cards because they did not want to give their fingerprints to the police. Some street children had skills

but life on the street seemed to discourage them from using them. However, one boy by the name Tawanda had a good plan for his future. Tawanda studied in Chipinge, Tongogara where NODED sponsored vulnerable children including street children to learn skills such as building, tailoring, welding and carpentry. Tawanda was trained on welding. He said he was working hard to get money to buy a welding machine and then he would teach other street children welding skills and employ them.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter has presented and discussed the study's findings. It did so in line with the aim and four objectives of the study these were to identify types of economic exploitation experienced by street children in Harare Central Business District (CBD), to identify sources of economic exploitation of street children in Harare CBD, to establish the challenges faced by children working on the streets of Harare CBD and to identify perceptions of working street children in Harare CBD

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions from the findings and discussion presented in Chapter 4 and then presents the recommendations. The conclusions and recommendations are presented per the four objectives of the study.

5.1 Conclusion

Street children involved in this study were working for their own survival and some were working to support their families. Economic hardship was the main cause for children to live and or work on the street. Children living and working on the street were facing a number of challenges which turned their work to be exploitative.

The study found out that street children were economically exploited in many ways. Types of economic exploitation were in three categories: economic activities, sexual activities and criminal activities. People from the community used these children as cheap labour, they worked on the street and outside the street in farms and in households. Adults from the community took advantage of children's needs and sexually exploited them. Types of sexual exploitation found by the researcher were sodomy and prostitution. Adults also involved these children in criminal activities such as stealing, conning, prostitution, trafficking and abuse of drugs.

Sources of economic exploitation were identified by looking at the perpetrators of economic exploitation of street children. The study found out three main categories of

perpetrators of economic exploitation of street children. These were adults from the public, older street children and guardians or parents. All these found to have been using street children for their own economic gain.

Street children faced challenges due to the nature of their work on the street. Among the challenges they discovered by this study was under-payment or no payment at all, sexual abuse, arrest and imprisonment, hazardous working environment, torture and harassment from employers, beatings and diseases such as Fistula, Sexual Transmitted Infection (STI) and HIV. Despite all these challenges street children encounter, they continue to patronize the street as their only place for survival. This problem of economic exploitation on street children has brought up on them psychological effects after being traumatized through physical and mental abuses by adults who engaged them in economic activities. Underpayment was one of the common problems mentioned by the children in this study. People from the public took advantage of street children as source of free and cheap labour. Due to the hardship they face, some of the children have dropped out of school as they failed to pay school fees and opted to work full time on the street.

Street children perceived themselves as independent beings that they could take care of themselves. This study found that street children are no longer interested in any form of guidance from adults. At one point children demanded to be given their assistance in cash rather than in-kind claiming that they knew their needs better than anybody else. These children believe that if they get necessary resources they did not need any assistance from anyone. However they acknowledged life on the street to be tough. Children showed too much expectation from society in terms of support but they

complained that society ignored them. They also expected the government to reduce their burden of taking care of old people in their families by taking them to old peoples' homes.

On the children's future hopes, the majority seems to have given up about improvement in their lives. Few indicated that life on the street is temporary and they expect positive changes in their lives. Some had their plans to help other street children with their education in the future. This problem of economic exploitation of street children is on the increase despite the existence of legislation prohibiting employment of children. The increase of such exploitative behavior indicated that society did not perceive it to be a societal wrong as it was common to see street children engaged in money-making activities. Street children on the other hand, were affected by such attitudes. Adults, who were to act in loco parentis, tended to be the actual perpetrators of the vice. This led some street children to get along with the situation and perceived it as 'that was how life was all about'. At the same time other street children had reached a point of desperation and resorted to their own means of fighting for their rights which leads to criminal activities.

The exercise of protecting these children from economic exploitation might face difficulties since children themselves were not cooperative. Some indicated to have improved their lives through working on the streets. Therefore they believe that they needed to work and people should trust them and give them jobs. Street children's naïve perceptions on their working conditions influenced adults to continue to oppress and exploit them. However a number of children complained on the way their employers mistreat them. Some of the children preferred to continue working on the street rather

than going back to school since they believed it may take too much time for them to be employed after finishing school.

Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs) were trying to assist children on the street but the help was too small given the number of children in need of help. The NGOs contacted by the researcher indicated that they were unable to reach out to all of the street children due to economic hardships as the number of street children continuous to increase. The assistance was more of remedial rather than developmental. At the same time the NGOs face challenges to work with street children as street children seemed to mistrust the management in these NGOs.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Enhancing Government efforts towards the alleviation of problem faced by street children

The Government has enacted good laws and put in place polices for the protection of child rights. Street children being children also fall within these laws such as Children's Act 2002, Chapter 5:06 prohibit child participation in economic activities, prostitution and other hazardous employment activities. This study therefore recommend that the Government enhances its efforts to protect the right of the street children by supporting children homes, NGOs and other government departments like the Social services which assists children working and living on the street.

Government should encourage public awareness campaigns for curbing street children economic exploitation. Government efforts should be made to prosecute perpetrators of economic exploitation of street children, who employ children and engage them in child sexual exploitation to gain income also strengthen the Police force patrol on the streets

during the night to curb sexual abuse and sodomy. Government should facilitate economic empowerment to the rural populace, which will assist in curbing the flow of street children into the cities to look for a better life.

5.2.2 Enhancing NGOs efforts towards the protection of street children against economic exploitation

NGOs dealing with street children in Harare were constrained with financial and human resources to address the problem of street children effectively. This study therefore recommends that, members of the communities, Government and donor agencies support NGOs by providing funds, materials and capacity building. It is also recommended that NGOs enhance their strategies to get financial and human resources. NGOs training programmes afforded to street children need to be reviewed to address the changing needs of the street children. It was noted that most of the children prefer to have vocational training to be able to engage in income generating ventures. Also such trainings should include an element of apprenticeship where trainees will be provided with working tools on loan or on hire basis to enable them engage in economic activities after completion their course. In addition NGOs should review of their project cycle process that is, the relationship between the needs of the children and implementation of a projects. Bottom-up approach to programming should be encouraged. This approach should take into account the children's vision, decision-making and priorities.

5.2.3 Building Community Responsibility on Alleviation of Street Children's Economic exploitation.

The Government and NGOs should plan and implement public awareness campaigns on the importance of the public's contribution to assist in alleviating economic and sexual

exploitation of street children. The public campaigns may include, voluntary service programmes of volunteers from colleges, schools, private and public companies to train street children life skills and vocation skills, and other academic fields. The corporate sectors should also be urged to contribute to the alleviation of the street children economic exploitation. This can be done through the promotion of corporate social responsibilities. In the case of economic exploitation, public education is necessary because exploiters are members from the public. The community should discourage employment of children as domestic workers or other jobs offered to children. Also the community should employ communal monitoring mechanism on the abuse of vulnerable children from families of orphans or abusive parents or guardians. In turn this will discourage influx of children from homes to the streets seeking employment or better life. Ultimately, the community itself will reduce exploitation of the street children since this problem originates from the community.

5.2.4 Programmes for Educating Street Children on Economic Exploitation

Street children have rights to be protected like any other child. Since they stay alone on the street with no proper guidance from the adults they need to be educated about their rights. Relevant government departments and NGOs should invest on street children's education on Health care, child labour, sexual reproductive health and HIV and AIDS matters. Street children should be informed about the importance of attending trainings which are offered by the government and other stakeholders in child protection. They should also be encouraged to attend children's formal gatherings and meetings such as Children's Parliament by sending their representatives.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Questions for Street Children

SECTION A: Demographic Data

1. Sex: Female [] Male []
2. Age: How old are you?
 - a. 6 - 10 []
 - b. 11-13 []
 - c. 14-17 []
3. Residence: where do you live?
.....
4. Where do you usually sleep?
 - a. On the street []
 - b. At home []
 - c. Any other place []
Specify
5. For how long have you been living on the streets?
 - a. 0 – 1year []
 - b. 2 – 5years []
 - c. 6- 10 years []
 - d. >10years []
6. Do you go to school? Yes [] No []
7. If no, why? Explain
.....

8. Why did you decide to come to the streets?

.....

9. How do you usually get the job?

- a) Directed by another street child. []
- b) The boss came to the street to look for laborers. []
- c) Through advertisement. []
- d) Any other way, explain

.....

SECTION B: Types of economic exploitation of Street children

10. What is your source of income?

.....

11. Have you ever being involved in sexual relationship? Yes [] No []

12. If the answer is yes explain.

.....

13. Do you know anything about sodomy? Yes [] No []

14. Do street children involved in sodomy by any chance? Yes [] No []

15. If answer is yes explain;

.....

16. Have you ever being involved in crime? Yes [] No []

17. If yes what kind of crime was that?

18. Did you know it was a crime? Yes [] No [] if you knew it was a crime why did you do it? Please explain

.....

19. Mention types of crimes you know street children are engaged in

.....

SECTION C: The source of economic exploitation of street children.

20. Who usually employs you?

.....

21. Do your parents aware of the activities you do on the street? Yes [] No [].

22. If the answer is yes how are they reacting? Explain.

.....

SECTION C: Challenges face working street children

23. What is the common relationship between employers and street children?

Explain:

24. What kind of problems do you face while working on the street?

.....

25. What kind of problems do you face when you are engaged in the crime on the street? Please explain:

26. What is your reaction when people involve you in a deal and fail to pay you as you agreed?

.....

SECTION D: Street children perceptions of economic exploitation

27. How do you see life on the street in general? Please explain

.....
.....

28. Do you want to continue working on the street? Yes [] No []

Please explain

.....

29. How do people from the community treat you when working on the street?

.....

30. What do you want to do in the future?

.....
.....

Appendix 2: Interview Guide Questions for Key Informants From NGOs

1. What kind of assistance do you offer to the street children?
2. Do you think street children are economically exploited?
3. What kind of economic exploitation street children are involved?
4. Who do you think exploit street children economically?
5. Is your organization doing anything to protect the street children against economic exploitation?
6. What are the challenges do your organisation face while assisting street children?
7. What are your comments about working conditions of the street children?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide Questions for Key Informants from the Street

SECTION A: Demographic characteristics of street adults.

1. How old are you?
2. Where do you live?
3. For how long have you been on the street?.....

SECTION B: Working conditions of street children

4. What are the main sources of income to street children?
5. Do you think street children are economically exploited?
6. Who are the exploiters of street children?
7. What are the common problems children faces while working on the street?
8. Are the street children engaged in crime in any case?
9. How do you understand life on the street?

10. Do you think there is a future for children who are on the street today ?

Appendix 4: Observation Check list

1. Where street children concentrate much during the day?
2. What are the daily common activities children do on the street?
3. Are they provided with the protection tools?
4. How do the older children treat the younger once when working together?
5. Who are the employers of street children?
6. How adult street vendors treat street children?

Appendix 5: Newspaper Excerpts on Street Children

Plate 5: 12 Year Old Street Girls Engage in Prostitution



Appendix 6: Newspaper Excerpts on Street Children

Plate 6: The President listens to Street Children's Pandemic

