

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the study was to establish the nature of changes in the structure and functions of the family. This included determining whether such changes might have contributed to the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe, when and in what ways.

The study also assessed the impact of children's homes on the development of children and the effectiveness or otherwise, of legal and administrative frameworks which governed the welfare of children.

The study noted the assertion by Berger, (1972:78), that the family was "the most important locale" of most people's private lives. The family was also "the home port" from which most people started out on their lifelong journeys through society; for what happened to them at this point of departure impacted on the later phases of the journeys.

The study further assumed that of the relationships which determined men's and women's status, marriage was perhaps the single most significant, especially among the Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe. Marriage was a social act, the primary purpose of which was the creation of bonds between kin groups and to produce children.

The study sought to understand how family members related to one another within a family setting. Positions within a family setting indicated the nature of relationships. The meaning given by these positions derived from the values of a given society. Values may give the family stability and continuity. Values were however, known to change over time, either positively or negatively. The study therefore, sought to understand the causes and consequences of such changes.

1.2 Motivation and Background

The study was motivated by a number of factors. Reported divorce cases, murder cases, crimes of passion and domestic violence were indicators of weaknesses in the structure and functions of the family. Figures 1 and 2 give data from the Zimbabwe Republic Police on consolidated High Court divorce cases and statistics on mothers with children who were imprisoned at Chikurubi Female Prison respectively. This social deviant behaviour needed to be explained, using data from research.

Fig 1: Consolidated High Court Divorce Cases by month (2011-2013) (n=4771)

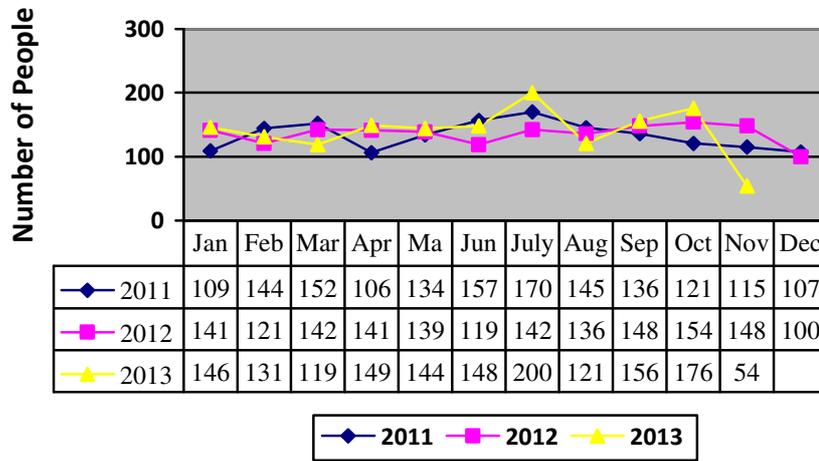
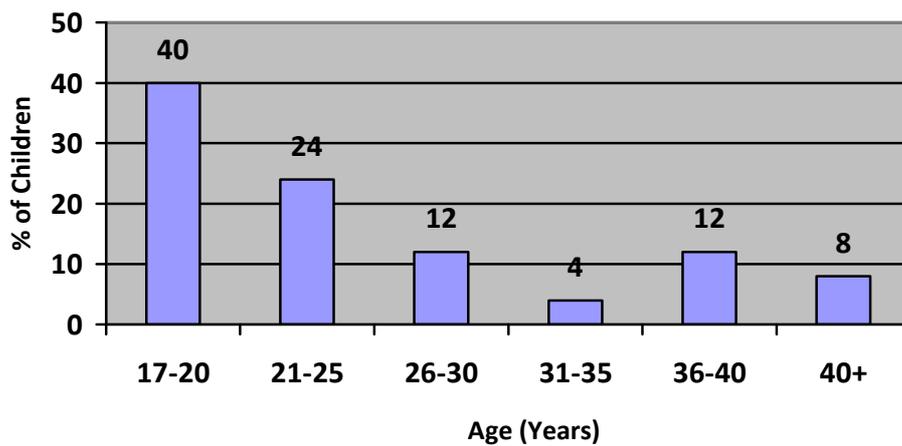


Fig 2: Distribution of incarcerated mothers by Age (Years) (n=25)



The other motivating factor was my involvement in the establishment of a children's home in 2011. I had been touched by the increase in the number of reported cases of baby dumping, orphaned children as the result of HIV and AIDS, as well as vulnerable children. I felt that I needed more knowledge than I had on how to manage children's homes.

I also realized that the government of Zimbabwe was a signatory to a number of regional and international declarations on the rights and welfare of children. The government had implemented various social protection policies, legislative instruments and programmes to ensure the fulfillment of children's rights. For example, the National Action Plan on Orphaned and Vulnerable children was approved by Cabinet in 2004 and was implemented from 2005. But how effective were these policies? This needed verification through a systematic study.

There was also reported increase in the number of children's homes. But did these homes meet the required standards? Did they assist in the development of the children accommodated in them? These questions also motivated this study.

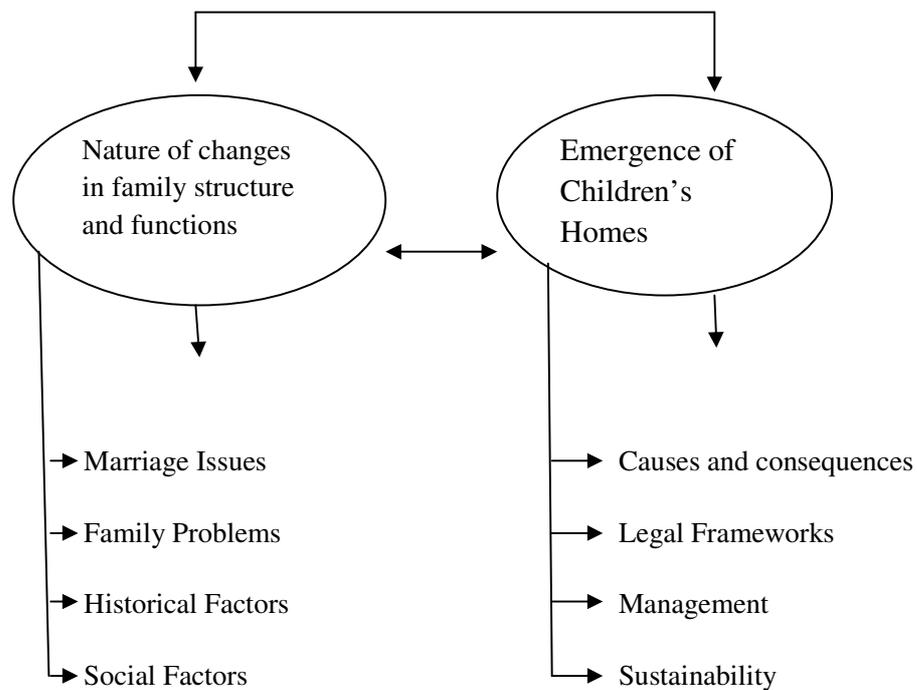
1.3 Scope of the Study

The family institution was the main focus of the study; using selected family set ups as case studies. The study looked at the Father, Mother and Children set up; the Single Parent set up; Divorced Parent set up; Grand Parents looking after grandchildren set up and Child Headed set up. This was done under the back drop

of marriage laws in Zimbabwe, having considered social and historical factors which might have influenced family structure and functions in Zimbabwe.

The study used 19 registered homes. Appendix A gives details of the homes. Data were collected from May 2012 to May 2014.

Figure 3: Link between Nature of family changes and Emergence of children's Home.



1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

In an interview on Newsnet of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation in 2006, the President of Zimbabwe, Cde R.G. Mugabe, was asked:

“Is the moral fibre in Zimbabwe failing?” His response was:

“That is a question you and I should answer; Our families and parents should answer that question ... Managers in business should answer that question... Yes, I think there is a lot of rotten fibre...” (Herald, February 23, 2006:9).

The President’s sentiments touched on the research problem I tackled.

The Sunday Mail of June 23 – 29, 2013 carried a story which asked; “Are Zimbabwean households turning into war zones?” The story carried a graphic which depicted headlines such as:

“Man axes wife to death.”

“Woman killed over dirty dishes.”

“Bindura man murders wife and commits suicide.”

“Wife killer hangs.. self.” The paper came to the conclusion that:

“If recent statistics are anything to go by, then the marriage institution may be on the brink of plunging into the abyss.”

Zimbabwe Republic Police crime reports from 2011 to 2013, as shown on Figure 1, indicated the magnitude of part of the problem which this study investigated.

1.5 Key Research Questions.

The research problem characterized under 1.4 was recast under the following questions:

- a) What was the nature of changes in the structure and functions of the family?
- b) Did such changes contribute to the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe and in what ways?
- c) What was the impact of children's Homes on the development of children?
- d) How effective were the legal and administrative frameworks which governed children's homes?
- e) How sustainable were children's homes?
- f) Are children's homes based on business desire or philanthropy?

The research answered the above questions by devoting two years of data collection using a combination of techniques; among them interviews, group discussions, observation and document analysis. Details on these data collection methods are given in Chapter 3.

1.6 Significance of the Study

As the most basic social institution in society, the family was central to the development and moulding of the whole person. Family instability may result in

the creation of cracks in society, thus leading to human factor decay behaviour such as baby dumping, murder and rape.

Any study which seeks to understand how the family institution functions must be regarded as significant in any society. The importance of a family to society is reflected in the way young members of that society were brought up. The emergence of children's homes, for example, may be an indication that the family institution had weaknesses which had to be addressed through research.

In Zimbabwe, children's homes had increased over the years. This had also necessitated the need for knowledge based on research on how these homes ought to be managed. Such knowledge should also assist policy makers. The study was also a requirement for the award of a degree to me.

1.7 Research Objectives

The research was guided by the following objectives:

1. To establish the nature of changes in the family structure and functions;
2. To compare and contrast the role of the family and children's homes in developing children;
3. To determine the effectiveness of existing legal and administrative frameworks governing the welfare of children.

These objectives were explored using the questions given under 1.5 as guides.

1.8 Definition of Terms and Constructs

Some terms and constructs need to be defined in order to explain the specific meanings they carry in this thesis. These are: Family, Mhuri, Ukama, Children's Home.

1.8.1 Family

In this thesis, the term "family" refers to the immediate biological relations of a person; that is husband, wife and their children. Family also refers to a group of persons directly linked by kin connections, a social arrangement based on a marriage contract. Family normally has a common residence for members who may still require parental support.

1.8.2 Mhuri

Mhuri is a Shona term which refers to a group of persons related to one another through blood. Father, mother and their children constitute a mhuri. In this thesis, the term mhuri is also used to include members of the extended family (vedzinza). The term may be used alongside the English term "family" although the meaning may be determined by the context.

1.8.3 Ukama

In this thesis, Ukama (a Shona term) refers to a kind of brotherhood in which members of a group were expected to share with one another and find peace of mind through the love of all in the extended family, group or kin.

Ukama did not end when one died. The relationship was expected to continue or even improve between the dead and the living descendants. In this regard, each mhuri was expected to look upon the spirit (mudzimu) of the departed father, or mother as protectors.

1.8.4. Children's Home

A Children's Home, as used in this thesis, was a legally constituted place which was expected to care for orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable children. It was supposed to resemble a normal home, thus giving the inmates a feeling of being "at home."

1.9 The Context for the Study

Data for this thesis were collected from selected children's homes and individuals from seven administrative provinces in Zimbabwe (See Map 1 for their location.) These were Harare, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central, Manicaland, Masvingo, Midlands and Bulawayo.

Some of the data came from secondary sources as indicated in Chapter 4.

Map 1: Provinces



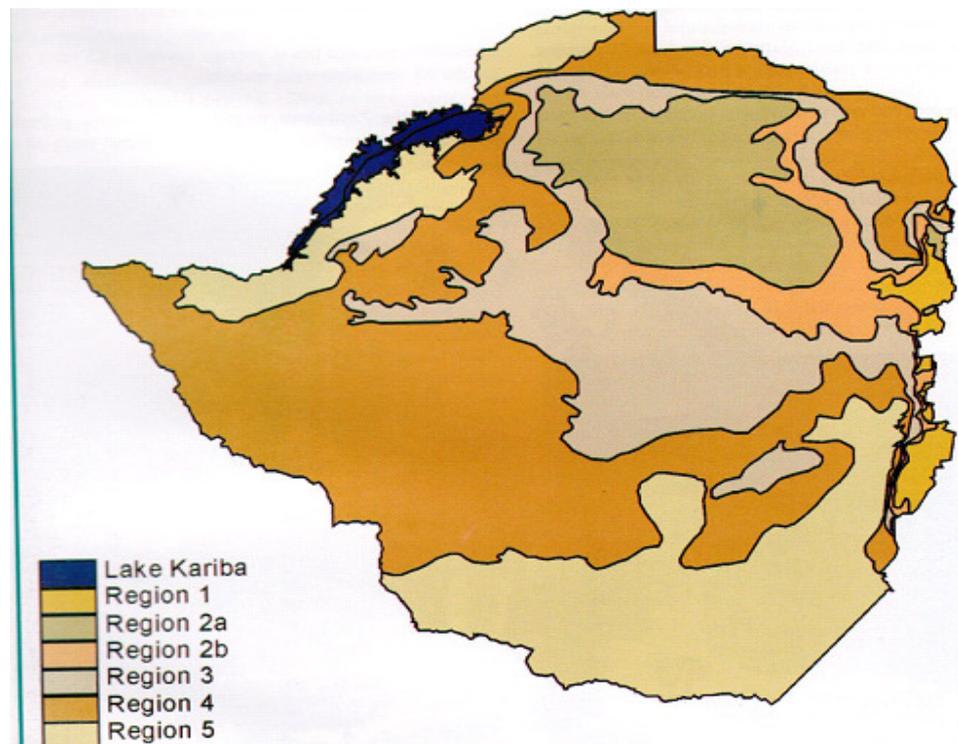
A brief description of Zimbabwe's physical features, climatic conditions and socio-economic activities should help to place the research areas and the study itself in context. Zimbabwe is situated 16 and 22 degrees south, and 25 and 33 degrees east. Its land area is 390 757 square kilometers. In 2012, Zimbabwe's total population was 12 973 808, giving a density of about 33 persons per square kilometer (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency – Zimstat, 2012.) There were 6 738 877 females and 6 234 931 males, giving a sex ratio of 95 males per 100 females and 3 076 222 households, leading to an average of 4.2 persons per household.

Zimbabwe falls into three broad physiographic regions: The highveld, middleveld and the lowveld. The distinction among the regions is almost wholly in altitude above sea level rather than major contrasts in relief. The highveld (1 200 – 1 700m), includes the main watershed between the Zambezi River to the north and the Limpopo and Save river system to the South. It comprises about 25% of the country. It is flanked on either side by the middleveld (900-1 200m). The great part of the study areas fall within these regions.

Zimbabwe is divided into five natural or Agro-ecological regions (See Map 2) Region I is situated along the eastern mountain ranges, covering less than two per cent of Zimbabwe. It is characterized by high rainfall (750-1000mm per annum). It normally enjoys reliable climatic conditions, making it suitable for specialized and diversified farming, including livestock production. The research areas fall within this region. Region III is mainly in the middleveld and covers about 18% of the country. The region is characterized by medium rainfall, ranging from 500 to 750mm per annum. It is prone to periodic seasonal droughts and prolonged dry spells during the rainy season. It is therefore suitable for intensive crop production and livestock farming. Regions IV and V occur in the low lying areas in the North and South of the country and occupy about 64% of the country. The two regions have the lowest rainfall of below 650 mm per annum. (Vincent and Thomas, 1961 and Moyo, 1994). They are more suited to livestock production and game ranching. Most of the country's national parks and communal areas, are situated within these two regions. The rural areas contain most of the densely populated parts of the country with Manicaland having the highest density (48

persons per square kilometre) and Matabeleland North having the lowest (9 persons per square kilometre). (Zimstat, 2012).

MAP 2: Ecological Regions



The population of Zimbabwe was relatively young with about 45% aged below 15 years and around 3% aged 65 years and above. Of the population aged 15 years and above, about 56% was married. This large proportion was probably a result of the fact that marriage and family life were valued in Zimbabwe.

1.9.1 The Shona Family Before European Invasion

When the Pioneer Column of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) occupied what they referred to as Mashonaland, the indigenous people lived together as social groupings with defined administrative and political structures such as “misha”, “matunhu” and “nyika. The term “musha” may refer to a family unit or a group of family units headed by a “Samusha.” Normally, the head of a “mhuri” (family unit) was the husband (baba). The family unit was composed of a father (baba), mother (mai) or mothers (vana amai) and children. A number of “misha” constituted a “dunhu” which functioned as a land unit. It was the “dunhu” that held the basic rights of avail to all the people within its boundaries. Land was held by the entire village community as a collective unit for their use. Dunhu was home and it was big enough for a family unit to settle in. It was also small enough to know everyone who lived in it (Mararike, 2003; Holleman, 1958: 205; Garbett, 1966). “Nyika” was divided into a number of “matunhu.” Matunhu were relatively autonomous divisions, but had political and social cohesion as well as a certain hierarchical order determined by several factors, one of which was kinship (madzinza). The dominant social and political order in a “nyika” was based upon the Chief’s lineage (dzinza).

The social and political structures outlined above refer to what the colonial settlers found and eventually weakened as they colonized the Shona people (Schmidt, 1992; Bourdillon, 1982; Beach, 1980, 1984; Gelfand, 1962; Posselt, 1928).

1.9.2 Marriage and Children

Among the Shona people and indeed the indigenous people of Southern Africa, marriage was a creation of a bond of kinship between the families of the two contracting parties, and on the members of these families, devolved rights and obligations arising from such marriage. The individuals contracting the marriage itself were supposed to be merged into the family groups; thus creating a network of ukama.

The Shona people regarded the birth and rearing of children as the paramount object of marriage, and in fact of life. The practice of vesting the custody of children in the father's family should be seen as the underlying principle of paying roora/lobola (bride prize or dowry). The essence of a socially approved marriage among the Shona people was that the union was entered into with the consent of the woman's guardians, supported by a properly constituted "family board meeting" (dare) (Mararike, 2012).

1.9.3 Christian Marriage Vis-a-Vis Shona Marriage Practices

Marriage, according to Christian rites, or more correctly, of a monogamous nature in terms of the Order in Council of 1898, was based on individual considerations. The family interests were severely excluded. This was best summarized in the words in Ephesians 5v³¹ and also Genesis, 2v²⁴)

“For this cause shall man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined into his wife; and the two shall be one flesh.”

(Van de Merwe, 1957).

1.10 Overview of the Chapters

Chapter One: Purpose, Motivation and Scope

This Chapter states the purpose of the study and narrates what motivated the researcher. The chapter also outlines the scope of the study, gives the context as well as the background. The research problem, objectives, key questions, key terms and constructs are explained.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature.

This chapter reviews related and relevant literature on the nature of changes in the structure and functions of the family. The chapter also explains the link between family instability and the emergence of children’s homes, including the legal and administrative frameworks which governed children’s homes.

Chapter Three: Methodological Perspectives and Procedures.

In this chapter, an explanation is provided on the process of data gathering, interpretation and analysis. The study population, research design and ethical issues are also explained.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation.

This chapter is in Two Parts: Part One presents data on family structure and functions as well as marriage laws in Zimbabwe. Part Two explains causes for the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe using primary and secondary data

Chapter Five gives an explanation of a children's home used as a model

Chapter Six discusses the study findings.

Chapter Seven contains summary, implications and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Conducting a literature review is a means of demonstrating the researcher's knowledge about the selected field of study, including concepts, theories and its methods and history (Randolph, 2009). According to Gath et al (1996), literature review plays the following roles: Seeking new lines of inquiry, gaining methodological insights and linking up with key researchers in the area. This chapter, therefore, reviews what other writers have said about the family in Zimbabwe in particular and other parts of the world in general. The review noted that the family was the most basic social institution and was also central to the development and moulding of the whole person. The family was "the most important locale" of most peoples' private lives (Berger, 1972:78). The review also examined issues related to the emergence of children's homes as well as legal and administrative arrangements pertaining to the rights and welfare of children in line with the study objectives. Related issues such as health, education and agriculture and other socio-economic activities formed part of the review.

There was recognition in the reviewed literature that the family may take a variety of forms from society to society and that it also changes in structure and functions over time (Ellen M. Gee, 1994:369). It was therefore necessary to consult both classic and contemporary literature on the family. For example, the Bible which reflects ancient Jewish family views and practices, refers to the duties and

responsibilities of ‘father’ and ‘mother’ in a family setting. The Jewish view was that their God created people so as to need and find fulfillment in human companion. According to the biblical version on Jewish literature, God said:

*“It is not good that man should be alone, I will make
him a helper fit for him” (Genesis 2^{v18}).*

The bible has several sections which give teachings on how men’s and women’s disposition towards each other should be (Collosians 3^{v18}). The bible also emphasized the importance of children in a family. The family was perceived to be divine in purpose and companionship.

*“This is why a man leaves his father and mother and
bonds with his wife and they become one flesh” (Genesis 2^{v24}).*

The other basic purpose of God for families is procreation. God blessed them and said:

“Be faithful, multiply, fill the earth...” (Genesis 1^{v28})

Parents were instructed to inculcate good habits into their children.

*“Teach a youth about the way he should go, even
when he is old he will not depart from it” (Proverbs 22^{v6}).*

The biblical references given were relevant to most people in Zimbabwe and to this study because of the impact which Christianity has had on how families ought to conduct themselves. Christian values have existed ‘side by side’ with African

values in Zimbabwe for over a century of colonization. It was therefore relevant to refer to the impact which the two value systems have had on each other. Many scholars noted though, that the two value systems have been at variance with each other, (Peaden, 1970; Bhebhe, 1979; Zvobgo, 1991).

2.2 Organisation of the Literature Review

The literature review was organized under three broad headings: Family Structure and Functions, Emergence of Children's Homes and Legal Frameworks governing the rights of children. This was in line with the study's objectives. The headings also underscored one of the theoretical approaches used to guide the research process; namely structural-functionalism. This is an approach to the study which views society as an ongoing system, each part of which functioned in one way or another in relation to all the other parts. Research findings about society could then be explained as either being functional or dysfunctional in terms of maintaining the social system (Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1957).

2.3 The Family Structure And Functions

Within the Sociology of the Family, we may refer to five theoretical perspectives: Structural Functionalism, the Conflict Approach, the Symbolic Interactionism, the Feminist Perspective and the Family Life Course Perspective.(Hagerdorn, 1994.)

2.3.1 The Structural-Functional Perspective

The structural functionalism perspective has been at the forefront of the sociological study of the family. Structural Functionalism has focused on the functions the family fulfills for society such as the contribution the family makes to maintaining equilibrium in society, and the functions of the subsystems within the family (Hagedorn, 1994:377). Parsons (1951; 1960) says each institution performs a specific function for the stability and growth of the society. Parsons formulated the concept of functional imperatives. He argued that there were four crucial functions that every society must perform, otherwise that society will disappear. One of the imperatives was latency; that is pattern maintenance of values from generation to generation. This function must be performed by the family through socialization and education (Mararike, 2012:13). The other imperatives were adaptation to the environment, goal attainment and integration, which were supposed to be performed by the economy, governments and religion.

We note that with the advent of urbanization and industrialization, the family lost some important social functions. In the past, the family performed numerous functions and was also the social institution around which all other aspects of society revolved. New social organizations such as schools and mass media developed; each taking over at least some of the tasks that families used to perform.

Modernisation, according to Parsons (1951), involves structural differentiation because a structure which used to perform multiple functions such as the family

was broken into many structures which may appear to specialize in just one function each. The delegation of the great part of the education of children to schools by families is a case in point. The new collection of specialized structure as a whole performs the same functions as the original structures.

Industrialization also requires the separation of home and work place; hence, according to the structural functional theory, the family ceased to be a unit of production and became a unit of consumption. As the result, the functions of the family have been reduced to reproduction, socialization of new members of society and the provision of emotional support.

Accompanying this loss in functions, has been a change in structure; industrialization led to the demise of the extended family and the emergence of the nuclear family (Goode, 1970). Parsons (1954), referred to the “conjugal family” which he saw as the type of family best suited to meet the economic and social needs of industrial society. When focusing on the functions of the subsystems with family, structural functionalists emphasize the division of labour between men and women. The roles of husband and wife are differentiated: the husband performs the instrumental tasks – the breadwinner role – and the wife performs the expressive tasks – providing emotional support and nurturance to other family members (Parsons, 1955). This gender-based division of labour was necessary for the integration and stability of families and of modern industrial society.

However, historical demography and feminist sociology have challenged the arguments of structural functionalism, pointing out that the nuclear family was the dominant family form throughout all of human history (Anderson, 1971).

2.3.2. The Conflict Perspective

A fundamental proposition of the conflict (Marxist) perspective was that the family, particularly in capitalist society, was an exploitative social institution. According to this approach, it was the family that was primarily responsible for women's oppression. This was in direct contrast to the structural-functional view of the desirability of the gender-based division of labour.

The conflict perspective focuses on family change and the economic determinants of that change (Hagedorn, 1994:378). It views industrialization, particularly the separation of home and work, as the major cause of family change, much as the structural-function approach does. However, the conflict approach assesses the consequences of industrialization differently, holding that the creation of the work-family dichotomy led to the removal of women from the public arenas of life and the subsequent down grading of their status. This perspective also points out that class interests are served by a family system that oppresses women and downplays their contribution both to families and the wider society.

The idea of conflict as inherent in family life contradicts the notion of family harmony implicit in structural functional concepts such as the division of labour based on gender. Within the conflict perspective, relationships between

husbands and wives and between parents and children are deemed to be from time to time confrontational because each has different interests. This is why the conflict perspective focuses on such phenomena as “spouse abuse,” “battered children” and family or domestic violence in general.

Although the conflict model provides a useful way of looking at families, little research on the family exists within the traditional Marxist analysis. Only in the last 40 or 50 years has the conflict perspective been applied to the study of the family.

2.3.3 The Feminist Perspective

The feminist perspective has challenged the postulate that the family has lost its productive functions and has become only a unit of consumption. However, to the feminist approach, this way of looking at the family ignores the contributions that women make as wives and as mothers. The feminist perspective questions the view that the family functions as an emotional refuge (Bernard, 1973). Instead, it is argued that while family life is structured for the emotional benefit of family members, it can be emotionally crippling for women. In a related issue, the feminist perspective does not accept Parsons’ idea that the conjugal family “fits” well with the needs of modern industrial society, suggesting instead that the conjugal family creates tensions and strains that work to the detriment of wider social stability.

The feminist approach challenges the public-private dichotomy that is an element of both structural-functional and conflict perspectives. The feminist argument is that it is overly simplistic (Eichler, 1983) because social life involves numerous overlapping and interdependent contexts. The feminist perspective focused attention on the inter-relationships between work and family patterns.

We should note, however, that feminist sociology is action-oriented, with a political agenda. It seeks to change society in ways that will enhance the status of women in society and in families. This will validate the contributions, experiences and viewpoints of women in all social institutions, including the family.

The three perspectives I have discussed so far represent macro approach to the study of the family. They focus on the family as a social relationship within family settings.

In contrast, the symbolic-interaction perspective which I explain under section 2.2.4 is a micro approach which addresses the dynamics of social relationships within family settings.

2.3.4 The Symbolic-Interaction Perspective

The Symbolic-Interaction approach turns our attention to the subjective aspects of family relations, particularly shared meanings and shared expectations in marital and family interaction.

In family interactions individuals are constantly involved in role-taking, which involve imagining oneself in the role of the other person and then perceiving and judging one's acts from that standpoint. This interpretive process takes place in husband-wife interaction, and the give and take results may be necessary for the stability of the marriage. Role-taking is particularly important in the socialization process. Children observe the roles played by family members and incorporate these roles in their personality structures. Through interactions in the family setting, family members come to define the acts of others and, in that way, become aware of their own actions.

The symbolic-interaction approach to the family is concerned with the internal workings of families, with the interactive context in which family roles and relationships are subjectively defined, redefined and played out. Emphasis was placed on the subjective aspects of family interaction and the dynamics of the interactive process.(Hagedorn, op.cit)

2.3.5 The Family Life Course Perspective

This is a new perspective. It focuses on family change in conjunction with wider social change and with individual change (Hareveen, 1978; 1985; Demos, 1986). At the micro level, this approach looks at changes in individual families and at individuals in families as they move through time. At the macro level of analysis, this approach examines structural changes in the family in relation to historical factors and wider societal development.

According to the family life course perspective, there are two types of time: social time and family time. Family time refers to changes that occur within a family over time. For example, a family begins with no children then has children and then reaches a stage where all children are grown-ups-perhaps married and eventually may be widowers or widows. Of course, not all families go through these stages.

Social time refers to changes that occur in the wider society that may influence the life course. For example, the joint action of fertility and mortality will determine the type and timing of transitions (Gee, 1990); changes in the level of female labour-force participation will influence the way the family life course is experienced; and changes in the legal and ideological environment will influence the degree of variation in the family life course.

The family life course perspective takes into consideration the individual's location in historical time as well. For example, people born during colonial rule in Zimbabwe, experienced, in general, a different family life course from those born after the attainment of political independence.

The family life course approach provides a missing link in our understanding of the relationships among individual, familial, and social change (Hareven; 1987). It points out the developmental dynamic that is characteristic of family change in the context of wider social and historical factors (Hagerdorn, 1994:380).

In the next section, we refer to changes in family patterns and review literature related to such changes.

2.4 Changes in Family Patterns

There is a diversity of family forms in different societies in many parts of the world. Traditional family systems can still be found in many relatively remote parts of Asia, Africa and the Pacific and even Europe. Wide spread changes are however, taking place. The origins of these changes are complex but we can single out several factors which are important. One of the factors is the spread of Western culture as the result of colonization and imperialism (Giddens, 1999:477).

Another factor is the emergence of centralized governments in areas where there were autonomous small societies. The lives of people were influenced by their involvement in national political systems. In some cases, national governments made attempts to alter traditional ways of living. As populations expanded, governments frequently intervened in family life, introducing a wide range of programmes such as the use of contraception and having small families.

A further influence is urbanization. Large numbers of people moved from rural areas to urban centres. Often men go to work in towns, cities and mines leaving wives and children in rural areas. Alternatively, a nuclear family unit may move to settle in towns and cities. This may weaken traditional family forms and kinship systems. More importantly, employment opportunities away from home

may lead people to be involved in organizations outside family influence. Employment in government bureaucracies, mines, plantations and industrial firms tend to have disruptive consequences for family systems previously centred upon landed production in the local community (Giddens, [ibid]; Macionis et al; 1994).

These changes have created a movement towards the predominance of a nuclear family, breaking down extended-family systems and other types of kinship group. We note Goodes 1963 and 1970 publications in this regard. He might have oversimplified some of the directions of change but his assertion that there was a general shift occurring towards the increased predominance of the nuclear family seems to have received support from research (Riley et al, 1988). What are the directions of change?

First, clans and corporate kin groups are declining in their influence. China offers a good example. When the Communist government came into power in 1949, it weakened and in some cases even dissolved the influence of the tsu over family life and economic affairs. Tzu (large) landholdings were broken up and redistributed among the peasant.

Secondly, there is a general trend towards the free choice of spouse. Arranged marriages characterized extended families where obligations to the family group took centre stage in establishing marriage ties. Thirdly, the rights of women are now strongly recognized in respect of the initiation of marriage and decision making within the family. High levels of education and employment for women have contributed to changes in decision making within families. (Hudson-Weems,

1993; 2004; Gordon, V. 1987). Fourthly, kin marriages have given way to marriages outside kinship groups. Fifthly, there is a general trend towards the extension of the rights of children. Most governments have established legal frameworks protecting children's rights. (African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child, 1990). Families vary along at least six dimensions, according to Eichler (1983); Hobart, 1989; Stephens (1963).

2.4.1 The Procreative dimension.

Families are social units responsible for the production of children. There are variations on how children are raised from family to family and society to society.

2.4.2 The Socialization dimension

Families act as one of the primary agents of socialization of children. Within the family setting, parents may be the major socializers, or other family members may have a crucial role (Mararike, 2012; Gee, 1994; Macionis et al 1994).

2.4.3 The Sexual dimension

In different societies, persons married to one another form a unit in which sexual intimacy is permitted and expected. There may be variations which may include having sex with each other only; having sex with other persons – either along with each other or not – or being celibate. In many other societies, extramarital sex may be permitted but only for men. Mexico is a good example. We note, of course, the HIV/AIDS problem.

2.4.4 The Residential dimension

In many societies, all family members reside together, but grown up members normally move out to stay in separate residences.

2.4.5 The Economic dimension

Family members are bound together economically. There is an obligation to support each other economically. There may be degrees of independence but this is rarely total.

2.4.6 The Emotional dimension

Family members are emotionally involved because they are primary social groups. Family members give each other support in times of need such as illness and death.

2.5 Colonial Era: The Impact On Families

Brett (1973), described colonialism as a system in which a state claims sovereignty over a territory and people outside its own boundaries; or a system of rule which assumes the right of one people to impose their will upon another. During the colonial era, families started disintegrating.

One of the founders of modern sociology, Max Weber (1864-1920), attributed all family structural changes to the social changes spawn by the industrial revolution; particularly in Europe. As industries grew, more and more men were required to

work for their colonial masters. Those men who were used to nomadic lives in communal areas with their families, started moving away in search of supposedly greener pastures. Women, whose husbands remained in the villages, regarded them as “useless” because they did not follow others to the cities to look for jobs. This era witnessed the serious social disintegration of families in many colonies. Indirectly, it was probably also the beginning of single-headed families. Parpart Jane L. (1990) explained that it was colonialism which pushed men into migrant labour leaving women stranded in rural areas with an increasing workload.”

The colonial settlers ensured that by moving families from fertile soils, dependency on the commercial farmer would occur. This meant that most families would not produce enough to sustain themselves. Grazing land was then limited and families were restricted to a certain number of livestock (Frick, 2002); Land Husbandry Act (1951). Continual cultivation of these same areas of land led to the depletion of nutrients in the soil and crop yields were adversely affected. Families were thus forced to rely on white commercial farmers (Sam Moyo, (1995); Nkrumah (2001).

Society was affected by new technology and new systems which replaced family values. State bureaucracies began to take over family functions and reduced families to dependent client populations (Max Weber, 1864-1920). As men worked in the colonial settlers’ factories, women and children were being exploited on the masters’ fields. Women and children provided cheap labour on commercial farms. Women often worked in order to add to their husbands’ wages

(Mararike, 2011). Rural conditions and livelihoods did not improve because men were uprooted to work in white settlers' farms and factories. Because of the hardships women were experiencing, they also started migrating to urban areas in search of employment. The African men and colonial masters formed an unusual alliance to detest female migration because they felt that it would lead to perceived moral decline and female indiscipline.

In an attempt to restrict movement of women by the colonial administration in Zimbabwe, the restrictive ordinances and laws such as the 1926 Adultery Ordinance were passed by the white settlers' administration that applied to married women, and the 1929 Native Act, which applied to prostitutes. These laws appeared to the African men to be assisting them in controlling their women but they did not realize that the white administration was safeguarding their own economic interests. Bourdillon argues that freedom given to women to travel to urban areas adversely affected the extended family:

“The sense of independence given to young wives when they are with their husbands away from their rural homes is one reason for the break-up of extended families in the rural areas” (1976:88).

The observation was that in an attempt to control the movement of women, men were more productive when they had their wives or female companion around. Therefore the administration was more concerned with production output rather than harmonization of the family (Joyce L. Kazembe, 1986). Even if women's

mobility was constrained, limiting them in the social freedom they used to enjoy, social problems had been created which were already taking toll on families. This socio-economic imbalance between men and women in Africa was to persist for many decades. It must be noted that women suffered the most during the colonial era due to the “master” wanting to appease his male worker.

Diamond mining in South Africa was lucrative for Europe. The colony provided a slave-type labour force to dig out diamonds while value-addition steps such as cutting and polishing the diamonds were conducted by a minority of whites in South Africa and in Europe (Rodney, 1972). Mining separated families, leaving women and children unsupported in rural areas. Appropriation of lands of indigenous people resulted in massive displacements of people (Frick, 2002).

When the indigenous people decided to fight for their political rights, many of them were arrested and sent to detention camps. This disrupted family life, especially as the political struggle transformed into an armed struggle. Arrests became massive, taking several forms of restrictions, detention and imprisonment. As repression intensified, many families were disrupted through movements to areas of safety such as neighbouring countries, rural and urban places (Sachikonye Lloyd, 1998).

In Africa and elsewhere where colonialism was practised, many social changes undermined family traditional values. Growth of industries and urban areas saw multitudes of people moving from their traditional villages. Husbands left wives

and children stranded because in most cases, they could not live with their families at their workplaces. Sachikonye (1998) observed that:

“The introduction of the cash economy on an otherwise subsistence agricultural economy and the desire by the colonialists to create a more permanent proletariat, were contributory factors to the splitting of family in Zimbabwe” (1998:49).

2.6 The Emergence of Children’s Homes

An orphanage is described as a residential institution devoted to the care of large numbers of children. Although many people presume that most children resident in orphanages are orphans, this is not the case, with four out of five children in orphanages having at least one living parent and most have extended family members. The first orphanages called orphanotrophia were founded by the Roman Catholic Church in the first century. On the other hand, Jewish Law, prescribed care for the widow and the orphan.

The care of orphans in Western Europe was referred to bishops during the Middle Ages. Many orphanages practised some form of “binding-out” in which children, as soon as they were old enough, were given as apprentices to households. This would ensure their support and their learning an occupation.

The rise of the Church helped to elevate the status of children, especially in Southern Europe. Roman emperors issued seven edicts against infanticide which was prevalent between 315 A.D. and 451 A.D. The church councils continued

that tradition even after the fall of Rome. Foundling homes and asylums also existed. The first foundling of an asylum dedicated to abandoned children was credited to Datheus, Archbishop of Milan. The facility had a receiving cradle attached to a revolving door. The depositor would ring a bell to announce the arrival of the 'little stranger'. The door would turn, accepting the infant into the asylum and protecting the anonymity of the depositor (de Mouse, 1974; Garrison, 1965).

Facilities especially designated for infants and children were found in many European cities usually under the direction of the Church. During the 13th century, monasteries were built with foundling homes attached. These infant refuges utilized nurses who were assigned to six children each. Physicians and surgeons from among the monks served sick infants as best as they could in these foundling homes [Radbill, 1995]. Almshouses as well as orphanages served as places of refuge for orphaned and deserted children in the larger towns and cities of the United States (Friedlander and Ape, 1980). When the numbers of orphans in a community were few, they could be accommodated in local households until they could be out for apprenticeship in a trade.

As the numbers of these children increased and homes could not be readily found, the almshouses became the standard of refuge. The decline of caring for the children in almshouses however, was linked with providing children with a "moral" climate in which to grow up, the assumption being that the poor were not moral and they could not be in almshouses.

Removing children from almshouses and placing them into orphanages was again an attempt to turn impressionable children into “worthy” citizens imbued with the work ethic. Orphanages often had work schedules, prayer schedules and other means of keeping children focused on “correct” ways of living. The greatest concern of reformers of the time was that they did not want to perpetuate another generation of paupers by allowing children to be raised in the slothful climate of almshouses. The social and moral cost of keeping children in almshouses was of great concern and social reforms rapidly took up the cause philanthropists and religious orders opened for orphans.

Williamsons and Greenberg (2010) note that research in the early 1900s and work on effects of institutional care and attachment theory beginning in the 1940s especially that of John Bowlby, established a foundation for the current scientific understanding of children’s developmental requirements. This led to policy change in post war Europe and the United States. Based on their research during the Second World War, Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingharm, (1943) described the importance of family noting that war sometimes acquires little significance for children as long as it only threatens their lives, disturbs their material comfort or cut their food rations. War becomes significant the moment it breaks up family life and uproots the first emotional attachments of the child within the family group.

This emphasis was echoed in another study on social welfare policy in Zimbabwe. A 1994 study by the Department of Pediatrics of the University of Zimbabwe and

the Department of Social Welfare concluded that the potential for an inappropriate response to the orphan crisis may occur in the Zimbabwean situation, where a number of organizations are considering building new institutions in the absence of any official and enforced policy relating to orphan care. To families struggling to cope with orphans in their care, children's home, naturally, appeals because the child is guaranteed of food, clothing and an education programme to keep the child within a community surrounded by leaders and peers he/she knows and loves.

Williamson and Greenberg (2010) noted also that there was abundance of global evidence demonstrating serious developmental problems associated with placement in residential care. They also noted that for the last half century, child development specialists have recognized that residential institutions consistently fail to meet children's development needs for attachment, acculturation and social integration. A particular short coming of institutional care is that young children typically do not experience the continuity of care that they need to form a lasting attachment with an adult care giver. On-going and meaningful contact between child and an individual care provider is almost always impossible to maintain in a residential institution because of the high ratio of children to staff, the frequency of staff turnover and the nature of shift work. Institutions have their own "culture" which is often rigid and lacking in basic community and family socialization. These children have difficulty in forming and maintaining relationships throughout their childhood.

Bower (2000) notes that those who have visited an orphanage are likely to have been approached by young children wanting to touch them or hold their hand. Although such behavior may initially seem to be an expression of spontaneous affection, it is actually a symptom of significant attachment problem. A young child with a secure sense of attachment is more likely to be cautious, even fearful of strangers rather than seeking to touch them.

Williamson and Greenberg (2010), noted that a rule of thumb is that for every three months that a young child resides in an institution, they lose one month of development. A case study based on results from 32 European countries and in-depth studies in nine of the countries, which considered the risk of harm in terms of attachment disorder, development delay and neural atrophy in the development brain, reached the conclusion that no child under three years should be placed in a residential care institution without a parent or primary care giver.

A longitudinal study (2003) by the Bucharest Early Intervention Project (BEIP) found that young children who were shifted from an institution to supported foster care before age two made dramatic developmental gains across several cognitive and emotional development measures compared to those who continued to live in institutional care and whose situation worsened considerably. Other research in Central and Southern Europe has led to similar conclusions. Institutions like these are not only crippling children's potential and limiting their future, they are also restricting their national, economic, political and social growth.

Countries with a history of institutional care have developmental problems as these children grow into young adults and experience difficulty reintegrating into society. Research in Russia has shown that one in three children who leave residential care become homeless, one in five end up with criminal record and up to one in ten commit suicide (Williamson and Greenberg 2010). A meta-analysis of 75 studies (more than 3 800 children in 19 countries) found that children reared in orphanages had, on average, an IQ 20 point lower than their peers in foster care.

2.6.1 Spiritual and Moral Capital

Williamson and Greenberg (2010) referred to developmental problems which emerge from children who will have been raised in children's homes as they attempted to re-integrate into society. This is a fundamental issue which concerns not only the physical aspect but also the spiritual and moral capital. Children's homes address basic needs such as shelter, food and clothing. They rarely deal with the spiritual capital that is the relationship between the living and the dead and how the dead relate to the whole spiritual world. The dead, according to Shona belief systems, are intangible family members (Mararike, 2012:24).

On the other hand, moral capital represents habits and attitudes of a person based on principles of his society's life and value systems. In other words, moral capital deals with a person's behavior; that is how, when and why one acts and reacts to internal and external stimuli.

Children's homes are supposed to deal with children's attachment to care-givers. Attachment refers to an affectional bond or tie between a child and the attachment figure. In this regard, reference should be made to the contribution of the attachment theory to the development of children. The theory was developed to explain long-term relationships between human beings (Bowlby, 1958; 1969, Ainsworth, 1967; Frior & Glaser, 2006). The most important tenet is that the child needs to develop a relationship with at least one primary care-giver for social, spiritual and emotional development to occur. Put differently, attachment should be culture-specific.

The development of children should therefore include belief systems and value systems. Children are expected to understand the meaning and purpose of life within specific social situations. People do not live in a vacuum. People must have knowledge of the rules of conduct applied in their society. In the case of children, they must be introduced from an early age to the concepts of right and wrong. The Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe, in one of his speeches, said if you sow an act, you reap a habit and if you sow a habit you reap character and if you sow character, you reap a destiny (2013, addressing beneficiaries to the Presidential Scholarship Scheme, State House, Harare).

2.7 The Legal and Administrative Framework

2.7.1 The care of Children in Institutions in Zimbabwe

The care of Zimbabwean children in institutions cannot be discussed without reference to the country's colonial history. Mupedziswa (1992) states that social work, defined as probation work by the Social Workers Act 2001, and the Children's Act was developed in the West and imported by the colonial regimes. He goes on to observe that right from inception, social work practice (that includes probation work), thus inherited a Western bias with a tendency to continually allow itself to be influenced by the Western base. Countries develop laws that regulate human interaction, thus serve to safeguard individual human rights and protect society generally including children (Kaseke, 1993). It is important to note that the history of the care of children in institutions in Zimbabwe cannot be divorced from colonial history of the country. The colonization of the country by the white settlers in the late nineteenth century was initially lured by the dream of gold deposits. The subsequent agricultural prospects, the expansion of the industrial sector and the manufacturing sector, led to the introduction of the monetary economy. All these developments had the effect of the movement of the able-bodied, mostly males, into the urban areas. The migration of able-bodied males meant that women and children remained in the rural areas. The obtaining social services during the time were designed and administered for the white settlers.

The first official welfare provision in Rhodesia was introduced in 1936 with the recruitment of the first probation officer who dealt with non-Africans. It was only in 1948 that the Department of Social Welfare was constituted with the function of investigating juvenile delinquency among all races. However, the first African probation officer was recruited in 1952, with emphasis on rations and rent allowances. The care of children, like any other services for blacks, was assumed to be catered for in their rural homes (Hampson and Kaseke, 1987). Kaseke (1993) observes that the emphasis of the colonial laws then to a large extent, was more on the protection of society and the maintenance of law and order, than protecting the rights and welfare of the children. We note though that the first all-white children's home was established in 1919 in the then Southern Rhodesia. Chishawasha mission took in orphans after the suppression of the 1896/97 Chimurenga. Solusi Mission took in orphaned and abandoned children in the same year following a devastating famine.

The children of Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi, leaders of the 1896/97 Chimurenga, were part of the orphans kept at Chishawasha. Mbuya Nehana had one daughter called Sabhina. She was still alive in 1962 and lived in Mazowe area. Sekuru Kaguvi had three children, two girls and one son whose name was Kahoodza.

The current legal instruments that provide for the protection of children are the Children's Act; the Social Workers Act; The Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act. The Criminal Codification Act, deals with the comital of children in

institutions in Zimbabwe whether as in need or in conflict with the law. These Acts provide for the establishment and supervision of institutes as places of safety of children and rehabilitation of problem children. According to the Children's Act: Chapter 5:06, a child who is in need of care can be brought before the juvenile court for an inquiry. A child is deemed in need of care when the following situations obtain:-

- Who is destitute and abandoned;
- Both of whose parents are dead and no legal guardian;
- Whose legal guardian cannot exercise proper control and care over him or her;
- Whose legal guardian is unfit to have control over him or her;
- Who is in the custody of a person who has been convicted;
- Who cannot be controlled by his or her parents or guardian;
- Who is a habitual truant;
- Who frequent the company of any immoral or vicious person or otherwise whose living conditions may cause seduction or corruption of the child;
- Who begs or engages in street trading;
- Who is maintained in circumstances which are detrimental to his or her welfare;
- Who is found in possession of dangerous drugs; and
- Who suffers mental or physical disability.

Children are placed in institutions (defined by the Children's Act as places of safety), having been deemed in need of care by a probation worker. The juvenile court can commit a child to be placed in the custody of a person capable of exercising good care and supervision.

With regards to juvenile justice, the Ministry of Justice appoints a magistrate to preside over a juvenile court. He/she may require an assessor depending on the nature of the enquiry before the juvenile court. The probation worker who is a qualified social worker and appointed by the Minister of Labour and Social Services under the Department of Social Services, presents a probation officer a report highlighting sociological background and recommendation before the court. Children in Zimbabwe can be placed in institutions as juvenile delinquents or children in conflict with law. The law calls for a social inquiry report to be completed by a probation officer in respect to the juvenile under the age of eighteen who will have committed an offence. The report assists the court in passing judgment. Children are normally committed to training institutions for rehabilitation if they have committed serious offences (Hampson and (Kaseke, 1987). When a juvenile is alleged to have committed an offence, the law requires that the probation officer (defined by the Children's Act and the Social Workers Act) to prepare a social inquiry report highlighting the socio-economic circumstances of the juvenile. These sociological circumstances are taken into consideration. Kaseke (1993) identifies weaknesses of the Zimbabwean juvenile system. One of the challenges is the contradiction between welfare and rehabilitation. The system also assumes that there is nothing wrong with the

environment. Besides, the laws referred to take a Eurocentric view; that is they tend to put at the centre of explanation a European worldview as opposed to an African worldview (Asante, 1998).

2.8 Post Colonial Era: People's Expectations

Political independence brought with it high expectations of previously unfulfilled desires from the people in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa. People were not just happy that they were politically independent, but they expected their livelihoods to improve drastically. Social services such as education, health, housing and creation of employment were the areas people wanted improved. People did not just want freedom but also self-determination at a personal level, family level as well as national level.

2.8.1 Education: A Basic Need

During the colonial era in Zimbabwe, there were a few schools for the indigenous people. The government had to introduce an education for all policy. This meant that all pupils in primary schools were exempt from paying school fees in order to enable them to access education. Primary school enrolments increased from approximately 800 000 in 1979 to nearly 2.3 million by 1986 (Dorsey, 1980).

Although secondary education was not free, enrolments increased from 66 000 pupils in 177 schools in 1979 to 537 000 pupils in 1300 schools in 1986 (Dorsey, 1989); Colclough et al. (1990) Courtenay, (1999). In rural areas, "upper tops" were introduced due to demand for places. Later it was also decided that all

adults who wanted to learn to read and write could do so by attending evening classes. This programme for adults, which was initially referred to as “Adult Illiteracy Education” was later called “Adult Literacy Education”. Adults in rural and urban areas received this programme positively. As children returned from school, they met parents and grandparents at the doorsteps on their way to school also. This programme was a success and by the end of the 1980s, new schools throughout the country had been built, including training institutions for teachers (Mackenzie, 1988).

The enrolments kept on increasing, reaching 2,637,251 pupils in 2011 and 2,662,384 pupils as at 2010 in primary schools compared to 1,235,994 pupils in 1980. In secondary schools, there were only 74 321 pupils enrolled in 1980 but as at 2010, the numbers rose to 863 526 pupils (Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture, 2011). The number of registered primary schools stood at 4 861 and 851 satellite schools, and 1646 secondary schools and 616 satellite schools. In all these primary and secondary schools, there were 71 735 and 37 745 teachers respectively, as at 31 January 2011.

It is worth noting that although females outnumbered males according to the national population census, boys always constituted a higher percentage in terms of enrolments in both primary and secondary schools. For example, in 2010 statistics show that in primary schools there were 1,335, 597 boys compared to 1,326,787 girls, in secondary schools 436 241 boys and 427 285 girls enrolled (MESAC, 2011)

In 1980, there was only one university in the whole country as compared to 14 in 2012, of which 9 are state funded institutions and 5 privately run. Teachers' Colleges were also increased from 4 in 1980 to 11, of which 3 were privately owned. Polytechnic/Technical colleges were increased from 2 in 1980 to 8 as of 2012. Industrial training colleges were also founded by the state and were built after independence. These institutions of higher learning are still insufficient as shown by the number of Zimbabwean students who are enrolled outside the country (Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education 2012).

2.8.2 Housing Provision Since 1980

Although at independence there were many challenges which the government of Zimbabwe faced, tremendous progress in meeting the needs of the majority was realized. The advent of independence ended years of restrictions of rural to urban migration. By 1980 the urban population constituted almost 23% of the total population of Zimbabwe and rose to almost 33% by 1990. This put immense pressure on major cities in terms of provision of housing. The government had to embark on a national development programme aimed at providing decent and affordable housing for the urban poor. Government realized that the public sector could not achieve this programme alone and therefore a policy which incorporated the private sector was put in place.

A study was carried out by the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing (MPCNH) in 1986 to determine the housing requirements in Zimbabwe. The study concluded that an estimated 1 950 000 housing units were required in

both rural and urban areas to meet the demand up to the year 2000. To alleviate this backlog by the year 2000, this required an annual production of 162 500 units. The study indicated that in urban areas, out of an existing housing stock of 409 000, about 10 618 units were substandard. In urban areas substandard houses are those houses without basic facilities such as piped water, sewerage reticulation and electricity. Such houses had a negative effect on the health of family units who dwelt in them.

By 1990, about 12 000 units were constructed in urban areas which fell far short of the estimated target of the 162 500 required to meet demand. Public sector was able to produce 55 900 units, indicating that about 9000 units were produced annually. In a paper presented by Mutekede and Sigauke at ENHR International Conference on “Sustainable Urban Areas, (2001), they stated that due to the housing requirements not met “in the past, the existing housing stock has absorbed additional people as lodgers leading to increased overcrowding. Fifteen years ago, this elasticity was sufficient to avoid squatting, but quite recently overcrowding had reached a point where the existing housing stock could not absorb additional people. Approximately 66% of the population in the high density suburbs is made up of lodgers either renting a room or the main house or a shack on the plot. A critical level of demand for housing has been reached and manifests itself in spontaneous squatter settlements. We may note that in 2003, the government had to embark on a clean-up exercise which was referred to as Murambatsvina.

Although there are a number of housing finance schemes in Zimbabwe such as housing cooperatives, aided self-help, employer assisted, save for a home and ordinary loans, there is need for the Housing Policy of Zimbabwe to establish a Housing Development Bank of Zimbabwe with the core function of providing finance through:

- Soft loans to local authorities for infrastructure and housing development;
- Providing bridging capital to land developers including housing cooperatives and civil society groups;
- Financing capital for the production of building materials and equipment;
and
- Providing mortgage finance to individual home purchasers.

Mutekede and Sigauke (2007) concluded that from their findings, if this trend of shortfall supply continued, it could result in an additional three million inadequately housed urban dwellers by the year 2010. The local authorities acknowledge that the demand for housing in the various urban centres is 1,500.000 houses, increasing at a rate of 120.000 houses per annum due to new household formations per year. Severe overcrowding, not only produces social tensions and domestic stress, but also overloads urban service networks. This has a dreadful impact on family life.

2.8.3 The Health Delivery System in Zimbabwe

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a public health service that was geared to provide mostly for a small section of the society. The white minority had access to first class services while indigenous people had at their disposal only the basic medical services. Prior to independence, there were only four referral hospitals in the country, two in Harare and the other two in Bulawayo. Blacks who were the majority, had access to two and the other two were reserved for whites. At independence, government embarked on major refurbishing works of upgrading existing health facilities and at the same time constructing new ones. The government wanted to ensure that everyone was within walking distance of a health facility. Most of the countryside was serviced by mission hospitals (Agere, 1986). Government clinics that existed were not within reach of many people due to long distances rural people had to walk.

Remarkable progress has been made in the area of health delivery system, especially in respect of the majority of black people who were marginalized for a long period of time. The government embarked on a programme to provide “health for all by the year 2000”. There was a massive health infrastructural development programme linked to service delivery targets of providing health facilities within a distance of eight kilometers for every person. To complement this programme, government also put in place health professional training programmes and committed substantial funds towards achieving this ambitious goal. The state managed to increase the number of health facilities. When the

Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was introduced at the instigation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the cuts in public expenditure caused rapid deterioration in the health delivery system.

Zimbabwe, whose population grew from 7.6 million in 1982 to 10 million in 1992 and 11.3 million in 2002 according to the censuses carried out, saw a considerable slow growth rate in the 1990s due to a combination of factors. High mortality rates were mostly attributed to the HIV/AIDS epidemic of which the prevalence rate was 33% in 2000, but dropped to about 11% by 2008. The Ministry of Health established the Zimbabwe Child Spacing and Family Planning Council (ZNFPC) in 1981 to promote family planning which also contributed to the decline of population growth. Recurrent droughts, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, economic instability, the most devastating of all being economic sanctions illegally imposed on the country by western countries, have negatively impacted on the life expectancy which was 60 years in the 1990s to about 42 years in 2006. There was also a decline in the training of health personnel by 2008. The health system which has drastically declined, requires an overhaul to restore this sector to the level the state had upgraded it soon after independence (Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, 2010).

2.8.4 Road Net Work Infrastructure

For all areas to be easily accessible at independence, the government had to embark on massive construction of the road network which was in a very bad state. The rural areas were serviced by a total of 3000 kms of technically

incomplete track roads to strategic military administrative centres. These track roads had been established to assist the then District Commissioners to monitor and reach areas of interest to them for purposes of responding to the demands of the liberation war as well as to monitor the rural population.

The period between 1982 and 1985 saw a reconstruction phase where government directed that roads be opened through the District Development Fund (DDF) in the communal areas and along all settlements that were isolated. This was conducted to establish equitable distribution of roads access following criteria that provided uniform service within the country by applying guiding principles and parameters for service delivery. Thus one of the guiding principles was that within the flat and rolling terrain, no one should walk for more than ten kilometers before reaching a DDF primary or state road. In hilly terrain no one should walk for more than three kilometers before reaching a DDF primary or state road. This criteria was used to map the entire arteries of road network that existed in the communal and resettlement areas of Zimbabwe today. A total of 25 000 kms was identified and constructed by District Development Fund in the communal and resettlement areas. This network excludes the additional 7 000 kms later on identified after the Land Reform Programme to bring the total network done by DDF to 32 000 kms (District Development Fund 1982).

2.8.5 The Land Reform Programme

Apart from the long-term implications of the Land Apportionment Act, such as confining the black population to areas of poor soils and erratic rainfall, the Act

provided settler farmers with a pool of labour. This was achieved in a number of ways. One way was to allow settler farmers to enter into 'agreements' with black people who would have been allowed to stay on land which a settler farmer would have declared his own using administrative mechanisms which were put in place for the purpose. The conditions for the black families to continue to stay was that they supplied labour power to the settler farmer as and when such labour was needed, but at no extra cost to the farmer (Mararike, C. 2011:49).

Such arrogance could not just go unchallenged for all time. The majority of Zimbabweans took up arms to redress this arrogance of the highest order by reclaiming their motherland. At independence, Zimbabwe inherited a racially skewed agricultural land ownership pattern where white large scale commercial farmers, consisting of less than 1% of the population occupied 45% of prime agricultural land. These areas occupied by the white minority received the highest rainfall and the potential for agricultural production was high. The majority of the black people were over-crowded in arid communal areas characterized by harsh, hostile climate and marginal soils of limited agricultural potential.

Zimbabwe has a total land area of 39.6 million hectares of which 33 million hectares are reserved for agricultural while the rest is reserved for national parks, forests and urban settlements. The breakdown is given below:

Table 1: Land Distribution

Large Scale Commercial	15.5 million hectares
Small Scale Commercial	1.4 million hectares
Communal	16.4 million hectares
National Parks and Urban Settlements	6.0 million hectares
State Land	0.3 million hectares
Total	39.6 million hectares

Source: Central Statistics Office 1981

Land earmarked for resettlement was to be obtained from the large scale commercial category of 15.5 million hectares.

2.8.6. Phase 1 of Land Resettlement Programme (1980-1989)

Phase 1 of land reform programme aimed at acquiring 8.3 million hectares to resettle 162 000 families. Many challenges bedeviled the first phase of land reform. Land bought was not sufficient to absorb the targeted population since it was premised on “willing seller willing buyer”. In most cases, the land offered was that with poor agricultural potential and exorbitant prices were prohibitive for government to pay for the land. The Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 stipulated a ten year moratorium in which no compulsory land acquisition was to be carried out.

During the first phase, the British Government, the European Community, the African Development Bank and the Kuwait Government offered to finance the land reform programme of which only the British assisted with the rest reneging on the promises they had made. The first phase of 1980-1989 saw 3 498 444 million hectares being acquired to resettle 71 000 families. The Government of Zimbabwe using limited resources, at the inception of the second phase between 1998-2000, had only 168 264 hectares acquired and 4 697 families resettled.

The delays and frustration in achieving resettlement targets made government seek a recourse through legislative reforms. The 14th Constitutional Amendment and the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 was instituted. It intended to facilitate the land redistribution programme through compulsory land acquisition. There were major challenges to this process of compulsory acquisition of resistance and was fraught with litigation by former farm owners. The British Government officially disowned the Lancaster House obligation for funding the land resettlement programme. The International Land Donors, failed to deliver the promised resources as per the 1998 donor conference.

Given all these complications, a Fast Track Land Reform Programme of Phase 11 was launched on 15 July 2000 to speed up the pace of land acquisition and resettlement. The land targeted was derelict land, under-utilised land, land under multiple ownership, foreign owned land and land near communal areas. This programme saw a total of 6 214 farms being gazette, totaling 10 816 886 million hectares and benefitting 170 000 families. There is still demand for land with

other 500 000 applications on the waiting list for resettlement (Ministry of Lands and Rural Development, 2011).

2.9 Conclusion

The purpose of the literature review was to establish what other writers have said about the issues under investigation. Besides, the review sought new lines of inquiry and also gaining methodological insights. The literature review brought out:

- That the family institution may take a variety of forms from society to society and that it may also change in structure and functions over time;
- That production, reproduction, consumption and circulation of human energy are family functions which require further study;
- That residential institutions, consistently fail to meet children's development needs for attachment, acculturation and social integration.

The literature review therefore revealed gaps which this study sought to fill.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PROCEDURES

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explain the process of data gathering for this thesis. The explanation focuses on the combination of perspectives and procedures used to guide this study. The explanation covers research methodology, research design, sampling, study population, data collection techniques, research participants, use of research assistants, ethical issues and data analysis.

I was aware that the way I was going to deal with what I was going to hear and see, was likely to be interfered with by my prior thinking and values. I therefore did not believe that I could carry out a “value-free” investigation because any social inquiry of which one is part, is fraught with bias. What I attempted to do was to enter the field of inquiry with as open a mind as was possible; a rather difficult thing to do! I however took Pottier’s advice that:

By training or social circumstances, all researchers are programmed to view the world in a particular way. This is a limitation we cannot avoid, but we must not hide it either (1995:261).

3.2 Methodology

Methodology refers to the theoretical underpinnings of the research methods which may be applied in the various scientific disciplines (Gonzales del Valles,

1998:375). On the other hand, methods deal with the steps to be followed in a given sequence to gather data.

I also refer to epistemology which is concerned with the nature of knowledge and how it can be acquired. Epistemological issues arise from the relationships between the researcher and the research subject. In my case, it referred to my relationship with issues to do with changes in family structure and functions as well as how and why children's homes emerged in Zimbabwe. My concern therefore, was to establish the nature of changes in the family structure and functions and to determine whether such changes might have contributed to the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe and in what ways.

I started with an area of interest to me and research questions before deciding on the approach, paradigm and research design to use. The research methodology I ended up with was in no way pre-ordained. It unfolded and took shape as I reflected on the best way to answer the research questions.

Because of the research questions posed in Chapter One, I found a naturalistic and participant-oriented approach to be the appropriate one for my study. A naturalistic and participant-oriented-approach appealed to me because I intended to:

- a) Conduct my research over a four year period in a natural setting, namely, family setups and children's homes;
- b) Be the main instrument in data gathering and analysis;

- c) Collect detailed data from the perspectives of selected research participants;
- d) Triangulate data from documents, observations and interviews; and
- e) Let concepts and constructs emerge from data rather than be influenced by what other people had said about change in family structure, family functions and children's homes.

3.3 The Naturalistic Paradigm

The naturalistic and participant-oriented approach falls under the qualitative paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). A paradigm is a particular worldview characterized by a specific ontology, that is explanations of what exists, and a specific epistemology; that is explanations of the nature of knowledge and how it is obtained (Patton, 1987). The type of paradigm used has an important bearing on the design and methodology of any research undertaking. For example, some paradigms do not “sit” comfortably within the same research design. Positivism and naturalism are some of the paradigms used in social science research. However, there exist ontological and epistemological differences between these two paradigms.

In ontology, positivism sees “a single tangible reality out there fragmentable into independent variables and processes, any of which could be studied independent of the others”, while naturalism sees multiple constructed realities that can be studied only holistically” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:37). In epistemology, the

positivist “inquirer” and the object of inquiry are independent; the knower and the known constitute a distinct dualism”, whereas in naturalism, the “inquirer” and the “object” of inquiry interact to influence one another, knower and the known are inseparable (ibid).

Other important areas of difference between the two paradigms concern generalizations, causes and effects and the role of values. Positivism seeks to provide universal generalizations, explain results through cause and effect linkages and claims value neutrality; at least by virtue of the objective methodology it uses. On the other hand, naturalism maintains that the only generalization possible is that there are no generalizations but only context and time bound working hypotheses, that it is not possible to isolate causes from effects and that inquiry cannot be neutral but is influenced by values inherent in the choice of the area of investigation, paradigm, theory or theories as well as the context in which the research is conducted.

Because of the participant-oriented approach that I used, I found the epistemological and ontological positions of naturalism more relevant than those of positivism. I therefore decided to conduct my research within the naturalistic paradigm. The research design explained under 3.4 was influenced by the participant-oriented approach.

3.4 Research Design

Research design, which may also be referred to as conceptual framework, involves making decisions regarding what topic to be studied, among what population, with what methods and for what purposes (Babbie, 1983: 74, Miles & Huberman 1994:20). The selection of my research topic was influenced by three factors. First, I observed what was going on in the social world around me and my own life. There were numerous reports on baby dumping, divorce and family instability as explained in Chapter One. This caused me to wonder whether our society still valued human life, particularly the lives of infants. Secondly, the topic was of concern and interest to me as a mother, as well as a founder of a children's home. But did I have sufficient knowledge and understanding of what parenting involved and meant to the development of children? Did our society have adequate understanding of the relationship between family stability and baby dumping for example? The third factor concerned my life experience. I grew up in a rural setting in a family which struggled to make ends meet. Seeing abandoned, orphaned and vulnerable children touched my soul but I did not have sufficient knowledge on how to handle such issues.

Before deciding on the research topic, I consulted a number of written sources (Baker 1994, Babbie, 1995, Miles and Huberman, 1994) and also spoke to relevant researchers and intellectual comrades. I was then encouraged and convinced that I could tackle the research topic.

3.4.1 Purpose of the Research

As explained in Chapter One, the study looked at changes in family structure and functions in relation to family stability and the emergence of children's homes. The study sought to offer evidence about the changing nature of social institutions such as the family. Questions raised were:

Did the study address a subject on which social policies may be developed?

Did the study seek to develop a better and fuller understanding of an unusual social practice? and

Did the study make use of experience which I, as the researcher, have had or some specific knowledge I might have gained, so that such knowledge might be of use to social research?

I did not regard the study as being exploratory because there was a body of existing literature on the subject. (Berger, 1972; Gee, 1994, Giddens, 1999). Rather, I regarded the study as being a description and an explanation. Descriptive research may seek to expand a body of knowledge in the area. It describes situations and events, paying special attention to the quality of description. In this study, changes in family structure and functions, emergence of children's homes, causes and consequences of baby dumping were described. The description also included laws and conventions which governed the establishment and management of children's homes.

The study sought to determine whether there was a relationship between family stability and baby dumping and the subsequent establishment of children's homes. The study explained why such situations were what they were without attempting to develop a theory, but tried to shed light on policy issues. The approach of the study were, therefore, descriptive and explanatory. It should also be noted that the study was a requirement for the award of a degree to me.

3.4.2 Subject Studied

The research design was influenced by the subject studied, namely: "The Changing Social structure of the Family and Functions: The Case of Children's Homes in Zimbabwe." The objectives of the study, as also given in Chapter One, were:

- ❖ To establish the nature of changes in the family structure and functions;
- ❖ To assess the impact of children's homes in the development of the whole person;
- ❖ To compare and contrast the role of the family and children's homes in developing children; and
- ❖ To determine the effectiveness of existing legal and administrative frameworks which governed the rights of children.

3.4.3 Study Population and Sample

The study population included 17 children's homes, ten families, three madzishes (traditional leaders), four community elders, three legal experts, four social science experts, three church leaders, four traditional medical practitioners, three police officers and two officers from the Zimbabwe Prison Services. The study population was selected from seven administrative provinces of Zimbabwe. The choice of the provinces and research participants was purposive.

I used purposive sampling; a type of non-probability sampling method in which the researcher uses his/her judgment, in the selection of sample members (Babbie, 1993: 181). The selection of research participants was based on my knowledge of the population, its elements and the objectives of the study. This sample design was ideal because it allowed the selection and inclusion into the sample of those persons and organizations presumed to have the knowledge and information which I wanted. The sample comprised nine families in order to address the concerns of Objective One of the study. There were 19 children's homes in order to obtain information required specifically for objectives Two and Three. There were three chiefs, four community elders, four social science experts, three church leaders and four traditional medical practitioners whose knowledge and experience were meant to address the requirements of objectives One, Two and Three. There were also three legal experts, three police officers whose knowledge and experience were needed to address the concerns of objective Four.

3.4.4 Data Gathering Methods

I used a combination of conventional data-gathering techniques; secondary and primary. Secondary data sources included records on background information on how, when and why children's homes were established; legal and administrative documents governing Children's homes, police records on baby-dumping cases, prison records on persons convicted and imprisoned for cases of baby dumping, court cases on divorce and murder. Primary data sources included interviews, group discussions, observations and photographs.

3.4.4.1 Interviews

Baker refers to an interview as "a piece of social interaction with one person asking a number of questions and the other giving answers" (1999:220). Some of the data in Chapter Four were obtained through interviews. Shona and/or English languages were used during interviews, depending on what the respondent preferred. Such interviews gave me an opportunity to probe deeper into issues. It was possible to adjust and rephrase questions depending on the circumstances and the nature of issues being raised. I realized that it was not only the quality of questions asked which was important, but also the awareness of the interaction in which I was involved.

One thing struck me though during some of the interviews. Elders, both males and females, took longer time to say issues of substance than young persons, especially to people whom they were not familiar with. Even if they were

familiar with people, as they were with me, elders would “weigh” the person before revealing information they considered to be confidential such as number of children and their wealth.

On the other hand, some of the elders, especially chiefs, were keen to display how much they knew, especially their cultural practices such as observing what they were taught by their parents. They also spoke with confidence about the history of their ancestors particularly that part of history which tended to celebrate their successes!

During interviews, I was regarded as an “insider” because I spoke the same language as them. I knew the areas. In fact, I was one of them. I was also known as a founder of one of the Children’s homes in Zimbabwe. That I was an “insider-outsider,” had its advantages and disadvantages. I was an “outsider” because I then carried with me a new baggage; that of being a researcher representing a new class interest. I had to ask myself questions: Who am I? What values did I embrace? Was I ready to see them challenged? In short, I had to re-situate myself within a new analytical framework. Linked to the above questions, were issues related to research patronage and privilege. Who stood to gain from the research process? Or who stood to lose? These were questions which needed to be informed by research. I realized (as Mararike, 2011 Chapter 3) did, that the whole research process was more than merely methods for gathering data and treating them. It comprised a whole series of interconnected choices which reflected the subjective orientations of the researcher as much as the pursuit of

truth. This was a rather difficult thing because truth, though it was supposed to be one of the fundamental principles which guided human activities, may be manipulated to suit individual and/or group interests.

3.4.4.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were used to get certain aspects of information on the research's specific issues. For instance, I put together a group of three legal experts to solicit their views and opinions on "The Effectiveness of Existing Legal and Administrative Frameworks which governed the Rights and Welfare of Children." Another focus group of village elders, including a chief and two women, convened "To assess the impact of Children's Homes in the Development of the whole person."

Focus group discussion participants were selected on the basis of relevancy to the issues under study. The discussions sought to obtain specific information on the issues under consideration. I noted some important points which could determine the success or failure of a group discussion, especially if it was composed of village elders. They did not want to be rushed. They were also very particular about protocol to be observed. Before formal discussions started, the participants had kuisa maoko; that is to inquire about each other's health. More importantly, kuisa maoko was intended to bring together the living people and the spirit of the dead. It helped people to settle down. Time and venues for such group discussions were also of concern to elders. They discouraged holding meetings in the evening, a time when witches were believed to start their errands.

Advantages of holding focus group discussions referred to in literature (Baker, 1999:225; Krueger, 1988:47), agreed with what I observed. Participants felt more comfortable to express their views which were also shared by others without the necessity to either defend or even elaborate on them. Comments from one person elicited comments from others. Participants could easily “jump in” with ideas and pick up what was of interest to them. Focus group discussions were flexible, had high face validity and speedy results.

I, however, noted some problems with holding focus group discussions. Some participants dominated the discussions, especially those who wanted to display their knowledge about the issues which were under discussion. In a discussion held on the 24th of July, 2012, in Mazowe, the two female participant’s contributions were minimum because men dominated, especially the chief and one 92 year old man, as explained in Chapter 4.

Another observation I made was the way elders used the Shona language. They used idioms and proverbs frequently. They wanted to stress an important point or to condense an argument. If I had been not conversant with the Shona language, I would have failed to grasp the meanings of what was said.

3.4.4.3 Observation

One of the pillars of social science research is careful observation. All research, according to Shipman (1972:66),

“Depends on observation. Through the ears and eyes, the material and the social world are interpreted. But this perception is not passive. Impressions are first selected and then interpreted within the mind of the observer.”

Sometimes social researchers use the term “measurement” together with “observation.” Observation means careful, deliberate study of the real world for the purpose of describing objects and events in terms of the attributes composing a variable (Babbie, 1998:116).

In this study, I organized what I heard and/or saw in a particular way which corresponded with the values I held. I assumed that a “value-free” social investigation was impossible. What I attempted to do was to “put myself in brackets” during data collection and interpretation; a rather difficult thing to do! I tried to observe the research environment without being made “a native” or being overwhelmed by the research environment. I also tried to turn the observations into meaning.

I was aware of the need to be insightful; that is seeing with understanding, the need to be receptive; that is being open and eager to enter into the field and to have self-understanding; that is being able to understand one’s own reactions and distinguish them from reactions that others might experience. I tried to “shut out” my own background and status which were likely to intrude on the research scene in such a way that the observed environment was likely to be altered. However, I was not totally detached. I experienced other situations as if actually involved. I,

in fact, entered into the world of others; particularly abandoned and orphaned children in an attempt to see and experience their world from their viewpoint. I, however, remained mindful of the requirement that:

“Field studies never seek to alter what is happening in the environment being studied. Nevertheless, more or less systematic means for observing what is happening need to be utilized. Thus, the role of the researcher in qualitative study is deliberative, thoughtful, and always mindful not to distort the environment or organization being studied; this purposefulness is of course characteristic of a scientist” (Baker, 1998:244).

3.4.4.4 Measures to Record Observations.

I was faced with two questions with regards to observation. What exactly did I observe? How was I to measure these observations? I observed social interactions between and among members of Children’s homes. I observed and also listened to how members within a family setting interacted. My intention was to “measure” how children were “loved,” how a “whole person” could be developed, how families “functioned.”

I attempted to use two definitions of the term “measurement. Stevens (1951:22), for example, defined it as “... the assignment of numbers to objects or events according to certain rules.”

Stevens definition has at least three key components. First, it shows that measurement is an activity to be done; that is assigning numbers. Second, it

stipulates that what must be done must follow specific rules which tell you the principles of the measurement system. The third quality of this activity implied in the definition is that the rules that guide the measurement have to do with establishing a correspondence between what is observed and the number it is given. In other words, measurement was carried out according to phenomena or types of phenomena, are designated by a particular number (Bohrnsteadt, 1983:70).

Variables which were of concern to my study were not readily convertible to a numerical scale. “Love” for abandoned children, “development of the whole person,” family structure and functions”, were not “objects” or “events” which Stevens definition referred to. Stevens definition was more appropriate for physical sciences than social sciences. The second definition which I looked at was that of Baker. She says:

“Measurement is the process by which empirical data are organized in some systematic relationships to the concept being studied” (1999:109).

This definition fitted with what I observed and wanted to measure. The phenomena I studied were not directly observable. This is why I earlier on stated that it was not possible to carry out a “value free” inquiry because I had to deal with the process by which empirical data are organized in some systematic relationship to the concept being studied. Social Science research is a process whose findings must be organized by the researcher in a particular way. There are, however, still problems related to “validity” and “reliability.” There are

questions such as: “Am I measuring what I think I am measuring?” Does the measuring procedure produce similar results or outcomes when it is repeated?” In social science research, we deal with social processes. It is not possible to hold a social process at a fixed point so that the next researcher can observe and measure it. However, Kaplan (1964), refers to three categories of things that social scientists can measure. The first category is that of direct observables; those things we can observe rather simply and directly like the number of children in a children’s home on a particular day. The second category is that of indirect observables. For example, records giving the history of a children’s home. The records provide indirect observations of past social activities. The third category is that of constructs. These are theoretical, based on observations but which cannot be observed directly or indirectly. For example, the IQs of children in a particular children’s home. These may be constructed mathematically from observations of answers given to a number of questions on an IQ test. In this study, I was able to utilize direct observables and indirect observables.

3.5 Ethical Issues

In ordinary usage, ethics is associated with morality. Ethics and morality deal with matters of right and wrong. The term “ethical” refers to “conforming to the standards of conduct of a given profession or group” (Babbie, 1998:438), quoting Websters New world Dictionary). However, what may be regarded as moral and ethical in one society may be immoral and unethical in another society. Besides, ethics and morality may be a matter of agreement among members of a group.

During data collection for this study, I observed generally recommended ethical conduct in social science research. No harm to any research participant was intended. I observed and upheld the principles of informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm. Although no consent forms were signed, I informed the participants that the information I needed from them would be used for academic purposes only and that their real names were not going to be used in the thesis unless they themselves decided otherwise.

There was, however, one ethical issue I battled with. I carried out this study when I was still patron and founder of one of the Children's homes used as a case study. It was obvious that I had to deal with possible bias towards my children's home. I tried to put myself "in brackets" during data collection and interpretation. This was a weakness which I must admit. I, however, believed and trusted that my supervisors would act as "referees" in this matter; which I believe they did!

3.6 Use of Research Assistants

I used two research assistants to carry out some of the interviews and to attend to some of the focus group discussions. The research assistants were given some training. They therefore worked under specific guidelines. They knew whom to talk to, what questions to ask and how to record data. They were proficient in both Shona and English languages. I verified data collected by the research assistants. Occasionally, I had to ask them to revisit research participants to verify some information such as number of children in a particular children's

home, age of interviewees and how long they might have worked for a particular children's home.

I realized that even if you tied the hands of the research assistants as firmly into the research project as was feasible, there was always the possibility that they would not have the dedication of the researcher. Instead, research assistants tended to do their work much like workers in most other settings. This type of slacking off should not be regarded as a moral issue, rather it is expected behaviour of workers in any organization. There may be, therefore, no reason to believe that research assistants would behave in a different way (Roth, 1966:191/2; Baker, 1999:217).

3.7 Data Analysis Techniques

An important component of any research process is how a researcher determines what is important to observe and how to formulate analytical conclusions on the basis of those observations. The general guide I used was to refer to the research objectives because they were the ones which had to direct me on what to look for. I first examined my own thoughts and feelings in order to understand what data had been gathered. The type and nature of data determined the techniques I needed for analysis. I tried to figure out what themes, which central ideas would help to tie the material together. I tried to make sense of the data in a way that those who were part of the research process would also recognize the data and the research process as their own. I looked for structures, processes, causes and

consequences as well as magnitudes related to issues which formed the basis of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present data I collected. I reflected on the data guided by the study objectives as given under section 1.7 of this thesis. Data were collected from 2012 to 2014. The study was largely descriptive and explanatory, using selected children's homes, family setups and individual case studies selected using purposive availability sampling design. The research design primarily utilized qualitative description and analysis. The focus was on how and why participants constructed their social worlds (Jorgenson, 1991; Steier, 1995). The assumption was that reality did not exist in a ready made form. Rather, it was constructed (Ravn, 1991). The process of reality construction for this study took place within the family, children's homes and the on-going routines of interaction among members. This included their social exchanges.

Qualitative tools such as interviews, observations and informant's experiences allowed for the description and explanation of the social world to be done. Data were analyzed using a thematic objective-by-objective approach.

The findings were an outcome of an ethically informed research process with regard to negotiation of access and capturing of data. Access to family setups, children's homes and individual participants to the research process, required

careful planning. No researcher should demand access to family members or study people without their consent (Peil, 1982).

Where necessary, pseudo names or anonymous identities were used to protect the well being of research participants and also to respect their rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy. This was because I did not want to take into consideration only the short-term consequences of my work, but also had to be prepared to deal with any possible questions or controversies that might arise later.

4.2 Organization of the Chapter

This chapter is in two parts. Part One deals with family structure and functions, marriage laws in Zimbabwe, data from the Zimbabwe Republic Police, Zimbabwe Prison Services, the courts as well as information from interviews and focus group discussions. Part Two explains the causes for the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe, legal provisions which governed the welfare of children, information from interviews as well as focus group discussions. Secondary data from government policy documents were also included.

PART ONE

4.3 Family Structure and Functions

In this thesis, the term family (mhuri), refers to an arrangement based on marriage. Such marriage is socially and legally approved by a given society.

Marriage includes recognition of rights and duties of parenthood, common residence of husband, wife and children, as explained under 1.8.1.

Family structure is the composition, membership, organization and patterns of relationships among family members. Family structure also refers to the way in which a family was organized according to roles, rules and hierarchies.

The functions of the family identified were:

- ❖ *Reproduction;*
- ❖ *Production of goods and services;*
- ❖ *Socialization of new members;*
- ❖ *Provision of emotional support; and*
- ❖ *The circulation and utilization of human energy.*

I refer to these functions in Chapter Six.

The structure and functions of the family change. The nature of such changes, causes and consequences were one of the objectives of this study. To study the functions of an institution such as the family, one has to analyse the contribution which that institution makes to society as a whole (Giddens, 1991:852). One of the functions of the family is pattern maintenance of the values of a society from generation to generation. This is done through a process called socialization; that is the initiation of new members into the ways of their ancestors. Values are the

cultural conceptions about what are desirable goals and what are appropriate standards for judging human behaviour; that is how and why people act and react to internal and external stimuli. The study also noted that there were historical, social and political factors which had to be considered when assessing the nature of changes in the family structure and functions. These are referred to under sections 4.4 and 4.5.

4.4 Case Profiles

4.4.1 Introduction

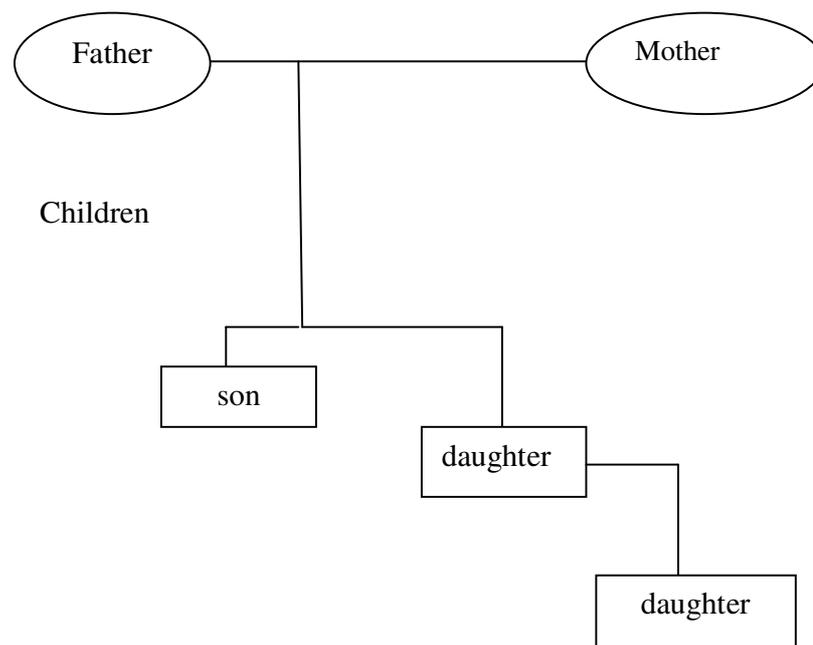
The study identified the following family setups: Cases 4.1 to 4.3 shows the father, mother and children setup. Cases 4.4 to 4.7, show a single parent setup; that is either father or mother and children, as a result of the death of one of the spouses. Case 4.8 are grandparents who cared for grandchildren whose parents had died of HIV/AIDS-related causes. Case 4.9 was a child headed set up. Both parents died and left young children who were then looking after themselves. Case 4.10 was a divorcee.

These family set ups were presumably constituted on the basis of the fundamental principle of Shona life – *ukama*. *Ukama* was (and still is) a system of maintaining a bond between the living and their ancestors and also between and among the living themselves. Ukama expressed both blood and spiritual relationships. In this regard, the dead become attachment figures to their living descendants. This spiritual relationship is not a matter of choice. One is born in this ukama. One

grows up and dies in this ukama. No outsider can be converted into this ukama. No insider can be “deregistered” from this ukama. Shona People, as collectivities of different madzinza, have similar attachment figures; their midzimu (Mararike, 2009: 28).

The Shona fundamental principle of ukama has a bearing on abandoned children. In fact, one of the corner stones of this study was this principle of ukama. Orphaned as well as vulnerable children were also affected by the absence and/or lack of ukama (See also 1.8.2).

Case 4.1

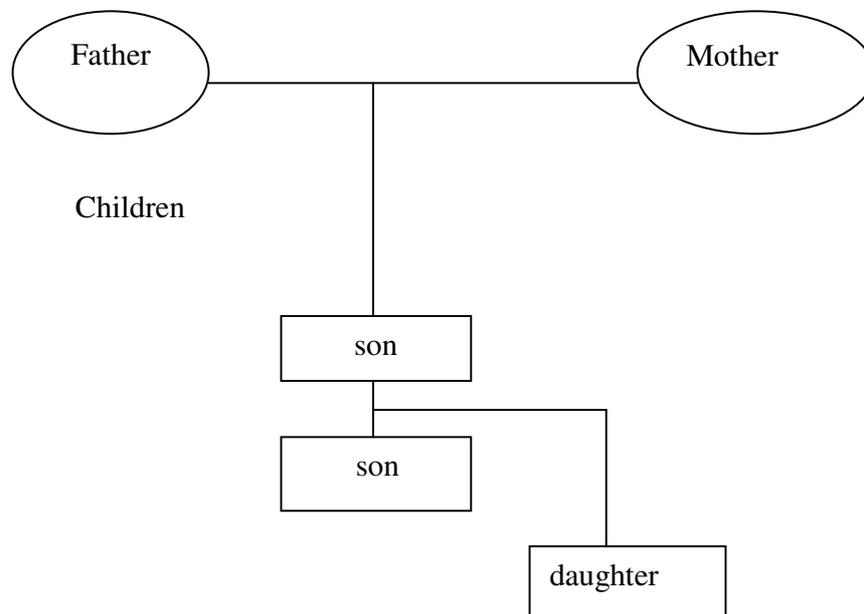


Date of interview 04/10/12 – Mazowe. Mr & Mrs TH. Family of Father, Mother and Children

Mr and Mrs TH were aged 32 and 31 respectively. Their parents were still alive. They had three children; one boy and two girls, all below ten years. They owned two grinding mills, two trucks, a seven-ton lorry, two private cars and a house. They were farming on a 30-hectare piece of land. They credited their success to their parents who advised and supported them.

They were members of Jehovah's Witness Church. Their views on children's homes were that they may not be able to develop children as well as biological parents would do. Parents gave guidance to children. The care and love they gave could not be compared to care-givers in children's homes. Care-givers were only workers.

Case 4.2

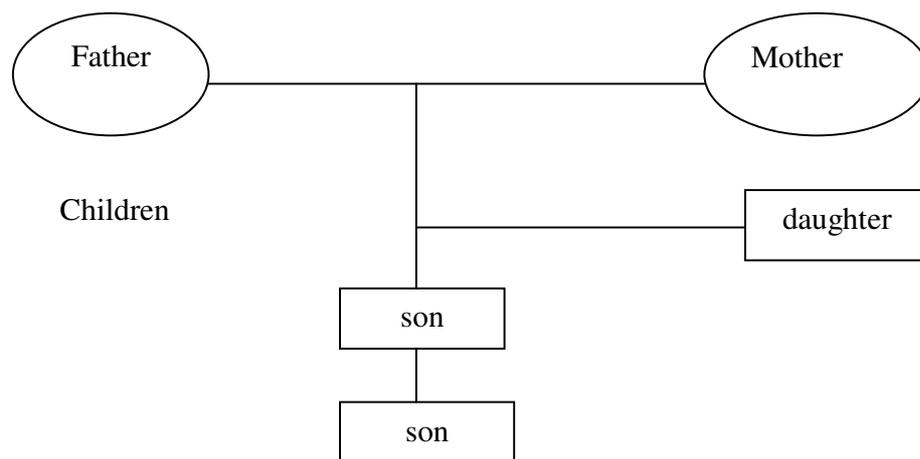


Date of interview: 04/10/12- Mazowe: Mr and Mrs TS: Family of Father, Mother and their Children.

Mr and Mrs TS were aged 55 and 53 years respectively. Their mothers were still alive but their fathers had died many years ago. Mr TS was a technician with Tel One and Mrs TS was a school teacher. The couple had three children; two boys and one girl. Two of the children were already married.

They had assets which included six hectares of land, four cattle and a seven roomed house in Glendale Township. They regarded children's homes as a stop-gap measure, adding that the absence of biological parents impacted negatively on children. Biological parents offered lasting attachment because of the care and love they showed. Even after they die, there was a belief that they would continue to exercise this attachment. Mr and Mrs TS are members of the United Methodist Church. They believed that children should be brought up under Christian values.

Case 4.3

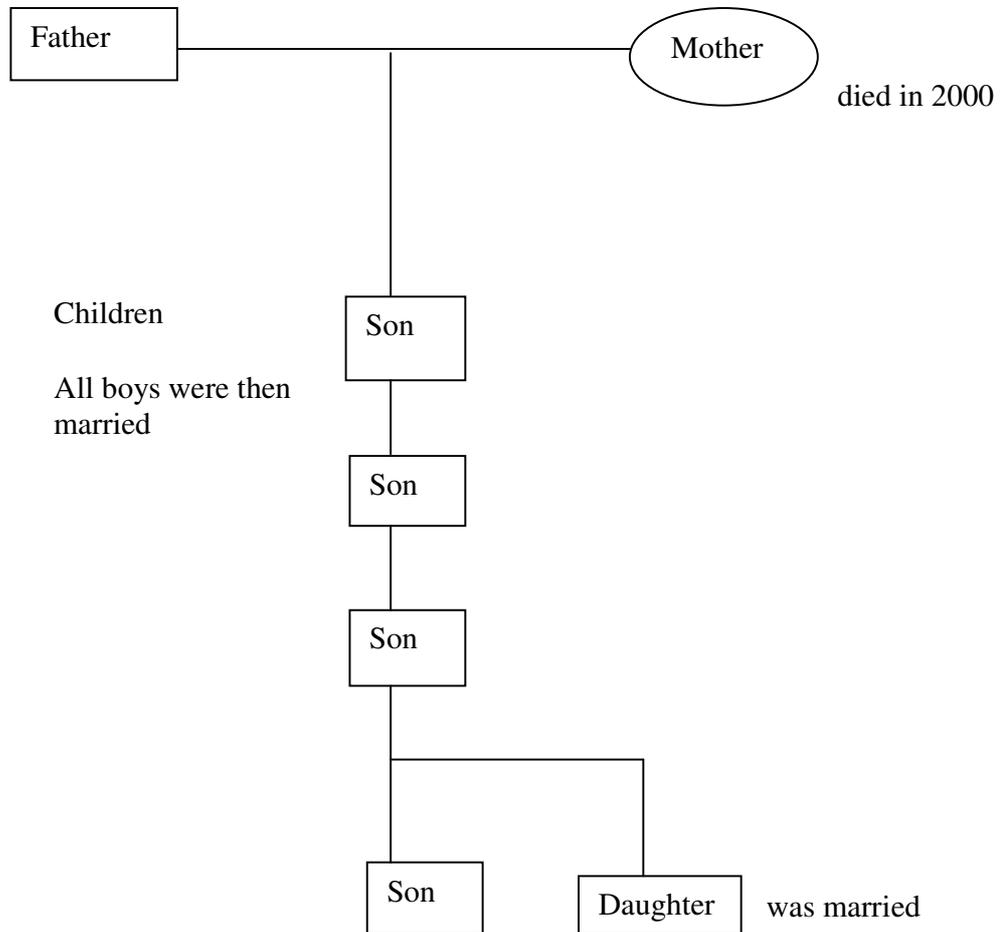


Mr and Mrs CH: Normal Family of Father, Mother and their children.

Mr and Mrs CH were aged 48 and 45 years respectively. Mr CH was born in a family of eight and Mrs CH was born in a family of four. Mr CH was an assistant Internal Auditor with the Mazowe Rural District Council and his wife was a Manager with Mazowe Post Office.

The couple had three children; two boys and one girl. The couple had a house at Nzvimbo Business Centre in Chiweshe. They also owned three private cars and goats. They held the view that children's homes had the potential to encourage cases of baby dumping. They claimed that children brought up in Children's homes lack the love and care of biological parents. They also lacked the privilege of learning from grandparents and other members of the society. The couple were members of the United International Church.

Case 4.4: Single Parent – Father only



Mr CN was born in 1948, went to school and graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in Chemistry. On the 20th of August, 2013, when he was interviewed, he was employed as a Production Manager at a mine in the Mazowe area.

He got married in 1976 to his wife who died in 2000. They had five children, four boys and one girl. All the children we then married.

Mr and the late Mrs CN were married in the Roman Catholic Church but continued to observe Shona customs.

Mr CN's mother was still alive and his father-in-law was also still alive, but his mother in-law had died.

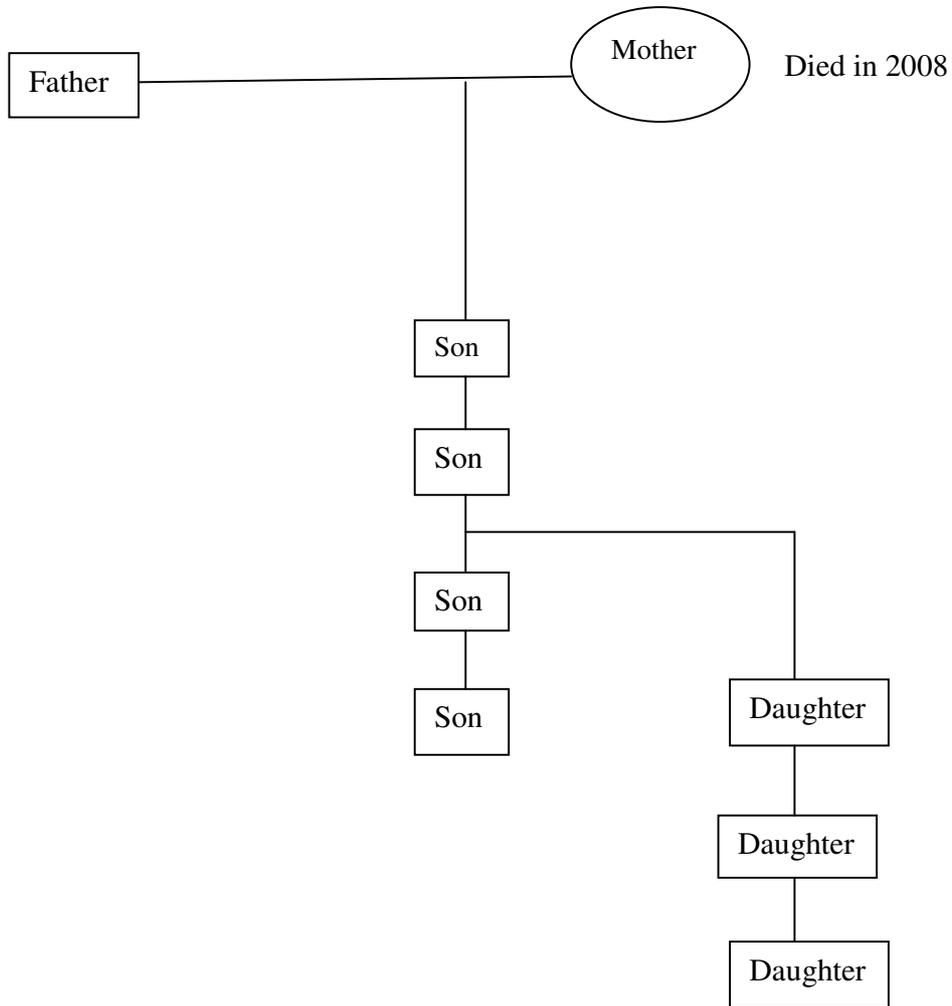
Mr CN spoke about the loss of his wife. In this view:

“Kufirwa nemurume kurinani pane kufirwa nemukadzi.” (It is better for a woman to lose here husband than a man losing his wife).

He thanked his mother and father-in-law for the assistance they continued to give him in raising his children ever since his wife died.

He had a 15-hectare piece of land, two houses; one at his farm and the other in Harare.

Case 4.5: Single Parent: Father only

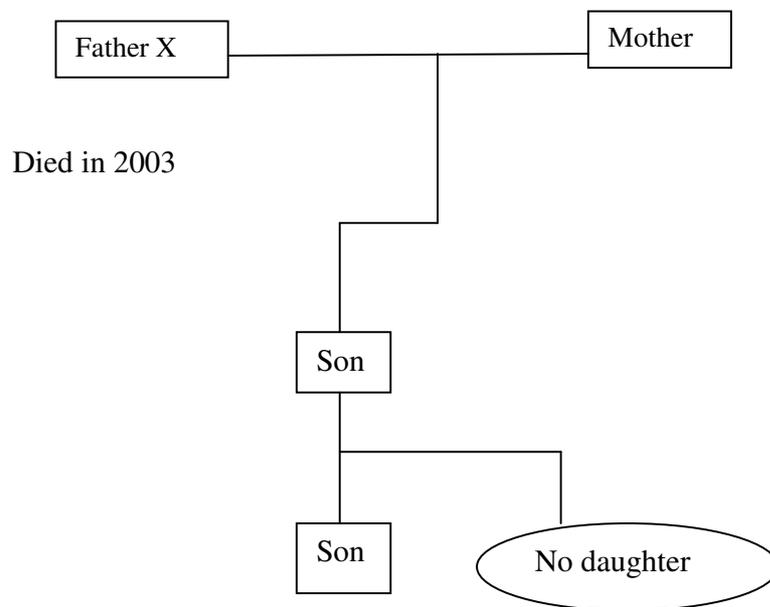


Mr FM was born in 1937 in Chidembo Village, Mazowe. When he was interviewed on the 10th of August, 2013, he had retired from the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority where he had worked for 37 years.

Mr and the late Mrs FM married in 1971 and had seven children four boys and three girls. Mrs FM died in 2008.

Ever since his wife died, life had been a struggle for Mr FM. To him “...imba mukadzi. Ndiye muridzi womusha. Kufirwa nemukadzi chinhu chinorwadza. Ndiye anenge ari mubatsiri wako. Kana asisipo, zvinhu zvose zvinooma.” (A family depends on the presence of a wife. She is the backbone of the family. To lose a wife is a very painful thing. If she is not there, life becomes difficult).

Case 4.6 Single Parent: Mother

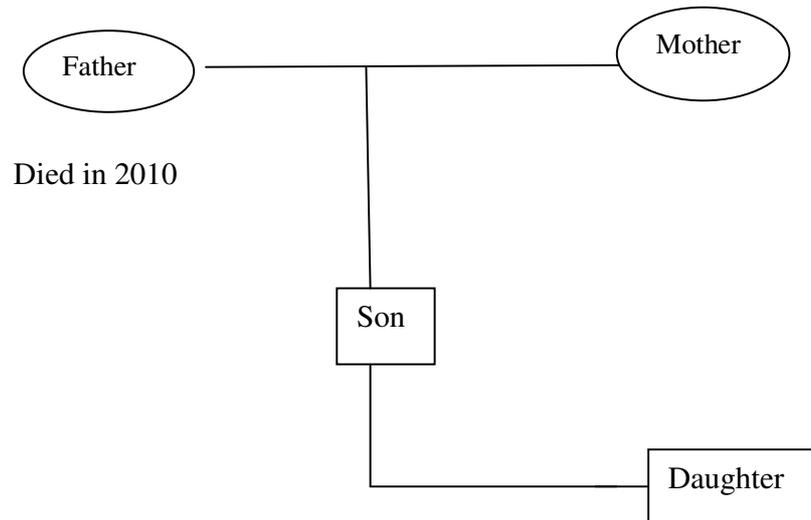


Mrs CT was a widow. Her husband died in 2003 after they had been married in a Civil marriage since 1984. They had two sons aged 29 and 24 years respectively.

Mrs CT was working for one of the local universities as a Chief Secretary. She was a member of the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe. She said after the death of her husband, she automatically became the head of the family and played the father and mother roles.

Her first born son was married and had a three year old child. Mrs CT was interviewed on the 22nd of August 2013 in Mabelreign Harare.

Case 4.7: Single Parent-Mother.

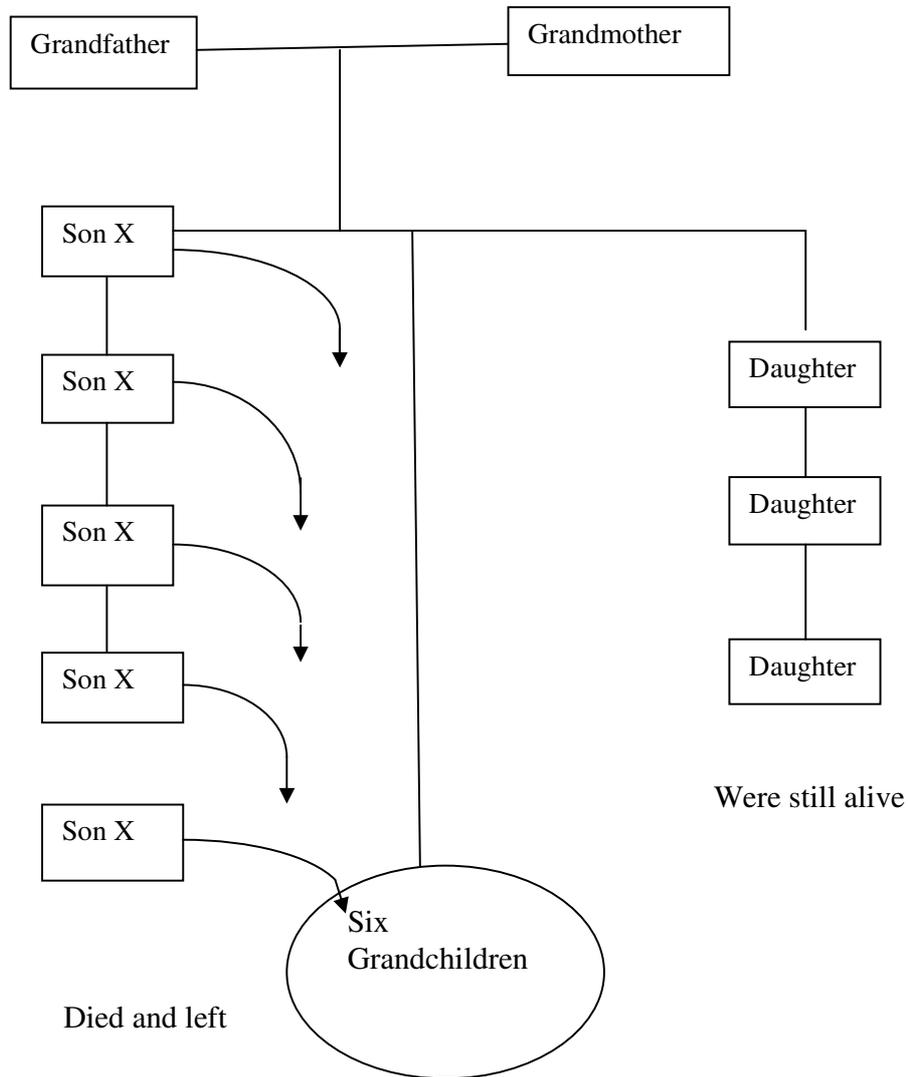


Mrs MJ was born in 1978 and entered into a customary marriage to her late husband in 1999. During the eleven years of their marriage, they had two children, a daughter and a son.

When Mr MJ died in 2010, Mrs MJ doubled up as “father” and mother. She however admitted that there were certain decisions which required her to consult her in-laws. The in-laws supported her in a number of ways such as paying school fees for he children.

During school holidays, Mrs MJ sent her children to visit their grand parents. Mrs Mujiki lived in Warren Park, Harare. She was a secretary by profession and a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission.

Case 4.8 Grandparents looking after grandchildren:



Mr and Mrs CG lived in Mazowe area. Mr CG was born in 1935 and his wife was born in 1945. They married under customary law in 1958. They both worked on a farm for many years. They had eight children, five boys and three daughters. All the five boys died of HIV/AIDS related illnesses and left six children who were in the care of Mr and Mrs CG, their grandparents.

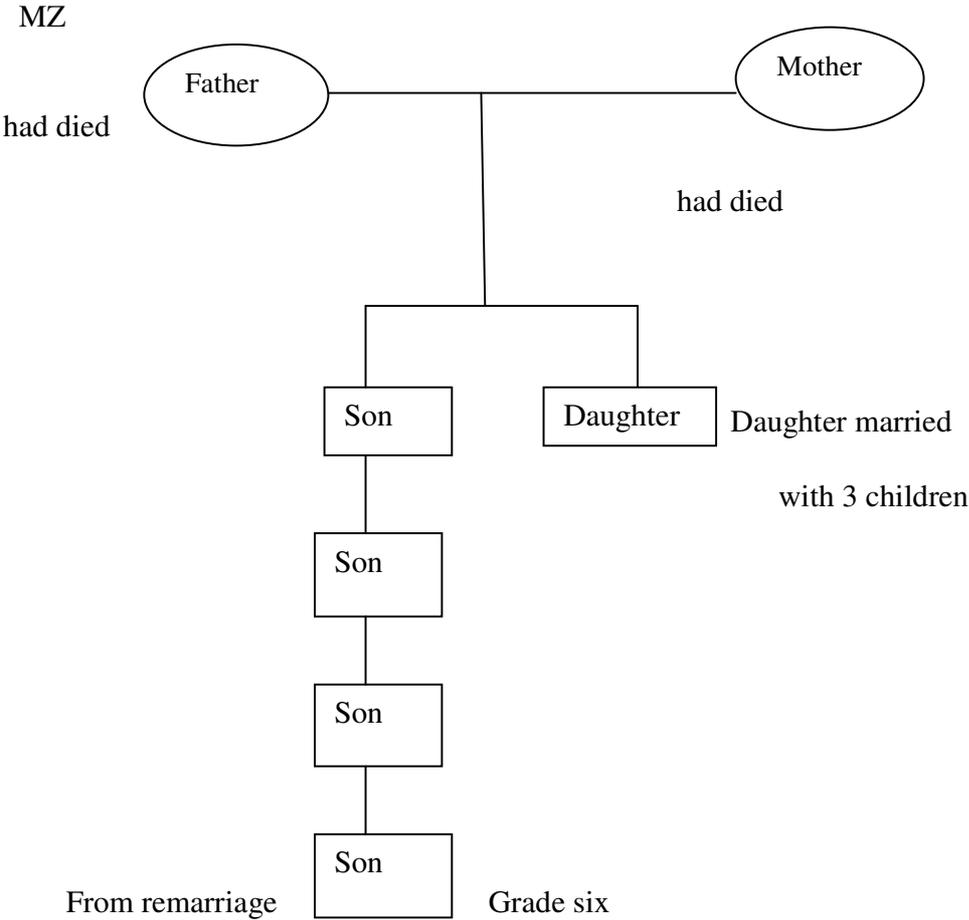
When the couple was interviewed on the 20th of August, 2013, they spoke about the many problems which some of their grandchildren were giving them. For instance, one 15-year old girl was reported to be going out with men.

Mr CG complained that:

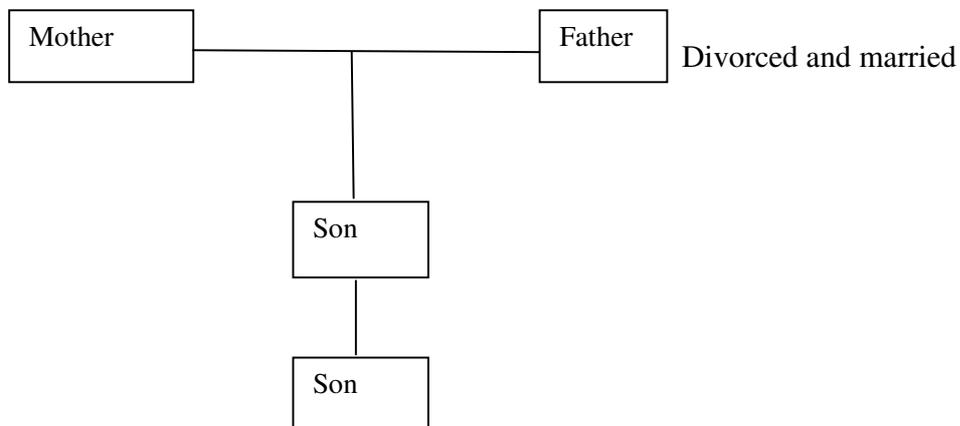
“Zvinonetsa kuraira mwana woumwe. Unobva woita sokunge uri kushusha mwana.” (It is difficult to discipline someone else’s child without being accused of abuse.)

Their grandchildren had all dropped from school because they could not afford to pay school fees. They struggled to get enough food, let alone medical expenses for themselves and the grand children when such a need arose. Mr and Mrs CG were members of the Roman Catholic Church.

Case 4.9: Child-headed Family



Case 4.10: Mai MH: A divorcee



Mrs MH was born in 1963. She was a secretary by profession working for a local university.

She married Mr MH in 1988 and had two sons who were aged 27 and 20 years respectively. After 15 years of marriage they divorced on the grounds of infidelity on the part of the husband. Mrs MH admitted that it was difficult to double up as father and mother, especially when the children were boys. However, maternal uncles were involved in the education of the children.

4.5 Marriage Laws in Zimbabwe

This section gives the context under which people could be married in Zimbabwe. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 give historical and socio-religious factors which might have influenced how marriage laws evolved in Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, there were in 2013 three types of marriage recognized by law. In the first place, there was marriage under the Marriage Act (Chapter 5:11:(37).

This form of marriage was called a “Civil Marriage.” It was based on the Christian form of marriage and was therefore in theory monogamous; that was to say the husband was not allowed to marry more than one wife. Civil marriages were celebrated before a marriage officer. Their formalities and consequences were governed by the Roman-Dutch common law.

Under a civil marriage, the spouses were normally permitted to own property independent of each other; that was to say the marriage was “out of community of property.” It was however possible for the spouses to enter into a contract before their marriage under which all their property would be jointly owned. If they did this, their marriage was said to be “in community of property.” On the death of one of the spouses, his or her property was inherited according to the Roman Dutch law unless he or she had made a will. If the spouses were both Africans their rights and the rights of their heirs were different.

The second type of marriage in Zimbabwe was referred to as, “customary marriage.” Customary marriages were contracted in accordance with the formalities required by customary law and had to be solemnized by an African marriage officer; that was a presiding officer of a community court. If this was not done, such a marriage could not be recognized in law. This type of marriage did not prohibit a husband from taking another wife. There were, however, customary practices to be followed such as paying roora. There was no time limit within which customary marriages had to be solemnized.

Foreign marriages represented the third type of marriage recognized in Zimbabwe. Generally speaking, Zimbabwean law recognized a marriage contracted outside Zimbabwe so long as that marriage was valid according to the law of the country in which the marriage was contracted. The law governing property rights of the spouses would be the law of the country in which they were domiciled when the marriage took place.

Under section 13 of the African Marriages Act (Chapter 5:07)(288), Africans married under the Marriage Act (Chapter (37), now 5:11) customary law, not the general law of Zimbabwe, governed their right to own movable property. In the absence of a will, the right of their heirs to inherit their property on their death was governed by customary law. This was a mandatory requirement of the law and could not be varied by the parties to the marriage. The effects of section 13 were:

- a) The parties to the marriage could not choose whether their marriage should be in or out of community of property. They were bound by customary law.
- b) The section applied only if two Africans got married under the Marriage Act. It did not affect marriages in which the husband or wife was a non-African.
- c) If Africans got married under a foreign law, section 13 would not apply since it applied only to marriages under the Marriage Act.

The Zimbabwean marriage law had problems which affected how marriages were contracted. The existence of two different types of marriages, one deemed to be

monogamous and the other potentially polygamous, created difficulties. If a husband married in a civil marriage took a second wife, he committed the criminal offence of bigamy and in the eyes of the general law, his second marriage was invalid.

4.6 Historical Factors which influenced Marriage Laws.

Two historical developments should be referred to in order to appreciate how marriage laws evolved in Zimbabwe. The first was the arrival of white settlers in Zimbabwe and the subsequent introduction of Roman-Dutch law. There is plenty of literature on this issue (Zvobgo, 1991; Bhebhe, 1979; Gann, 1965; Schmidt, 1992; Ranger, 1968). There is, therefore, no need to give a detailed explanation.

The second factor was the arrival of white missionaries in Zimbabwe and the subsequent introduction of rules and regulations which governed how indigenous people were to be admitted as members of the church. The rules also governed how white missionaries were to interact with Africans, including what their attitudes were to be towards African customs and belief systems. (Zvobgo, 1991; Bhebhe, 1979, Dachs, 1979; Vambe, 1972; Marphree, 1969; Evans, 1945 and Richartz, 1902).

Missionary groups which came to Zimbabwe included the London Missionary Society, The Catholics (Jesuits); Anglicans, The Dutch Reformed Church, The Wesleyan Methodists and the Salvation Army. They all worked closely with the British South Africa Company (BSAC) which was headed by Cecil John Rhodes.

They benefitted in a number of ways from the BSAC. For instance, they were all allocated land and received cash allowances (Zvobgo, 1991).

In the early years, missionary work was resisted by indigenous people. In order to pave way for Christianity, white settlers decided to weaken and eventually destroyed the African way of life (Bhebhe, 1979, Ranger, 1969).

Of particular note were the 1902 Methodist Church rules and regulations which governed the admission of Africans into the Church. Some of the rules, regulations and prohibitions were:

- ❖ No person could be a member of the Methodist Church who did not accept the Christian view of marriage.
- ❖ No Christian marriage was to be performed between a Christian and non-Christian.
- ❖ Members of the Church were not allowed to receive cattle on the marriage of their daughters.
- ❖ Church members were urged to accept only a nominal amount of “roora”/lobola”.
- ❖ The practice of runaway marriage known as “kutizisa” or “kutiza mukumbo” was strongly condemned.

- ❖ A man or woman who had married according to “heathen” custom was required to be married by a church minister before he/she could be baptized.
- ❖ If a polygamous husband desired to join the Church, he was required to retain the first wife and her children and to put away the other wives and their children.
- ❖ A polygamist could be accepted as a member of the church on trial, but if within five years he did not fulfill his Christian obligations in respect of a monogamous marriage with the first wife taken, and in making satisfactory provision for his other wives, his name would be removed from the church membership register.
- ❖ All male members and Christian workers were required to enter into a Christian marriage before co-habitation.
- ❖ No member of the Methodist Church would be allowed to attend “heathen” beer parties.
- ❖ It was forbidden for any church member to attend any “heathen” ceremonies connected with the custom of circumcision.
- ❖ Candidates for baptism were to be examined on their knowledge of the Gospel, Rules of the Methodist Church, The Ten Commandments, The Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles Creed.

- ❖ Some monetary quarterly contribution for the work of God was expected from all church members.
- ❖ No brewing or sale of beer was allowed on mission farms.
- ❖ Any mission farm resident found visiting places for the purpose of beer drinking was to be expelled without compensation for any buildings erected or land ploughed and planted.
- ❖ All “Ruwadzano” members were barred from taking snuff and following “heathen” customs such as consulting “witchdoctors.”
- ❖ Ruwadzano members were to wear the Red Blouse at all Ruwadzano meetings, sacraments and funerals (Zvobgo, 1991:110-115.)

It should also be pointed out that all Christian church organizations had rules and regulations which dealt with African admission into them. The views of the Roman Catholic Church on marriage and the biblical view on how married couples were expected to relate to each other are referred to below. This should be understood in line with the impact they have had on the Shona peoples’ marriage practices, structure and functions of the family, including child rearing based on ukama.

4.6.1 Catholic Church

The Catholic Church teaches that God himself is the author of the sacred institution of marriage. Marriage is a divine institution that can never be broken,

even if the husband or wife legally divorce in the civil courts; as long as they are both alive. The Church considers them bound together by God. Holy Matrimony is another name for sacramental marriage.

Marriage is intended to be a faithful, exclusive, lifelong union of a man and a woman, committing themselves completely to each other. A Catholic husband and wife strive to sanctify each other, bring children into the world, and educate them in the Catholic way of life. Man and woman, although created differently from each other, complement each other. This complementarity draws them together in a mutually loving union.

The valid marriage of baptized Christians is one of the seven Catholic sacraments. The sacrament of marriage is the only sacrament that a priest does not administer directly. A priest, however, is the chief witness of the husband and wife's administration of the sacrament to each other at the wedding ceremony in a Catholic Church. The Catholic Church views that Christ Himself established the sacrament of marriage at the wedding feast of Cana, therefore, since it is a divine institution, neither the Church nor state can alter the basic meaning and structure of marriage. Husband and wife give themselves totally to each other in a union that lasts until death.

Priests are instructed that marriage is part of God's natural law and to support the couple if they do choose to marry. Today it is common for Catholics to enter into a "mixed marriage" between a Catholic and a baptized non-Catholic. Couples entering into a mixed marriage are usually allowed to marry in a Catholic Church

provided the decision is of their own accord and they intend to remain together for life, to be faithful to each other, and to have children who are brought up in the Catholic faith.

In Catholicism, marriage has two ends: The good of the spouses themselves, and the procreation and education of children (1983 code of canon law, c. 1055; 1994 catechism, par, 2363). Hence entering marriage with the intention of never having children is a grave wrong and more likely ground for annulment. It is normal procedure for a priest to ask the prospective bride and groom about their plans to have children before officiating at their wedding. The Catholic Church may refuse to marry anyone unwilling to have children, since procreation by “the marriage act’ is a fundamental part of marriage. Thus usage of any form of contraception, in vitro fertilization, or birth control besides Natural Planning is a grave offence against the sanctity of marriage and ultimately against God. (Source: Wikipedia, accessed 9/10/13).

4.6.2 Christian Marriage

In Christian marriage, there is considerable disagreement among Christians as to the biblical way to define the roles of each marriage partner, and how each should interact in the family to create healthy family relationships and to please God. Roles in Christian marriages between opposite-sex couples challenge deep-rooted beliefs, teachings, and traditions – most dating from biblical days. Opinions and teachings vary among three principal groups – one group that believes in a full

and co-equal partnership of the husband and wife, and two others which advocate a male-dominant hierarchical structure in marriage:

- Christian egalitarianism proposes a completely equal partnership between men and women in both the family and in the church. Its proponents teach “the fundamental biblical principle of the equality of all human beings before God.”[Gal^{3L28}] According to this principle, there can be no moral or theological justification for permanently granting or denying status, privilege, or prerogative solely on the basis of a person’s race, class, or gender.
- Complementarianism prescribes a husband-headship male-dominant hierarchy. This view’s core beliefs call for a “husband’s loving, humble headship” and ‘the wife’s intelligent, willing submission” to his headship. Without necessarily using the term “obey”, they believe women have “different but complementary roles and responsibilities in marriage...”
- Biblical patriarchy prescribes a strict, legalistic male-dominant hierarchy. Their organization’s first tenet is that “God reveals Himself as masculine, not feminine. God is the eternal Father and the eternal Son, the Holy Spirit is also addressed as ‘He’ and Jesus Christ is a male.” They consider the husband-father to be “sovereign” over “his” household – the family leader, provider, and protector. They call for a wife to be obedient to her “head” (Husband) (Tenets of Biblical Patriarchy visual Forum Ministries).

A small and growing number of denominations conduct weddings between same-sex couples where it is civilly legal. A few others perform ceremonies to bless same-sex unions without recognizing them as marriage.

Some Christian authorities used to permit polygamy (specifically polygyny) in the past, but this practice, besides being illegal in Western cultures, is now considered to be out of the Christian mainstream and continues to be practised only by fringe fundamentalist sects (Wikipedia, accessed 9/10/13).

This explains the biblical view on how married couples were expected to relate to each other. This should be understood in line with the impact they have had on the Shona people's marriage practices, structure and functions of the family, including child-rearing based on ukama.

4.7 Socio-Religious Factors

Gray, (1917) quoted by Zvobgo, (1991:7-10), wrote that "*the Bantu people have a religion that profoundly affects the whole of their lives.*" For example, the Shona people believed in a supreme Being, Creator, or God whom they called Mwari. They believed that it was Mwari who created the earth, all humanity, the animal, insect, and vegetable worlds, the mountains, the sky, the moon; in a word everything that exists or moves on the face of the earth (Van der Merwe, 1957).

Mwari created not only the tribal but also the ancestral spirits. Mwari was not approached directly but only through Great Messengers such as Chaminuka. Below Mwari in the spiritual hierarchy were Great Messengers such as

Chaminuka. Chaminuka was the voice of the Shona spirit under the Creator-Mwari. Below Chaminuka were tribal spirits called *Mhondoro*. These were spirits of deceased eminent persons believed to reside in the body of a lion when not communicating with the living through an accredited human medium who could be of any age or sex.

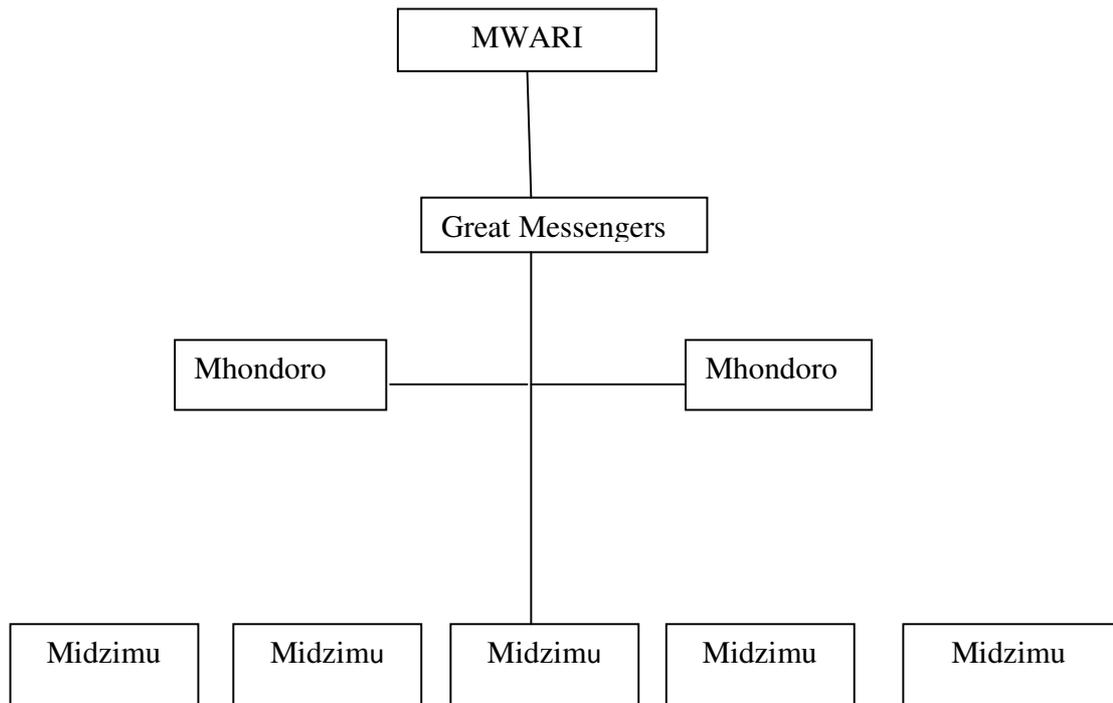
Next in the spiritual hierarchy were the spirits representing each family group. It was believed that after death, the mudzimu (family spirit) of every married person was concerned with the living members of the family. The spirit was interested in the immediate dependents. Thus the spirit of the deceased father or mother hovered around their own children and grandchildren, protecting them and showing a constant concern for their welfare and with what they said and did.

The spirits of the grandparents were considered more important than those of the parents. First in order of importance was the grandfather, then the grandmother followed by father and the mother. The religious life of an individual was therefore closely bound up with these four mudzimu (ancestral spirits) (See diagram 4.11). Mudzimu revealed itself to the family through a *svikiro* (medium) who might be any member of the family; old, young, male or female.

Read alongside the Christian view point, the Shona belief system was taken by missionaries to be “heathen.” The introduction of Christianity has had a “negative impact” on how the Shona people were to relate to their parents physically and spiritually. This is a relevant issue to the study of the nature of

changes in the structure and functions of the family; particularly in matters to do with spiritual attachment. This attachment is based on the principle of ukama.

Case 4.11 Spiritual Hierarchy of the Shona people



This spiritual hierarchy has an impact on the peoples' rootedness to their ancestors, that is their attachment (ukama). The introduction of Christianity and its teachings challenged the spiritual hierarchy as believed by the Shona people. This had a bearing on the structure and functions of the Shona family which was based on Ukama.

NOTE: The pronouns “he” or “she” are not used in the Shona language.

4.8 Family Instability: Causes and Consequences

Reference is now made to possible causes and consequences of family instability. I first refer to theoretical issues supported by data from field work. For instance, how is parental loss related to criminal tendencies and delinquency among adults?

4.8.1 Using Attachment Theory to Explain Criminal Tendencies and Delinquency Among Adults.

Attachment theory may be used to explain criminal and delinquency among adults who grew up as orphans and subsequently go on to commit some delinquent behaviours like baby dumping, as is explained later. The key figure in attachment theory is Bowlby (1940, 1944, 1951, 1959, 1979, 1980, 1985). It is instructive that Bowlby described the effect of parental loss in terms of both an increased likelihood of and a greater vulnerability to future adversity and as the basis for delinquency among young adults. Parental loss is linked to reduced intellectual ability, delinquency, relationship, instability, early sexual activity, teenage pregnancy, affectionless display and emotional detachment.

According to Bowlby (1944, 1979, 1980) attachment means a bond or tie between an individual and an attachment figure. This attachment is important to the child because of the need for safety and protection, which is paramount in infancy and childhood, and is the basis of the bond. The attachment theory posits that children attach to caregivers instinctively, with respect to ways of achieving security, survival and ultimately, genetic replication (Bowlby, 1979, 1980).

Bowlby also argues that attachment or the emotional bond, takes place within what are called critical periods. According to this premise, the first five years, particularly the first two years, are very critical in the development of attachment relationship. Certain changes in attachment, such as the infant's coming to prefer a familiar caregiver and avoid strangers, are most likely to occur within the period between the ages of about six months and two or three years.

Although it is usual for the principal attachment to be the biological mother, the role can be taken by anybody who behaves in a "mothering" way over a consistent period. Attachment theory accepts the customary primacy of the mother as the main caregiver and therefore the person who interacts most with a young child, but there is nothing in the theory to suggest that fathers are not equally likely to become principal attachment figures if they happen to provide most of the child-care and related social interaction. The attachment behavioural system serves to maintain closer proximity to the attachment figure, although its diverse behavior may be used in other behavior systems. Attachment has also been described as an attitude, or readiness for certain behaviours, that one person displays toward another. This attitude involves seeking proximity to the attachment figure and may include a variety of other attachment behaviours.

Bowlby (1969, 1980) wrote that the children incorporate the attachment relationship into an internal working model, prepares the growing child for later mature friendships, marriage, and parenthood. The mature internal working model of social relationships thus advances far beyond the basic desire to

maintain proximity to familiar people, although this type of behaviour may continue to be present in times of threat or pain. For Bowlby (1969, 1980), the internal working model becomes part of the personality and has three features. The first is how trustworthy the model is, the second is how the self is valuable and the third how effective the self is in interacting with others. Thus the attachment relationship then guides future social and emotional behaviours as this internal working model guides the responsiveness to others in general.

Still on the internal working models, Main, Kaplan and Cassidy (1985) suggest that patterns of secure and insecure attachment organization, internalized in the form of working models, are representational of states of mind in relation to patterns of attachment. Main et al's (1985) research, indicate that once established, patterns of attachment experienced as potentially disruptive is countered by perceptual and behavioural control mechanisms. Internal working models are, therefore, thought to mediate experience of actual relationships and events, and to guide and direct feelings, behaviour, attention, memory and cognition. The authors' findings support Bowlby's (1979) argument that mental models shaped by childhood experiences of pathological mourning may be activated under conditions of separation and loss in adulthood, together with the expression of dysfunctional anger, hatred and aggression. Bowlby (1979, 1980) argues that insecurely attached children would not be able to form stable relationships as adults. Thus when there is insecure attachment, that child grows into an adult who will have problems in developing trusting and stable

relationships. They may therefore form many unstable relationships or may stick to unstable and trustless relationships.

Mary Ainsworth's innovative methodology and comprehensive observational studies, particularly those undertaken in Scotland and in Uganda, informed much of the theory, expanded its concepts and enabled its tenets to be empirically tested (Ainsworth, 1967). Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall (1978) conducted research based on Bowlby's early formulation and identified different attachment styles or patterns which are not, strictly speaking, part of attachment theory but are very closely identified with it. Ainsworth devised a protocol known as the Strange Situation Protocol, still used today to assess attachment patterns in children, as the laboratory portion of a larger study that included extensive home visitations over the first year of the child's life. This study identified three attachment patterns that a child may have with its primary attachment figure. Secure, anxious-avoidant (insecure) and anxious-ambivalent (insecure) (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978).

Bowlby (1951, 1969, 1980) also theorized that the loss of a caregiver, particularly the mother, leads to maternal deprivation which has serious negative consequences. The expected long term consequences of parental loss include delinquency, reduced intelligence, increased aggression and affectionless psychopath. Affectionless psychopath refers to the inability to show affection or concern for others (Bowlby, 1951, 1980). Such individuals act on impulse with little regard for the consequences of their actions.

Bowlby (1944, 1980) then hypothesized that maternal deprivation could lead to serious incidences of juvenile delinquency, emotional difficulties and antisocial behavior. In 1944, Bowlby conducted a study on the effects of maternal deprivation on adolescent behavior particularly juvenile delinquency. This study involved conducting interviews on juvenile delinquents. The study showed that participants who had experienced disruption in attachment during early childhood were more likely to suffer affectionless psychopathy than those individuals who had not experienced maternal deprivation. Rutter (1981) argues that such delinquency may not only be due to attachment problems but also to intellectual stimulation and social experiences which are provided by attachment.

An individual who therefore has been separated from the attachment figure may respond to the separation by entering a state of emotional detachment (Bowlby, 1973, 1979). In reviewing studies linking insecurely attached children and subsequent criminal behavior, Fonagy et al (1977) suggest that patterns of attachment operate as mechanisms of defence to help the child cope with idiosyncrasies of parental care-giving and the criminality involves disturbance of attachment processes. These findings agree with de Zulueta;s (1993) proposal that “violence is attachment gone wrong.” Indeed, Main and Weston (1982), observed a distinct tendency in insecurely attached children to behave in an aggressive and hostile way, as did Grossman and Grossman (1991). In John’s case, referred to in the study, as with so many men who suffer unresolved childhood trauma, substance abuse and violent behavior followed. The links between these factors were, again, highly reminiscent of the work on trauma by

de Zulueta (1993) and Herman (1992). They also accord with findings cited by West and George (1999). These show that male perpetrators of adult relational violence report a high incidence of childhood histories of severe abuse and trauma (Downey, Khoun and Feldman, 1997; Herman and van der Kolk, 1987; Kalmuss, 1984).

Basing on the work by Bowlby, research has established that parental absence is a risk factor for undesirable developmental outcomes: early sexual activity, teen pregnancy, and unstable marriages later in life (e.g. Bumpass, Martin, & Sweet, 1991; Ellis et al., 2003). The mechanism by which parental loss may affect their children may involve the changing patterns of parental care influencing development (Barber, 2000; Ellis et al., 2003). Stress related to divorce and economic uncertainty may confound effects of parental loss (Chisholm, 1999).

Basing on the theoretical work by Bowlby and Ainsworth, it can be argued that the baby dumping behaviours by mothers, as explained below, who themselves were orphaned can be explained by attachment theory. Attachment theory has provided three concepts that help in explaining baby dumping. The first concept is that parental loss or maternal deprivation can lead to emotional detachment or affectionless psychopath. The second concept is that parental loss can lead to delinquency and criminality. Parental loss can lead to relationship instability in adulthood. Another significant concept is the absence of parents on early sexual activity.

Parental loss is therefore highly correlated with baby dumping because these orphaned adults had experienced parental loss and most probably developed emotional detachment that they could not feel emotionally attached to their own babies, if not, baby dumping is not evidence for affectionless psychopath. Baby dumping is also a form of delinquent and criminal behavior that is a reason why those individuals convicted of baby dumping are jailed.

Another aspect that explains why baby dumping is related to parental loss is the fact that these individuals engage in sexual activities at an early stage. Such sexual relations are usually multiple and unstable because people who are not securely attached do not form trusting and long-term relationships. The issue that these individuals may not be intellectually highly developed may explain their lack of other less criminal and well-meaning income generating methods other than transactional sex.

We now refer to baby dumping cases as reported by the Zimbabwe Republic Police in an attempt to buttress the arguments presented in the attachment theory.

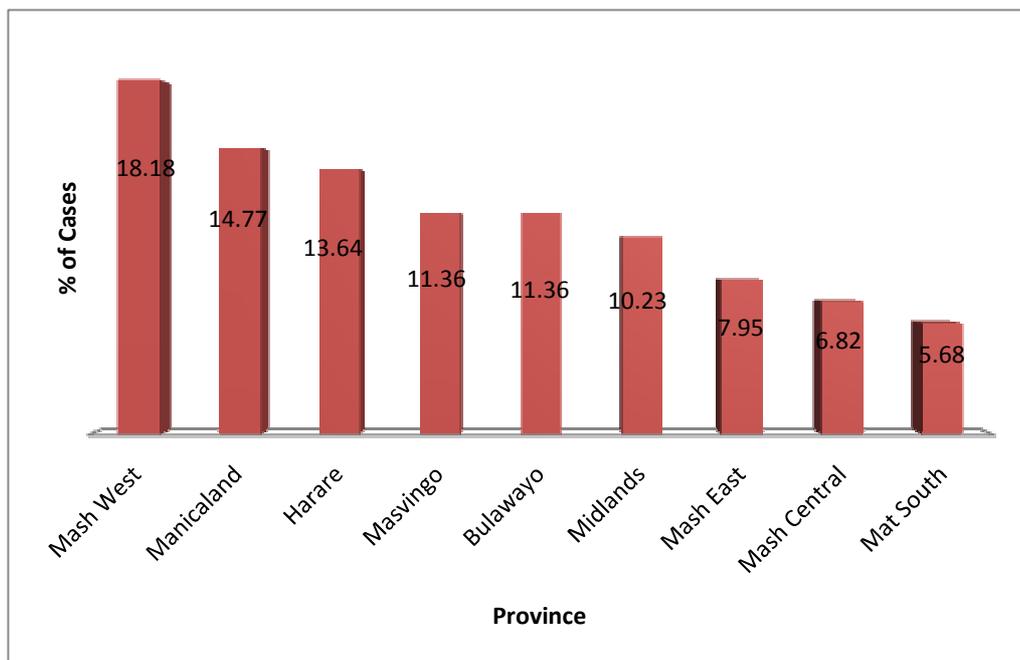
4.8.2 Baby Dumping Cases: Police Reports.

According to the Statistics Bureau, Crime Department of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) (August 2012), a total of 88 cases of baby dumping were recorded by police stations country wide for the period January 2011 to June 2012. The cases were in contravention of section 108(1) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, Chapter 9:23. The section states that:

“Any person who intentionally abandons an infant in such a place or in such circumstances that death may result from exposure, shall be guilty of exposing an infant...”

The majority of the reported cases occurred in the predominantly rural Mashonaland West and Manicaland provinces. The distribution of baby dumping cases by province is as shown in Figure 4. Mashonaland West had the highest occurrences and Matebeleland South had the lowest occurrences.

Fig 4. Distribution of Baby Dumping Cases by Province (n=88)



Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP Crime Department (August 2012)

Distribution of baby dumping cases by place of occurrence is as shown in Table 2. Forty-one per cent of cases of baby dumping occurred in homesteads. In some cases, women abandoned infants at their boyfriend's homes after disputes over the paternity of the child. In other cases, infants were abandoned at homes of strangers.

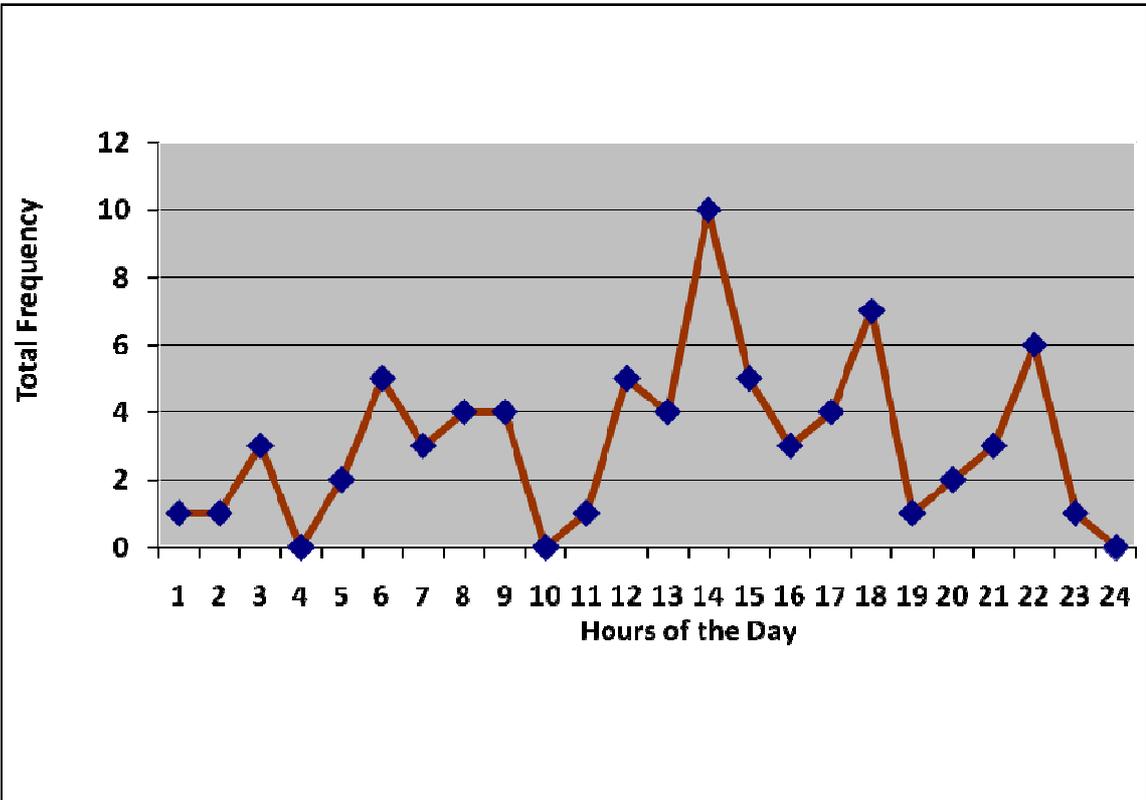
Table 2: Distribution of Baby Dumping Cases by Place of Occurrence

Place of occurrence	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Homestead	37	41.05
Street or Open Space	15	17.05
Rural Bush	8	9.09
Urban Bush	7	7.95
Farm Bush	6	6.82
Toilet/Pit Latrine	6	6.82
Rural B/C	4	4.55
Urban B/C	4	4.55
Railway Line	1	1.14
Total	88	100.00

Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP Crime Department (August 2012)

The trend of baby dumping during the period under review averaged about five cases per month. The number of cases had dropped from an average of five to three cases per month. Police attributed this drop to improvement in the country's economic situation and awareness campaigns conducted by the police.

Fig 5. Time of Day Baby Dumping Occurred.

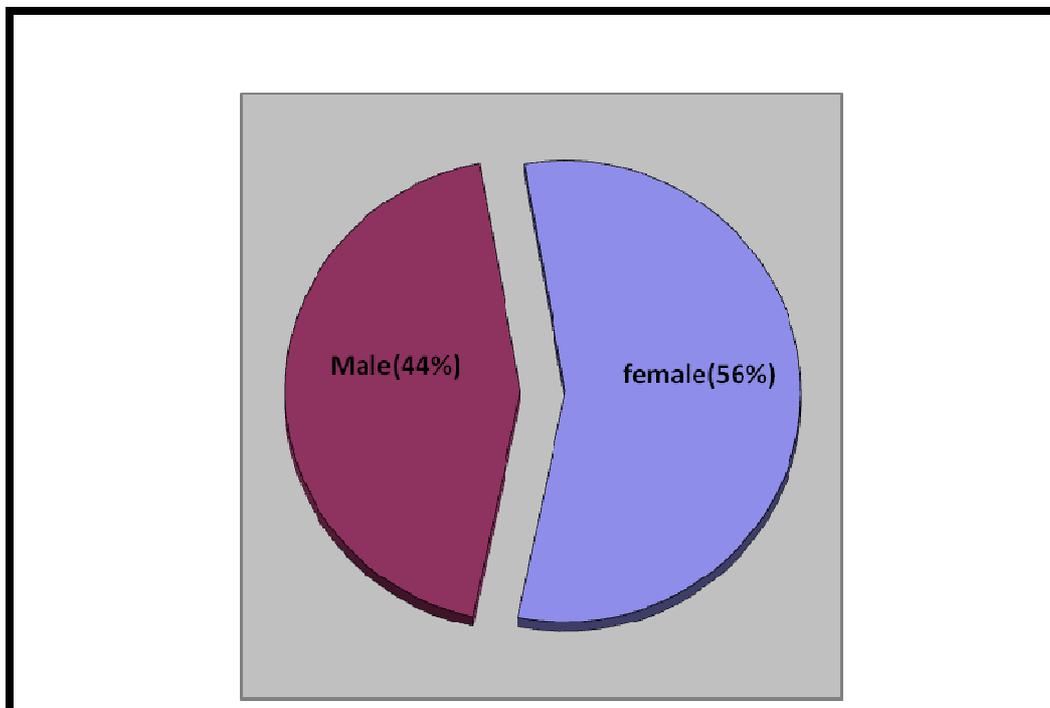


Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP Crime Department (August 2012)

Fifty-six percent of the dumped babies were females whilst forty-four per cent were males, as shown in Figure 6. Statistics show that as the age of the infant increased, the likelihood of being dumped decreased. Only a few infants of up to 60 months were dumped, otherwise the majority of the victims were below fifteen months old, as shown in Figure 7.

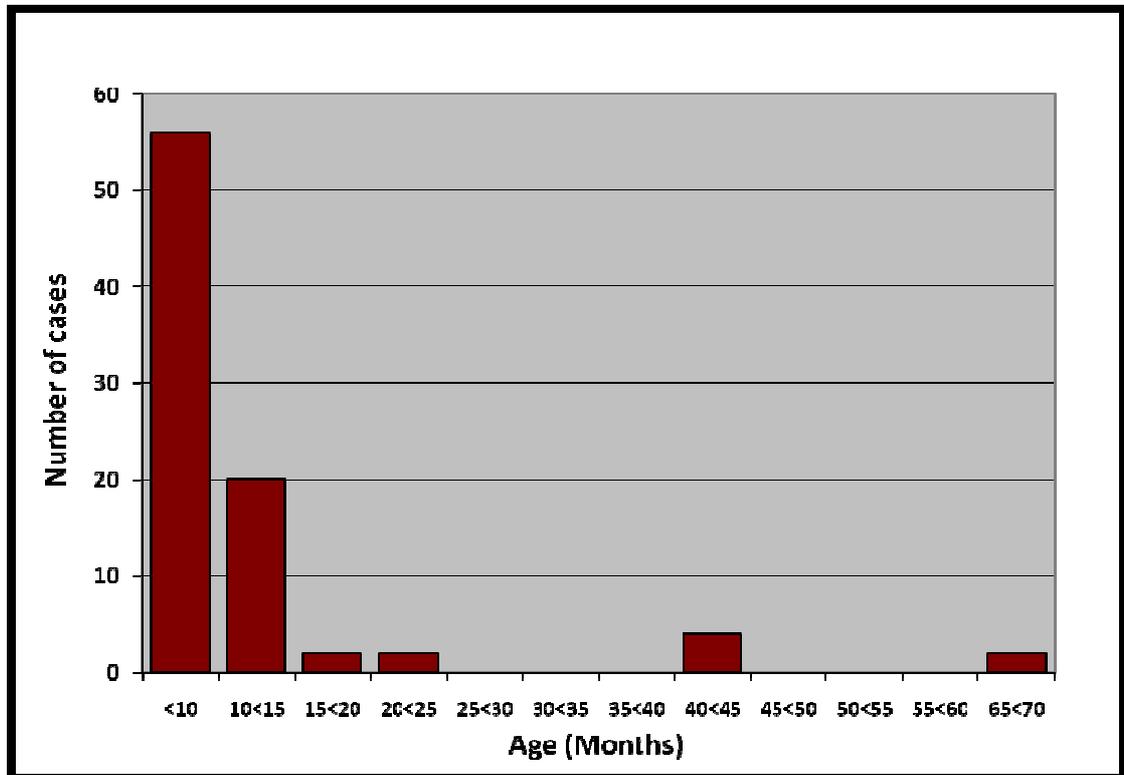
The high rate of dumped female babies may be explained in the context of the national male to female ratio. The 2012 initial population census reports indicate that about 52% of Zimbabwe's population were females and about 48% were males. Another possible explanation may be the less favourable attitude of parents towards girl-children.

Fig 6. Distribution of Baby Dumping by Sex of Victim



Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP Crime Department

Fig 7: Distribution of Baby Dumping Cases by Age of Victim



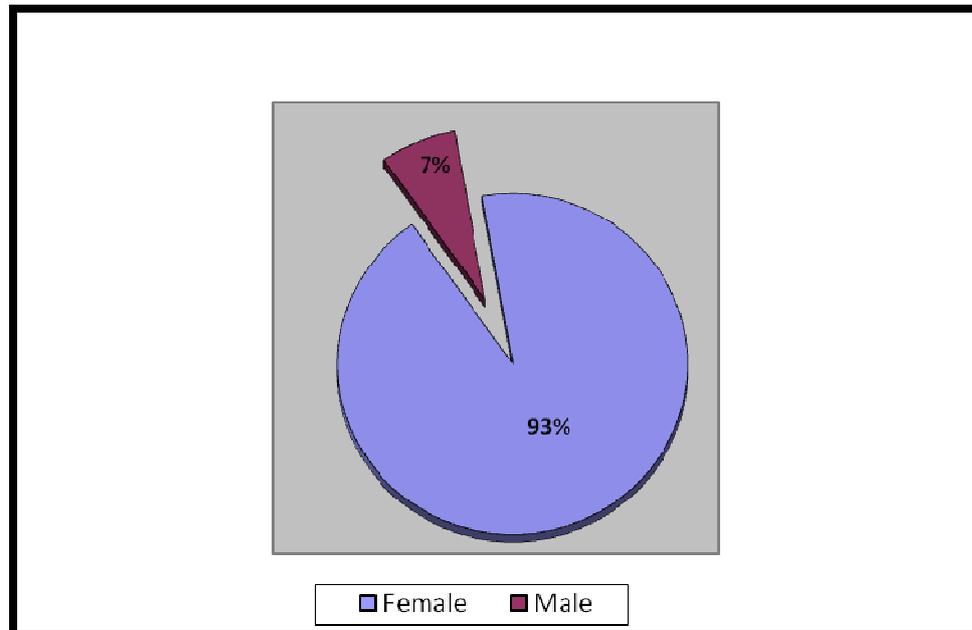
The distribution of baby dumping by relationship of the offender to victim is as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of Baby Dumping Cases by Relationship of Offender to Victim

Relationship	Frequency	Percentage (%)
<i>Mother</i>	82	93.18
<i>Step Father</i>	3	3.41
<i>Father</i>	2	2.27
<i>Uncle</i>	1	1.14
Total	88	100.0

Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP

Fig 8: Distribution of Baby Dumping Cases by Sex of Accused



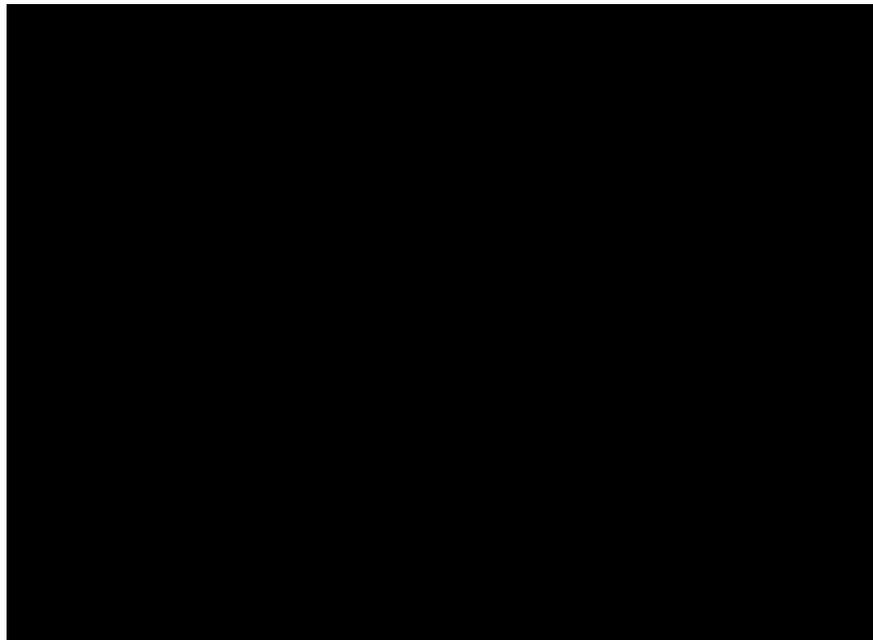
Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP

The distribution of baby dumping cases by sex of the accused is as shown in Figure 8 which also shows that 93% of the perpetrators of baby dumping were female. Ordinarily, women are the ones who take care of infants after giving birth. The few males who were arrested for baby dumping were mainly step-fathers who did not want to take care of their new wives children. Other reasons are as suggested earlier.

Figure 9 shows the distribution of baby dumping cases by motive of dumping. One of the motives for dumping was “to fix the spouse.” The majority of the

baby dumping cases were carried out in the afternoon. In most cases, mothers abandoned their infants at their own homes or dumped them at unsuspecting strangers' houses.

Fig 9: Distribution of Baby Dumping Cases by Motive of Dumping



Source: Statistics Bureau: ZRP Crime Department

The average age of perpetrators of baby dumping was 21 years, as shown in Table 4. This suggests that new couples had more paternity disputes with regards to first born babies. The other motive behind baby dumping was to “force fathers to accept responsibility over their children.” Financial problems might have prompted women to dump infants, even outside places such as police stations, children’s homes or church buildings.

Table 4: Distribution of Prisoners with baby dumping cases by Age in Years

Age of Prisoner (Years)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)	Minimum age (Years)	Maximum age (Years)
18-20	1	6.7	6.7	18.0	35.0
21-25	8	53.3	60.0		
26-30	3	20.0	80.0		
31-35	3	20.0	100.0		
Total	15	100.0			

Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services.

Table 4 is a summary of the findings on female prisoners with cases of baby dumping according to age. All perpetrators were found to be adults. The majority of the perpetrators were aged between 21 and 25 years, accounting for 53.3% of the sample. Few prisoners (6.3%) had committed this offence in the 18-20 age category.

4.8.3 Baby Dumping: Information From Group Discussions

On the 24th of July, 2012, we held a focus group discussion in Mazowe, Mashonaland Central Province, in order to capture certain aspects of information on causes and consequences on baby dumping and changes in the structure and functions of the family. Nine participants took part; seven males and two females. Among the participants, was a Chief, (NG) leader of 105 villages in Mashonaland

Central Province. The participants' ages ranged from 40 to 92 years for males and 50 to 60 years for females.

BC (these are initials for his names), who gave his age as 92, attributed baby dumping to the disintegration of the Shona culture. "*Vana havachatevedzi tsika dzedu dzekare.* (Children no longer respect our customs)" In the past, he claimed, older persons would instruct boys and girls on the values and norms of their society. One of the values taught was to abstain from sexual activities before marriage. One of the participants, PM, spoke of how in 2011, a girl in their village gave birth to a child and hid the infant under a mattress for a number of days. The infant eventually died. Some suspicious elderly women later questioned the girl. They then went to search her room and discovered the dead infant. The matter was reported to the police and the culprit was arrested.

Chief NG spoke of an incident which was brought before his court in 2008 of a girl who had concealed an infant under river sand. The infant was discovered by river sand collectors who then took the dead infant to the Chief. The culprit was however not located.

In another case of baby dumping which occurred in Kanhukamwe Village under Chief NG, a girl gave birth to a child and dumped her in a well. The infant was discovered by some women who had gone to fetch water from the well. Unfortunately, the infant had already died. The culprit was arrested.

Chief NG referred to yet another case which happened in November, 2011 where a woman self-delivered a baby, dug a grave in the grave yard where relatives of her boyfriend were buried. She buried the infant's body in the shallow grave but left the head of the infant uncovered. The culprit was identified and was later taken to Bindura police station for questioning.

4.8.4 Consequences of Baby Dumping: Information from the Prison Services

The obvious consequence of breaking the law is that the perpetrator is arrested, tried and in most cases, convicted and sentenced to prison. In the case of baby dumping, the maximum sentence was 12 months with labour and six months were suspended. The minimum sentence was 105 hours community service.

On the 16th of August 2012, we visited Chikurubi Maximum Prison in order to interview convicted baby dumpers. The visit and subsequent interviews were approved by prison authorities. However, the interviewees volunteered to be interviewed. The main purpose of the interviews was to capture the prisoners' experiences on prison life and reflections on the circumstances which led to the commission of the crimes.

Before we reproduce the contents of the interviews, a brief background of Chikurubi Maximum Prison as it was on the day of the interviews particularly the prison population composition is given. There were two sections of the prison complex; male and female. There were 207 female prisoners. One hundred and

fifty-six of them had not yet been convicted. The female section had a holding capacity of 287 prisoners.

There were also 22 mental patients, six prohibited immigrants, four pregnant women and 17 children; ten boys and seven girls, whose mothers were serving jail terms. The mothers were pregnant when they committed the offences. Two female prisoners were serving life jail terms.

The male section had 2 033 prisoners, all classified as dangerous. Of these, 491 were convicted rapists. We interviewed six female baby dumpers who volunteered to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted in the absence of prison officers.

4.8.5 Interviews

Case One: PB.

She was 24 years old. She came from Kakonde Village under Chief NM in Mashonaland West. Her parents died in 1997. She was left in the care of an uncle who then lived in Kariba. She had one surviving brother with whom she did not see eye to eye. The other two family children had died. She said her uncle ill-treated her. She dropped out of school when she was in Form Two because her uncle could not afford to pay school fees. When her uncle chased her away from home, she resorted to beer drinking and prostitution. She eventually got pregnant in October 2010. Although she said she knew the man who impregnated her, he did not admit responsibility. She self-delivered a baby girl in the bush in July

2011. She took care of the child for five months. She earned a living through prostitution. When life became even harder, she decided to abandon her baby under a bridge in broad day light and went to Karoi to stay with friends. The baby was found by passers-by who took her to a police station. Some members of the community identified the child and gave her to PB's uncle who looked after her. Police were alerted of her presence in Karoi. She was arrested, brought to Kariba where she was tried and sentenced to 57 months. She was due to be released in August 2014.

Case Two – MN

MN was 24 years old. She came from Chikafa Village under Chief CS. Her parents died when she was five years old. She was born in a family of four girls and one boy. She was the fifth child. She dropped out of school when she was doing Form One, because she was pregnant. The man who impregnated her denied responsibility. She gave birth to a child at her sister's house who cared for her and the child well.

In 2011, MN fell in love with yet another man, PK. She again fell pregnant. When she told PK about the pregnancy, he denied responsibility. She later self-delivered the child at her sister's home. After delivering, she picked up the infant and deliberately dropped her on to the floor. The infant incurred serious injuries. When her sister returned home, she took the infant to a nearby clinic. The infant died after two days. The incident was reported to the police who then arrested her. She was later brought before Guruve magistrate's court and was sentenced

to 18 months in prison. During the interview, she was remorseful and expressed a wish to look after her first child after serving her prison sentence.

Case Three: CN

She was 28 years old and came from Chiredzi. When her mother and father passed away in 2001 and 2003, respectively, she was left in the care of her grandparents. She was a second child in a family of five children. The grandparents provided almost everything for her upkeep but, due to peer pressure, she fell in love with a married primary school teacher who impregnated her. Later on she went to Chiredzi town and, at the onset of labour, went to a nearby sugar plantation, gave birth, wrapped the baby in a towel and dumped it before fleeing the scene. The baby's cries drew the attention of two cane cutters the following morning who took the baby to the nearest police station. CN returned to Chiredzi town after dumping the baby. Her neighbours alerted the police who interrogated her. CN was linked to the dumped baby and later admitted having committed the offence. She was arrested in June 2011 and was convicted and sentenced to 24 months in prison.

Case Four: PC

A third child in a family of five girls and two boys, PC was 26 years old and came from Chiweshe under Chief NG. Her parents died when she was 10 years old. PC fell pregnant while she was in Form Three and dropped out of school. The person responsible for the pregnancy was her schoolmate who unfortunately

denied responsibility for the pregnancy. PC gave birth to a child at a local clinic but five days later dumped the baby at a nearby graveyard. A boy looking for lost cattle in the area heard the half-buried baby crying and alerted the villagers. The elders rushed to the scene and took the frail infant to the chief's place. It was later discovered that PC had committed the offence. She was arrested in June 2011 and was given a prison sentence of 28 months. The interview was conducted whilst she was still serving her sentence at Chikurubi Female Prison.

Case Five: TT

TT was 24 years old and came from Chipanga in Chipinge. She was an orphan who was raised at her maternal grandmother's place. TT's grandmother was able to finance her education up to Form Four. Just before she could sit for her examinations, she was impregnated by a carpenter who denied responsibility and fled to Chiredzi. TT was left stranded. She later gave birth to a baby boy and followed her boyfriend. TT felt that she had no option but to dump the baby at the premises of Chiredzi Christian Children's Home. The authorities at the Home heard the baby crying and a police report was made. After committing the crime, TT returned to Chipanga. Her neighbours suspected that she had done something to her baby and alerted the police. She was convicted for her crime and sent to Chikurubi Female Prison where she was serving a 21-months prison sentence when this interview was conducted.

Case Six: MT

An only child in her family, MT was 27 years old and came from Zaka. Her father and mother died in 1999 and 2001, respectively. A neighbour volunteered to take care of her after the deaths of her parents because there were no close relatives who had volunteered to look after her. When she was in Form Two, her foster father raped her, resulting in her pregnancy. She later reported the matter to the nearest police station. The man was arrested and sentenced to 24 years in prison. MT remained at the foster parents' home but her relationship with the rapist's wife had soured. She then gave birth to a baby boy and decided to dump him at a nearby stream as she felt that she was too young to care for the baby. The baby was discovered by women who had gone to fetch water from the stream. It did not take time for MT to be linked to the case. She was arrested and later admitted to having committed the crime. She was sentenced to 18 months in prison. The interview was conducted while she was still serving her sentence at Chikurubi Female Prison.

4.8.6 Demographic Characteristics of Female Prisoners with Baby

Dumping Related Offences.

Table 5 shows the distribution of female prison population by province. Harare had the highest percentage (34%) followed by Bulawayo which had 27%. Matebeleland North had the lowest percentage (1.4%).

Table 5: Demographic Characteristics of Female Prison Population by Province

Region	Convicted	Unconvicted	Total
Harare	149	51	200
Bulawayo	118	22	140
Midlands	60	15	75
Masvingo	23	1	24
Manicaland	33	8	41
Mash West	15	6	21
Mash East	15	3	18
Mash Central	7	2	9
Mat North	6	1	7
Mat South	11	6	17
Total	437	115	552

Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services

The distribution of prisoners according to status of conviction on cases of baby dumping is as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Distribution of Prisoners according to status of conviction on cases of Baby Dumping

Nature Prisoner	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)
Unconvicted	1	6.7	28.3
Convicted	14	93.3	100.0
Total	15	100.0	

Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services

The distribution of prisoners with baby dumping cases by age in years is as shown in Table 7. All perpetrators were adults. The majority of them were aged from 21 to 25 years, accounting for 53.3% of the sample. Few prisoners (6.7%) had committed the baby dumping offence in the 18 – 20 age category.

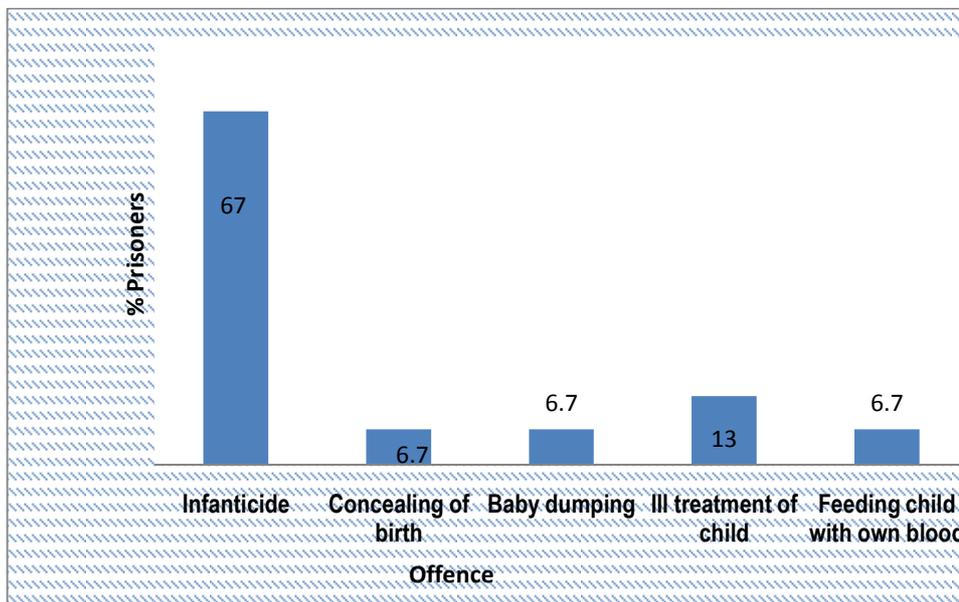
Table7: Distribution of Prisoners with baby dumping cases by Age in Years

Age of Prisoner (Years)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)	Minimum age (Years)	Maximum age (Years)
18-20	1	6.7	6.7	18.0	35.0
21-25	8	53.3	60.0		
26-30	3	20.0	80.0		
31-35	3	20.0	100.0		
Total	15	100.0			

Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services

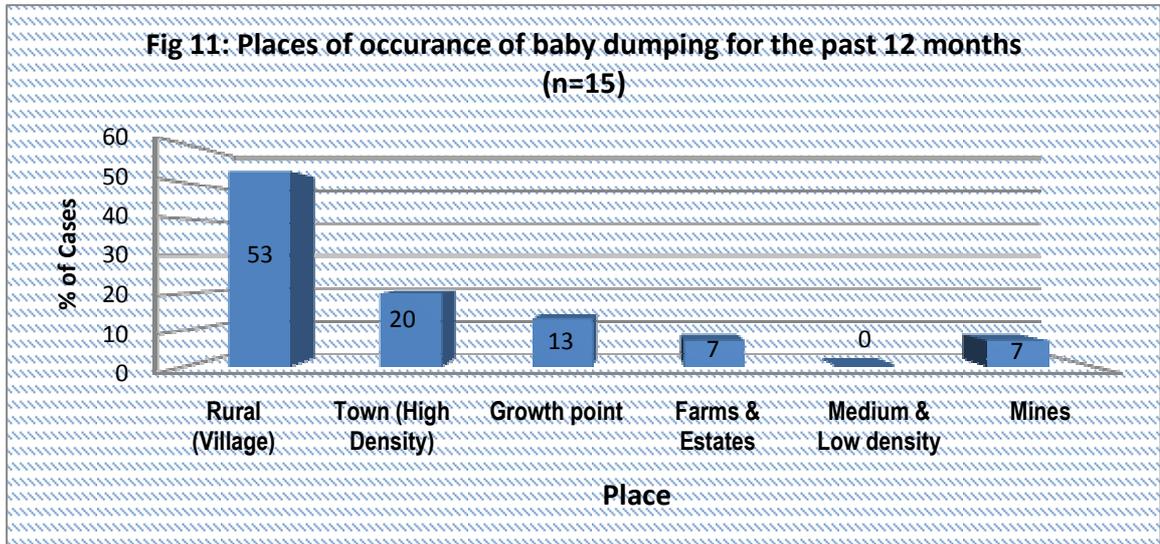
The prevalence of cases of baby dumping for the 12 months beginning January to December 2011, is as shown in Figure 10. The figures indicated that infanticide was the most prevalent form of baby dumping (67%), (13%) for inmates under study.

Fig 10: Prevalence of cases of baby dumping for the past 12 months

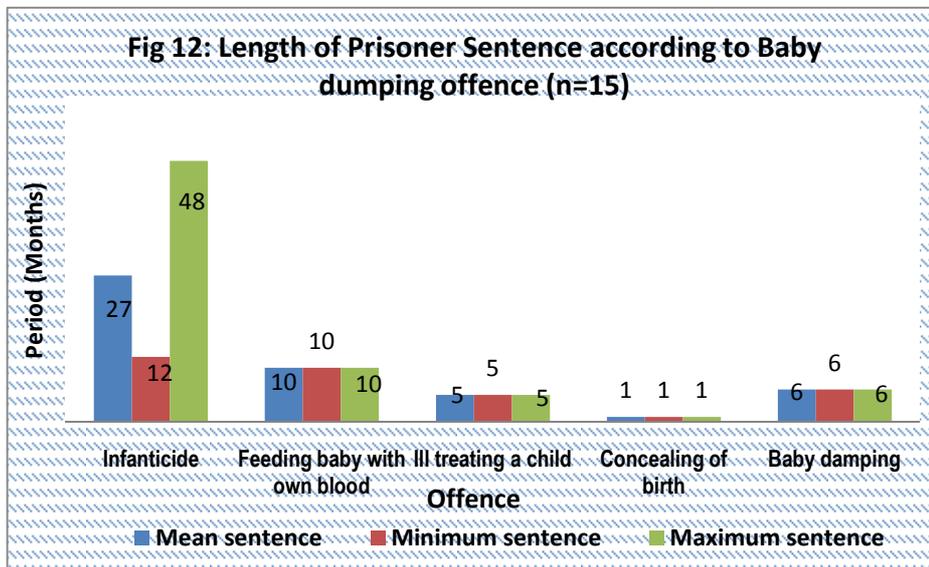


Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services

Places of occurrence of baby dumping for the period under review is, as shown in Figure 11. The highest percentage of cases was in the rural areas. The length of prison sentence according to baby dumping offence is shown in Figure 12. Infanticide had the highest custodial sentence of three years. Concealing of birth attracted a one year jail term.



Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services



Source: Zimbabwe Prison Services

PART TWO

4.9 EMERGENCE OF CHILDREN'S HOMES IN ZIMBABWE

4.9.1 Introduction

In this section, I present data which sought to establish a link between the nature of changes in the structure and functions of the family and the emergence of “children’s Homes” in Zimbabwe. Data were obtained from secondary and primary sources. Data address issues on when and why children’s homes were established. Four factors were identified as causes for the emergence of children’s homes.

- ❖ The 1896 to 1897 Chimurenga and the 1917/18 World War I;
- ❖ The outbreak of famine which followed the conflict between white settlers and Shona and Ndebele people;
- ❖ The outbreak of epidemics such as the 1917/18 influenza and the on going HIV/AIDS pandemic;
- ❖ Personal motivation.

In all the four causes identified for the emergence of children’s homes, family structure and functions were affected. Data reveal three categories of children in children’s homes, namely: Orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable. Abandoned children were those who were dumped and abandoned by one of the parents or

both parents. In the majority of cases, they were abandoned by mothers. These children did not know who their parents were neither did the caregivers know the parents or any relatives. They were given any names although nobody could trace their parental roots. They were children *vasingazivi mitupo yavo kana madzinza avo*. (They did not know their totems or ancestral roots.)

Orphaned children were those who had lost one parent or both parents. Caregivers knew some of their relatives. The children could, at some stage, be released in the care of such relatives if there was such a need. Or relatives could visit them from time to time if they so wished.

Vulnerable children were those who were maintained in circumstances which were detrimental to their welfare or interests. Their parents or guardians failed to exercise proper care and control over them. Such children were taken into places of safety, as defined by the Children's Act, Chapter 5:06.

4.9.2 1896/7 Chimurenga

The Shona and Ndebele uprisings against the British South Africa Company's regime started in March and June 1896, respectively. The causes and consequences of the Chimurenga were well documented (Bhebhe, 1979; Chigwedere, 2001; Zvobgo, 1991; Ranger, 1967, 1970; Gann, 1965; Phimister, 1988; Schmidt, 1992; Mudenge, 1986). The task at hand is to highlight the effects which the conflict had on the structure and functions of the family and the subsequent emergence of orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable children's homes.

African rulers were the first targets. The thinking was that if the families of rulers were converted to the agendas of white people, followers would automatically oblige. For example, King Mutota became one of the early targets (Mudenge, 1986). He was converted to Christianity and had his name changed to Domingos, much to the delight of the superior general of the Dominicans who ordered that a commemorative bronze plaque be erected and engraved.

In the 1880s, missionaries who worked closely with the British South Africa Company (BSAC), plotted the overthrow of King Lobengula having concluded that this could pave the way for Christianity (Bhebe, 1986). But this behaviour of white settlers led to a series of battles and struggles between them and the Shona and Ndebele people. In subsequent struggles, lives were lost. Families were broken up either permanently or temporarily (Vambe, 1972:142). Land and livestock were seized by officials of the BSAC. This disrupted the production of food by the Shona and Ndebele people. In July 1893, BSAC officials hired white settlers in the Victoria area to help them fight a Ndebele regiment which had invaded the area. Each hired mercenary would be given 6 000 acres of land, 20 gold claims and a share of cattle which were to be looted from the Ndebele. In 1889, the BSAC offered 3 000 acres of land, 10 gold claims reef and five alluvial gold claims to each volunteer who came to settle in Mashonaland (Chigwedere, 2001: 24-25). By 1914, the BSAC had looted over 66 000 cattle valued at about four hundred thousand pounds (NAR no. 22938). Phimister, (1983:254) said:

“... the settlers turned to a more through-going looting of the natural economy of the Shona and Ndebele. Between October 1893 and March 1896, anything from 100 000 to 200 000 cattle were seized from the Ndebele; forced labour became widespread and the collection of hut tax... was stepped up... Its collection was arbitrary and irregular ... as marauding bands of Native Department tax collectors raided villages and districts of their crops and livestock.”

By March 1897, white military settlers concluded that the quickest way to suppress the Shona uprising was to starve them into submission by burning down their crops of maize (Stanlake, 1897). The worst result of the fighting was the suffering of women and children. Reverend Temple, quoted by Zvobgo (1991:58), said:

“The Solusi missionaries had between 20 and 30 children, some of them orphans and others who had been abandoned by their parents.”

At Chishawasha Mission, which had been turned into a military command centre by white settlers, families of some of the executed leaders of Chimurenga were taken hostage. The children of Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi were said to have been some of the orphans kept at Chishawasha. Mbuya Nehanda had a daughter whose name was given as Sabina. Sekuru Kaguvi had three children kept as orphans at Chishawasha; two daughters and one son. The name of the son

was given as Kahoodza (Personal interview with Father Fidelis Mukonori, 20/10/13; Schimdt, 1992:40; Zvobgo, 1991:59.)

The orphaned and abandoned children who were kept at Solusi Mission and Chishawasha were not by design but came to be by military force. It could, therefore, be concluded that the first orphaned and abandoned children in Zimbabwe were as the result of the 1896/97 Chimurenga.

4.9.3 Harare Children's Home

The First World War was yet another cause for the emergence of a children's home. The Harare Children's Home was located at number 2 Daventry Road, Eastlea, in Harare. It was a registered Non-Governmental Organization established in 1919 by the Wesleyan Methodist Church after World War I. A committee comprising 15 persons, chaired by Reverend Glyndr Davies, met to prepare a constitution for the Home. It was adopted in January 1921.

The Home's first inmates were eleven white children whose parents had died in the 1917/18 World War I. The Home was originally located in a building along the then Jameson Avenue, now Samora Machel. The Home moved to Number 2 Daventry Road in 1956. In June 2013, the Home accommodated 90 black children whose ages ranged from two months to 21 years. The 21 year old inmate was a girl who was then enrolled for a degree programme at the Midlands State University.

Boys taken into the Home were expected to leave the Home when they were ten years old because the Home did not have a facility for boys above ten years. The children admitted into the Home came from different social backgrounds; orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable. They were taken care of by 26 care-givers.

The Home was run on an estimated budget of nine thousand dollars per month. The government of Zimbabwe was expected to provide a grant of fifteen dollars per month per child. However, this grant was not provided as promised, thus leaving the Home to solicit for support from other sources such as donors and income generating activities.

The Home was on a 15 acre piece of land where five residential and other administrative houses were constructed. The Home faced many problems which included food shortages, poor counseling services, inappropriate clothes and bedding for children. Mrs SSL, who had been head of the Home since 1992, spoke of the importance of listening to children in order to understand their expectations. She was brought up by her grandmother after the death of her parents. Later in life, she married but lost her husband in 1991.

4.9.4 Makumbi Children's Home

The Home was an offshoot of Chishawasha Mission. It was established in 1936 to cater for children whose parents had died in various circumstances. The Home followed the Chishawasha tradition of looking after orphaned and abandoned children as the result of conflict or outbreak of diseases.

Abandoned children could in the early years, be kept at the Home until they were nine years. Where possible, they could then be re-united with their relatives. Later, children could be kept in the Home until they were 18 years.

From 1937 to 1992, the dormitory type of accommodation was used. From May 1993, and in compliance with the then new government regulations, a “family system” was adopted. In May 2013, the Home had 12 care-givers who used eight houses to accommodate 87 abandoned and orphaned children. In an interview on the 17th of May, 2013, Sister ALS, who was then in charge of the Home, spoke of an incident which happened at the Home in 2000. An orphaned boy, KN, who had turned 18 years and was then supposed to obtain an identity card, demanded to know who his parents were. Sister ALS revealed to the boy that both his parents had died in a car accident and was then taken to Makumbi Mission Children’s Home. When KN heard of how his parents had died, he cried uncontrollably and later died of heart failure.

In the same Home, a girl was given the name RASHAI, which literally means “throw away”. She was very upset by the name and insisted that it be changed. Sister ALS took her to the Registrar General’s office in Harare and had the name changed to ZVIKOMBORERO, which means “blessings.” She was so happy that even her school work improved.

4.9.5 Outbreak of Famine:

One of the factors identified as the cause of the emergence of children's orphanages in Zimbabwe was famine caused by conflict of 1896/7. The condition of non-combatants of the 1896/7 uprising was described by Reverend W. A. Elliot of the London Missionary Society. Suffering affected mainly women and children.

“They were reduced to the most pitiable straits of hunger... (Zvobgo, 1991:58).

Reverend C. H. Temple who visited Solusi Mission in Matebeleland, saw between twenty and thirty children, some of them orphans and others who had been abandoned by their parents who could not afford to look after them.

The effect of the Shona risings on Chishawasha and the Shawasha people was described by Vambe as follows:

“They found themselves at the end of the conflict completely without food. This long struggle had made it impossible for them to cultivate any new crops ... many families were broken up...” (1972:142).

4.9.6 Outbreak of Disease Epidemics

There were two types of disease outbreaks. One affected human beings and the other affected livestock. However, both outbreaks left the Shona and Ndebele people vulnerable.

Before the uprising, a popular discontent was a series of crops and cattle scourges.

Schmidt (1992:38) noted that:

“In the months before the rebellion began in Mashonaland, the area was plagued by locusts and then rinderpest. In order to prevent the spread of the cattle disease, the British South Africa Company administration ordered the massive slaughter of African-owned cattle, a measure that was deeply resented by both Shona and Ndebele people. Even cattle that appeared to be healthy were destroyed and the consumption of their meat prohibited.”

The loss of large numbers of cattle to rinderpest and the appearance of large swarms of locusts which left land barren and crop fields empty, meant that the population was left with no food and no means of survival. These calamities were blamed on the arrival of the white people.

In 1917/18, there was an outbreak of influenza which killed large numbers of people. Some children affected were taken into Harare Children’s Home in 1919. In like manner the current HIV/AIDS pandemic has left many children without parents. In 2010, UNICEF estimated that in Sub Saharan Africa, 20 million children had been orphaned because of HIV/AIDS.

4.9.7 Mother of Peace Community

Mother of Peace Community began in South Africa in 1989 as a direct response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic. The Zimbabwe branch was established on a

320-hectare farm in Mutoko, some 150 km north of Harare, in 1994. It was registered in Zimbabwe under the then Private Voluntary Organizations Act and complied with all the necessary government regulations. In May 2013, the Home had 123 children, 45% of them had been abandoned and 54% were orphaned by HIV/AIDS.

Table 8: The distribution of the children by age and sex as of the 14th of May, 2013.

Age Group	Boys	Girls
Below 11 months	0	0
1 – 3 years	6	7
4 – 6 years	6	8
7 – 9 years	9	7
10 – 12 years	31	20
13 – 15 years	13	16
TOTAL	65	58

According to the authorities at the Home, over 400 children had received care and support from the Home since 1994. Twenty six of the assisted children had married; 20 girls and six boys. A total of 49 grand children resulted from the marriages. The Home had assisted six children to enter universities in Zimbabwe, South Africa and the United Kingdom to read for degree programmes in Medicine, Economics, Social Work, Information Technology and Business Studies. The assisted children were either abandoned, orphaned or vulnerable.

4.9.8 Personal Motivation

The study identified Homes which were established by individuals who were concerned with the plight of abandoned, orphaned and vulnerable children. The Homes used as case studies were Matthew Rusike Children's Home, Chinyaradzo Children's Home, Arther Shearley Cripps Children's Home, SOS and Grace Mugabe Children's Home. Grace Mugabe Children's Home was used as a Model and is profiled in Chapter Five.

4.9.8.1 SOS Children's Home

SOS Children's Home traced its origins from Mr Uyani who got a piece of land in Bindura, Mashonaland Central Province, in the late 1970s and established the Uyani Orphanage. Mr Uyani later realized that running such a Home required large sums of money which he did not have. He therefore sought assistance from donors. He approached an Austrian-based organization – SOS Kinderdorf International which agreed to partner him. The Uyani Orphanage was renamed SOS Village-Bindura in 1981. Two other villages were opened in Waterfalls, Harare and Bulawayo in 1989 and 1992 respectively.

SOS-Kinderdorf operated in 139 countries world-wide where it cared for orphaned and abandoned children. The concept “village” was preferred so as to resemble the villages found in the communities. SOS Villages in Zimbabwe were supposed to be wholly funded by SOS International but because of continual

financial cuts from international donors, the Zimbabwe SOS Villages had been forced to look for alternative funding.

The then Director of the Villages in Zimbabwe, Mr C. C., spoke about the activities of the Villages. He highlighted the challenges which the Villages faced. He was not particularly happy with the behaviour of some children brought up in the Villages. He complained that some of the children brought up in the SOS Villages were “useless” because they failed to fit in society. He claimed that they were sometimes “rude and unthankful.” He gave examples of four SOS raised children who were expelled from the Mushagashi Training Centre in Masvingo Province in November 2012 and another one who was expelled from Chindunduma Secondary School in Mashonaland Central for various forms of misbehaviour in mid-term 2012.

Mr C.C. claimed that the causes of the children’s misbehaviour emanated from an “over-emphasis” on children’s rights at the expense of “parental” discipline. In his view, the hands of the care-givers were tied. Administering corporal punishment to children could invoke displeasure from children activists and law enforcement agents.

Mr C.C. referred to hired care-givers whom he said lacked the motherly and/or fatherly love given by biological parents. Care-givers were just workers. However, Mr C.C. referred to three students from the Villages who were enrolled at universities in Zimbabwe who were doing well except for one girl at the Catholic University who had a strained relationship with a lady who had

volunteered to take care of her. The girl had brought her boyfriend in an apartment she was sharing with another girl.

Mai MCM, one of the then long serving care-givers at the Waterfalls Village, suggested that children should be admitted in the Village when they were less than five years. After five years, it became difficult to teach them good behaviour. Some of them challenged care-givers, telling them that they were, after all, not their biological mothers.

At the Waterfalls centre, the children received regular talks from care-givers about the need to be able to use their hands later in life. Included in the talks was the revelation that some of them were abandoned children whose parents were not known. This was supposed to pre-empt questions which children were likely to raise later about who their biological parents were.

4.9.8.2 Matthew Rusike Children's Home

The Home was the brain-child of the late Rev. Matthew Jacha Rusike who had been touched by the plight of orphaned children. He helped the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe to establish a residential care facility for orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable children in Epworth, 15 km east of Harare, in 1960. The Home was registered as an African Children's Home in 1968 in terms of the then Welfare Organizations Act.

The Home operated a programme which combined residential care and community-based care initiatives. The Home had transformed from dormitory based care to small group living facilities which resembled normal community “households.” The house units could accommodate nine adults.

The children were taken care of by trained care-givers. In an interview, Mai MME, the then National Director of the Matthew Rusike Children’s Home, said what started as Rev. Rusike’s vision in Makwiro, Mashonaland West Province, had been transformed into one of the largest Methodist Church-run children’s organizations in Zimbabwe.

The Home received funding from Friends of Matthew Rusike Children’s Homes, Action for Children-UK, Uniting World-Australia, Methodist Missionary Society and United Church of Australia. The Home utilized a one and half hectare piece of land to grow a variety of vegetables and keeping over one thousand chickens.

The Home ran an early learning centre where even children from the surrounding community came to attend lessons. For primary education, the children used Epworth Primary School which other children in the surrounding community also used.

There were houses which accommodated children from one month to twelve years. Each of the six “family” units was in the care of a resident “house mother.” After the children had completed primary schooling, they proceeded to Muguta and Epworth Secondary Schools. The Methodist Church emphasized

Christian values and demanded that all children raised in the Home upheld church values.

Mai MSTO, who had been with the Home for 27 years, spoke of the many disciplined children who had passed through her hands. One of the products of the Home was a medical doctor who worked in Harare. The medical doctor was doing a good job at the Home. He provided medical care from time to time to his “brothers and sisters.” He sometimes came if there was an emergence. He was always available to provide help. He had developed a strong attachment with the Home. Another product was a lecturer at Fort Hare University in South Africa.

4.9.8.3 Chinyaradzo Children’s Home

The Home was established in 1962 by the then Children Protection Society. It sought to provide full time residential care for children who were deemed to have been in need of care. Their ages ranged from one to 18 years, as was permitted by the then Children’s Act. The original intention of the Home was to provide decent, permanent shelter for orphaned and abandoned children.

In 2002, the Home shifted to a family-based residential model. The aim was to replicate a normal “nuclear” family setting where children were expected to have contact with at least one “parent”. The children in the Home performed house chores such as cleaning the house and washing utensils.

In 2012, there were six family-based units. Four were within the premises of the Home and two were situated in the surrounding community. Each unit could accommodate ten children. Each unit was headed by a resident care-giver.

The then centre manager, Amai KRM, explained in an interview that children attended school at Chipembere, Kuwangira, Mbizi, St Peters Kubatana primary schools. For their secondary education, they went to Upenyu Hutsva, Kwaedza and Mhuriimwe schools. The then centre manager spoke favourably of the adoption of children. She referred to one child who was adopted by a white couple in England whom she said was “doing well” in life. However, he frequently phoned the centre wanting to know where he was picked up from when he had been abandoned. He was keen to know who his biological parents were.

4.9.8.4 The Arthur Shearly Cripps Children’s Home

The Home was established in 1963 at St Johns Mission, Chikwaka, Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province, by the Anglican Church. The Home traced its origins to a white priest, Arthur Shearly Cripps. He had worked at Marondamashanu Mission Station, near Chivhu, Mashonaland East Province. During his stay there, he witnessed African twins being put to death because it was regarded as taboo to give birth to twins.

When Cripps moved to St Johns in the 1950s, he made a pledge that after his death, his money should be used to build an orphanage to cater for twins who survived the Shona practice. When he later died, his church built the Arthur

Shearly Cripps Home which was completed in 1961. The Home started with two girl inmates who came from Bulawayo. They were aged two and five years respectively. Their background could not be established.

In June 2013, the Home had 87 children, their ages ranged from six months to 17 years. They were looked after by 13 care-givers. The centre had an early learning facility, a primary school as well as a secondary school. These facilities were also used by children from the surrounding villages.

4.10 Legal and Administrative Issues

One of the objectives of the study was to determine the effectiveness or otherwise of the existing (2013) legal and administrative frameworks which governed the welfare and rights of children. To achieve this objective, I interviewed the Director of Social Services, MM; Chief Magistrate, MG, President of the Council of chiefs, Chief FC's and also obtained data from secondary sources. The interviews were conducted on the 7th and 9th of August, 2013 respectively.

4.11 Interviews

Director of Social Services – MMD

MMD referred to the 2012 guidelines on the Institutional Care for Children, the 2010 Residential Child Care standards and the Children's Act, Chapter 5:06. He said standards required for registration and child care were:

- ❖ That no institution was allowed to receive children into its care without a registration certificate issued by the Minister of Labour and Social Services.
- ❖ To qualify for registration, an institution had to meet the following requirements:
 - ❖ The residential care facility shall have a “family unit” type accommodation. There must be a “house mother,” and possibly “a house father.” Children should stay like in any normal family.
 - ❖ Each “family unit” should not accommodate more than ten children.
 - ❖ Appropriate rooms and furniture should be provided to guarantee children’s privacy.
 - ❖ The rooms should have space of at least 3.5 square metres.
 - ❖ Children aged 0 – 7 years should be accommodated separate from those who were 8 years and above.
 - ❖ Children in the 8 – 18 age range should be afforded separate accommodation.
 - ❖ Boys and girls aged 8 – 18 should live in separate accommodation.
 - ❖ Waterborne sanitation, cold and hot water should be provided.
 - ❖ There must be good ventilation.
 - ❖ A health inspection report must be available.

- ❖ All staff must have a certificate of vaccination against communicable diseases. They must undergo medical examination, including chest X rays, before taking employment.
- ❖ Where infants to be admitted were less than a year old, a resident nurse must be available or a medical facility must be nearby for emergencies.
- ❖ There must be sufficient food supplies of approved standard.
- ❖ Child/care-giver ratio must be at most 1:10 to enable optimum care and supervision.

4.11.1 Interview: Chief Magistrate – GMG

He said there were some weaknesses in the law. For example, a child in need of care could only be accepted into a certified institution upon being taken there by any one of a police officer, health officer, education officer or probation officer. This was provided for under section 14(1) of the Children's Act. Within five days, a probation officer must prepare reception order papers for consideration by a court. The owner of the institution could not take the child into his/her institution directly. GMG recommended a re-examination of this law in order to allow owners of institutions to take in needy children without the necessity of going through officers. Reference was also made to the court which issued an order for a child in need of care to be kept at a certified institution for a period of not more than three years as provided for under section 20(2) of the Act. The law

should allow for the child to be kept at the institution for as long as care was required.

The naming of children who will have been abandoned was the responsibility of the Department of Social Services. The law should allow caring institutions to play a role in the naming of children. This suggestion did not, however, remove the problem of identity. Besides, children could later reject names.

Whilst adoption might be a way of prolonging the period which a child might continue to be adopted, the law only provided for adoption by “neutral persons,” not institutions. The law did not envisage a situation where one might want to adopt many children. Adoption had also its own legal implications, for instance the right of the child to be looked after and the right to inherit property of the adopting parents.

Reference was made to the National Action on Child Protection Policy. Its fundamental pillars were: Access to education; access to health; and access to care and protection. These were expected to be fulfilled through government funding channeled through the Department of Social Services. The Finance Ministry was expected to allocate 15 million dollars to be used to meet the mentioned three fundamental pillars. Non Governmental Organizations then operating in Zimbabwe also pledged 15 million dollars to complement government efforts.

As of August 2012, the Department of Social Services owed Harare and Parirenyatwa hospitals a combined two million dollars. Because of this debt, the two hospitals had stopped providing medical care to the needy children in various children institutions.

A programme called “Harmonised Cash Transfer” was also referred to. It was expected to transfer cash to family units which looked after orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable children. In 2012, ten of Zimbabwe’s 56 districts were taking part in a pilot project. A family unit with five deserving children was entitled to fifteen dollars per month, whereas a family unit with one deserving child was entitled to ten dollars per month. By early 2014, the results of the pilot project were not yet known.

4.11.2 Interview- Chief FMS

FMS’ concern was with men who impregnated girls and then denied responsibility, thus increasing the probability of baby-dumping. He referred to a case brought before his court in 1999. A Form Three student impregnated a disabled woman. The boy accepted responsibility for the pregnancy but would neither marry the woman nor take responsibility for the unborn baby. FMS referred the case to Masvingo Magistrate’s court. The court ruled that the boy was young and had no source of income and could then not be held responsible. The parents of the boy who would have been also “guilty” of the offence according to Shona custom, were untouched.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 THE MODEL

5.1 Introduction

In 2010, the Department of Social Services issued what it called “The Residential Care Standards” in order to guide institutions which cared for orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable children. In 2012, the Department also published guidelines on “The Institutional Care for Children.” The proclamations were to be applied in line with the Children’s Act, Chapter 5:06. The Department of Social Services intended to provide a “Model” which children’s homes in Zimbabwe could learn from.

Out of the 19 homes used as case studies,(See Table 9 and Appendix A) Grace Mugabe Children’s Home was singled out as a model. The concept “model” should be explained further.

Table 9 Summary of Homes Studied

Authority	Number	No of Children
Government – run	2	125
Church related	10	648
Individuals	6	1939
Community-run	1	63
Total	19	2775

A model is something that may represent assumptions about the nature of relationships which ought to exist between player and variables in the real world. A model attempts to construct how variables interact. The source of knowledge on the relationships of variables is normally based on assumptions. A model should help to explain the inter-relationships among the variables that are deemed to be integral to the dynamics of the situation being studied. Cavan, Delahage and Sekaran (2001), say a model may allow a precise understanding of the relationships between and among variables. A model may also influence the direction and strength of the relationships. According to Kumar (1996), a model may be the foundation on which the entire project may be based. It must therefore be described properly so that a network of associations among variables deemed to be relevant is established. A good model should therefore:

- ❖ Identify the important variables in the situation;
- ❖ Describe the inter-connection among the variables; and
- ❖ Make the intervening variables clear.

In a general sense, a model is anything used in any way to represent anything else. In this regard, a Children's Home is supposed to be a model which represents a normal home.

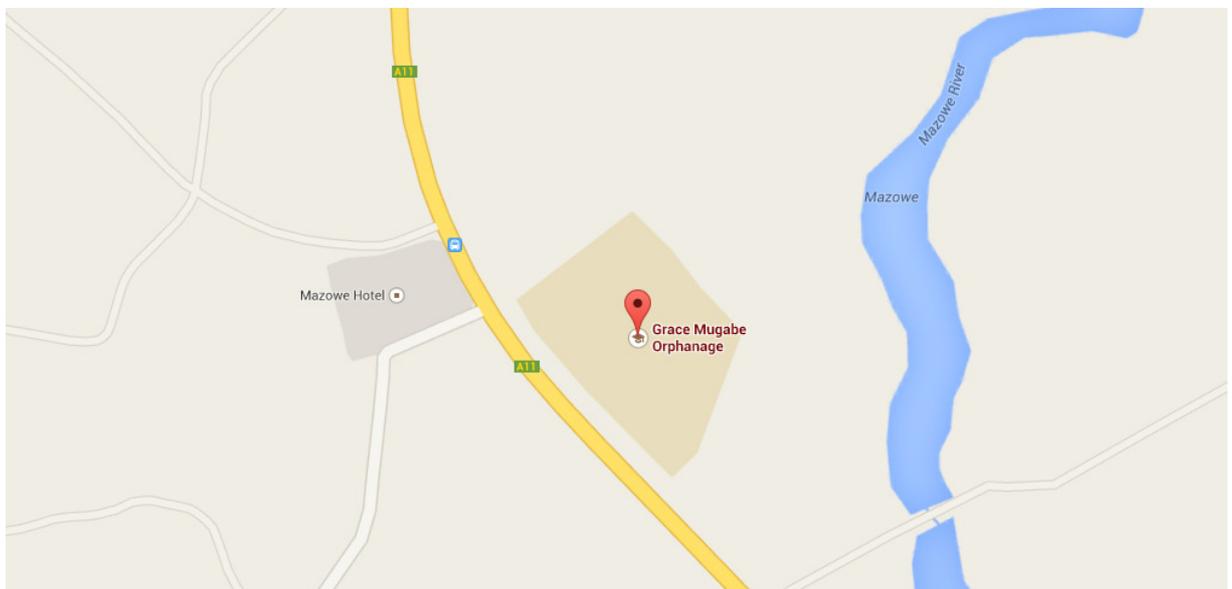
5.2 Grace Mugabe Children's Home

Under section 3.5 of this thesis, I referred to an ethical issue I had to contain with, namely that I carried out this study when I was owner and founder of Grace Mugabe Children's Home; one of the homes used as a case study. This is the Home which I describe under section 5.3.

5.3 Location

Grace Mugabe Children's Home is situated to the north of Harare, on the 35 km peg along the Harare/Bindura road. It was built on a 250 hectare farm in the Mazowe District in Mashonaland Central Province. (See Map 3 for its location).

Map 3: Location of Grace Mugabe Children's Home



The Home was my brain child. The main objective was to provide care for the abandoned, orphaned and vulnerable children in line with the provisions of the

Children’s Act, Chapter 5:06 and other related legal provisions. In establishing the Home, my motivation was to provide quality services to orphaned, abandoned and vulnerable children from across Zimbabwe regardless of their sex, race, religion, or ethnic origin. In February 2014, the Home had 75 abandoned children; 38 boys and 37 girls whose ages ranged from one month to just over four years. They were accommodated in five of the 30 state of the art houses. [see photo 5.1]

Photo 5.1



Sixteen care-givers were employed; giving a care-giver/children ratio of 1:5.

Table 10 gives a breakdown of children and care-givers in each of the five houses and Table 11 gives personal profiles of the care-givers.

Table 10: Number of Children/Caregivers in Each House

House Number	Number of Children	Number of Caregivers
4	14	3
5	18	4
6	13	3
7	15	3
9	15	3
Total 5	*75 (38 boys, 37 girls)	16 (Females)

**They were all abandoned children*

5.4 Houses, Children and Care-givers

Houses 4, 6, 7 and 9 had three bedrooms each with four and/or five children in each room. House 5 had four bedrooms. Two of the bedrooms had five children each. Each care-giver had a bedroom. She was responsible for the care of children who shared the house with her. Each house had a bathroom, a toilet, a built-in wardrobe and each child had a drawer where clothes and other personal items were kept. The children from all the houses fed from a common dining room. Food was prepared by caregivers who took turns to do so. Appendix B shows feeding guidelines for children below the age of two

years. Communication was either in Shona and /or English languages. Shona was used when speaking to children below three years. English was introduced to children who were over three years.

5.5 Water, Sanitation and Ventilation

Borehole water was used for drinking, cooking, washing and watering plants. Two boreholes pumped water into tanks with a total capacity of 40 000 litres. The water was then used in houses. An additional four boreholes pumped water into tanks which had a total capacity of 50 000 litres. This water was used for gardening.

The sewer system was connected to a soak away where five houses used one septic tank. The houses were designed as required by local building by-laws. All ventilation requirements were followed, namely that 20% of the floor area was for the kitchen and that each bedroom took a minimum of 16% of the total area. A non-resident nurse attended to sick children as and when such a need arose.

5.6 Profiles of Care-givers

Table 11 shows a total of 16 female care-givers whose ages ranged from 24 to 60 years. Nine of them were single mothers. Three had one child each; two had two children each; two had three children each; two had four and five children each respectively.

Table 11: Profiles of Care-givers

Name	Age	Marital Status	Number of Children	Qualifications
A. J.	45	Single	1	2 'O' Level passes
N. M	46	Single	1	2 'O' Level passes
N.R.	46	Widow	1	1 'O' Level passes
G.C.	46	Single	3	Grade 7
J.M.	48	Single	-	'O' Level
R.M.	46	Widow	4	Grade 7
N.S.	42	Single	2	4 'O' Level
D.A.	38	Widow	1	'O' Level
T.L.	60	Widow	6	Form 2
N.A.	52	Widow	5	Form 2
J.R.	47	Widow	4	'O' Level
F.C.	38	Single	2	Form 3
G.F.	44	Single	5	Form 2
H.M.	24	Single	2	2 'O' Level Passes
N.M.	28	Single	4	2 'O' Level Passes
E.C.	37	Single	3	'O' Level

Six were widows; two with one child each, two with four children each and two others with five and six children each respectively. One had no children. The care-givers were recruited from the same church organization; namely ZAOGA. They did not have any formal training in child care and child development. Instead, they relied on their personal experiences as mothers, where applicable. They however had received one day lectures from Bindura University Staff on how to handle children brought into children's homes.

In Table 12, a comparison between a children's Home and a normal Home is provided.

Table 12: Comparison Between A Children's Home and A Normal Home

Children's Home	Normal Home
❖ Had "Social Parents".	❖ Had biological parents.
❖ Had no known siblings.	❖ Had known blood siblings.
❖ Did not know madzinza nemitupo yavo.	❖ Knew madzinza nemitupo yavo.
❖ Were given any names by care-givers.	❖ Parents decided on names to give.
❖ Were raised in a total institution.	❖ Were raised in an open family set up, in an open society
❖ Followed prescribed, rigid time tables.	❖ Followed open, flexible timetables.
❖ Lived in groups of five to ten children.	❖ Lived within a family setup with biological parents.
❖ Did not have known grandparents.	❖ Had known grandparents.
❖ They were dumped and abandoned children.	❖ They were born and cared for by biological parents.

5.7 Attributes of a Whole Person

Normal homes and children's homes strive to develop a whole person whose standard of living should meet the basic requirements of food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services. However, we still need to come up with the attributes of what we call "a whole person." An impression might have been created by data given in Table 11 that children brought up in a children's home may not be "whole persons" and that children brought up in a normal home were "whole persons."

Being a child should not be regarded as a sickness which is cured gradually as the child proceeds towards being a grown-up. Even from birth onward, the child as a child is fully human being. The child may, therefore, never be described in the negative. To say abandoned, orphaned or vulnerable children does not remove them from being on the same level with other human beings. What we should recognize is that children appeal to adults for mutual support. Adults present children with an image of being a grown up. Adults make room for children by accepting them for what they are, but also with the view to what they want to be within a mutual situation. Mutual openness between adults and children may be realized through dialogue. This implies that each participates in the learning process by alternatively speaking to and answering the other. Children want to be secure. Their security can only be guaranteed in solidarity with adults, whether these adults are "social parents" or "biological parents." Security ultimately lies in the fact that children are understood and receive support. Children want to constitute their own world but cannot do so without aid. Children seek a point of departure to which they may eventually return. They can only obtain a grasp on the world, as a world-for-the adult,

from a firm base – the base of security from which they proceed to adulthood. Children must acquire “freedom” in order to serve it. They desire to know who they are, where they are and what they can expect. However, they must be guided, if necessary, be compelled.

We can now address the question: what are the attributes of a “whole person” which children’s homes and normal homes can learn from?

The Grace Mugabe Children’s Home has come up with a “Model” taken from the biblical Job personal attributes (Job 1 verse 1). The Shona version is used instead of the English version.

“Kwakanga kuno munhu panyika yeUzi, wainzi Job. Munhu uyu wakanga akakwana, akarurama, waitya Mwari, achinzvenga zvakaipa.”

The attributes which the children’s Home will use in order to develop a whole person are:

- ❖ Mhunhu akakwana;
- ❖ Munhu akarurama;
- ❖ Munhu anotywa Mwari; and
- ❖ Munhu anonzvenga zvakaipa.

These attributes are intended to produce the following human factor competences:

- ❖ Preparedness;

- ❖ Readiness;
- ❖ Awareness;
- ❖ Willingness;
- ❖ Ability, and
- ❖ Capacity.

We explain further the human factor competences.

❖ **Preparedness and Readiness**

Almost all human activities require that one be physically and mentally ready and prepared. Readiness ought to address perceptions of an unfulfilled desire and need. However, consideration should be given to whether that desire or need is reversible or irreversible.

❖ **Awareness**

Awareness begins with an assessment of the participant's physical condition. One should also know the rules, regulations and procedures to be observed in the process of carrying out an activity.

❖ **Ability**

This is an inward conviction which a person must have. This conviction is then translated into visible results. Ability is also a result of training and practice. This is meant to condition the body and mind.

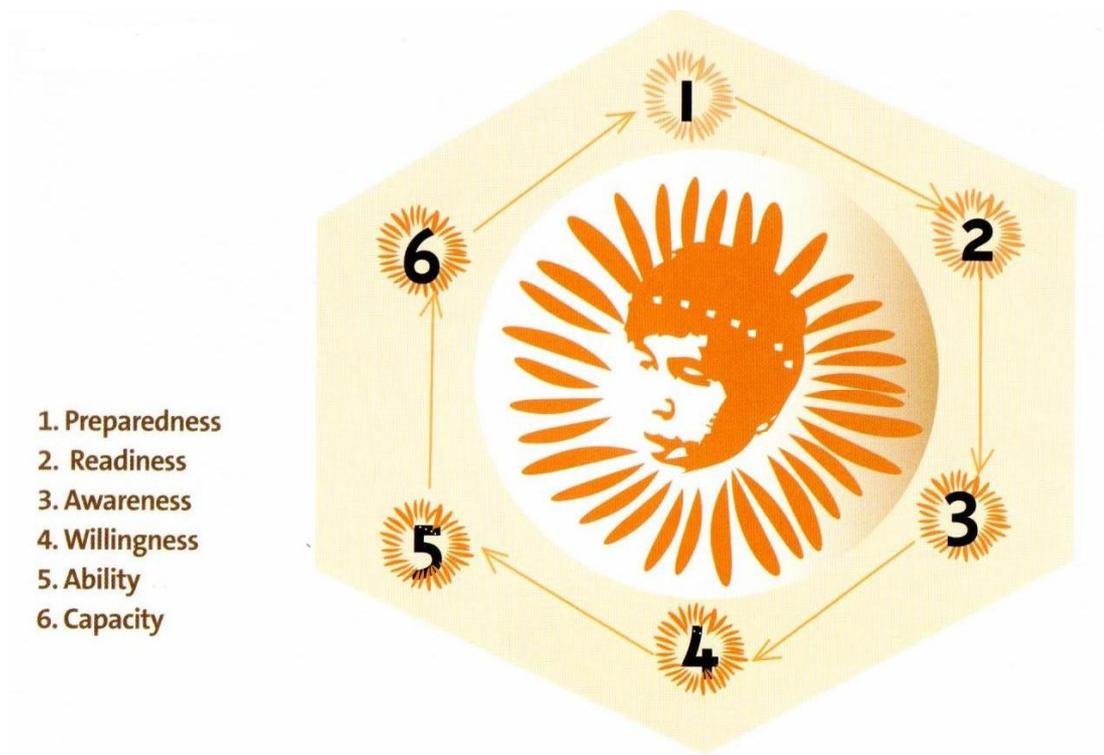
❖ **Willingness**

Like awareness, willingness emanates from within a person. The amount of energy, time and dedication which one puts may be a reflection of wanting to see the task completed.

❖ **Capacity**

This refers to how well and able one can handle a task. It addresses questions such as: Does one have the resources, energy and endurance? These human factor competences are depicted in Figure 13.

Figure 13



5.8 Sustainability of the Home

In 2014, the Home met the standards required by the Department of Social Services. The Home was supported by a network of well wishers. Given the changing social, economic and political environment in Zimbabwe and Africa, Children's homes faced an uncertain future, considering that in some countries, such as the USA, there were calls for the abolition of children's homes in preference for integrating orphaned children into society. Despite these possible future challenges, the Home had in place plans to deal with future hardships.

5.8.1 Primary School

The school complex, which had a total of 7 720 square meters of built-up area and a capacity of 900 pupils, was completed and comprised 28 classrooms, a music room, art room, computer room, administration block, modern sports fields and one of the biggest libraries by our standards. It was juxtaposed to the Home, on the eastern side of the farm. The school opened its doors to pupils in January 2013.

The primary school serves to equip children with cognitive, psycho-motor and affective domains, which allowed them to think critically to enable them to strive to attain high standards, meet the challenges posed by technological advancements and develop citizenship values leading to the development of a total human being.

Events unfolding in the Chinese economy cannot be ignored. China was becoming a global economic power-house and as such, Zimbabweans should interact with its citizens. It was thus important that Zimbabweans were taught to communicate with them at that

level. In light of this consideration, it was mandatory for the children attending Amai Mugabe Primary School to learn the Chinese language.

5.8.2 Secondary School

It was important to have a sound secondary school education which acted as a bridge between primary and tertiary education. The Foundation regards secondary school education as the cornerstone of education systems, which was indispensable in creating a bright future for children.

Focus was therefore on implementing a two-tier secondary education system as recommended by the Nziramasanga Commission (2009) which emphasized the need for exposing children to both academic and technical education system. A two-tier secondary education system introduces children to early elements of both academic and vocational education. This type of arrangement allows children to have wider career choices and ensures that they were not forced to pursue education and career systems that did not suit their capabilities.

5.8.3 Vocational Training

The Foundation strived to monitor and facilitate children's post secondary education in order to ensure continuity. A vocational training institute, which served to further develop children who would have pursued the vocational/practical education route, will be part of the Foundation.

The thrust of the Home will be on current economic trends which include agriculture, mechanization, mining and manufacturing. Particular attention will be given to the value addition, vis-à-vis the expected rapid growth in the mining and agro-industries. Those with an academic orientation will be accommodated at other institutions which offer tertiary education such as Bindura University, University of Zimbabwe, Catholic University and several other institutions which offer the same.

Academically-oriented students will be equipped with special skills in business management and administration, banking and finance, accounting law, information technology and many other academic areas.

5.8.4 Medical Centre

The fact that the Foundation accommodates newly-born babies together with orphaned and vulnerable children, most of whom may be living with HIV after having lost their parents to AIDS, justifies the need for a medical centre as part of the Foundation.

The availability of a well equipped medical centre with adequate technology, required drugs and experienced personnel will address the health needs of beneficiaries of all ages. Members of the surrounding community may also benefit from the proposed facility.

5.8.5 Psychological and Counselling Unit

The selection criterion for children housed at the Foundation, points to the fact that each of them has been subjected to unfavourable conditions, either at the time when the

mother was pregnant or during infancy. As such, psychological and counseling services are a prerequisite.

Numerous studies have revealed that traumatized children usually suffer psychological disorders which are characterized by pessimism and self-doubt, belittling own abilities and assets, taking criticism and disapproval as proof of one's worthlessness, loss of faith in oneself, avoidance of position of responsibility and limited social relations. These can manifest into aggression, intolerance, distrustful interactions, feeling of hostility and discrimination.

The Foundation's psychological and counseling services are designed to benefit all ages. With the help of qualified psychologists and psychiatrists, services such as stress management and assertiveness training, counseling, career guidance and behaviour management training will be offered. This will allow the children to identify their capabilities to contribute positively to their nation and communities.

5.8.6 The Future

The physical places that accommodate children need to be economically sustainable if this home is to be a solidly established facility. It is wrong to assume that as long as the children have shelter, clothes and food, they are adequately provided for. The main goal, of course, is to provide all the basic needs but sustainability being the cornerstone of continuity and longevity. The Grace Mugabe Foundation, being an organization for posterity, envisages an approach that is business-like so as to ensure that basic resources

are available at all times. All the achievements of the Home from inception to date were largely credited to the founder's contribution and generous well-wishers.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

One of the objectives of this study was to establish the nature of changes in the family structure and functions. The other objectives were to find out how, why and when children's homes emerged in Zimbabwe; and to determine whether there was a link between changes in the family structure and functions, and the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe.

The discussion was guided by a number of perspectives. The symbolic interaction perspective, for example, focuses on the subjective aspects of family relations, shared meaning and expectations. The family life course perspective concerns itself with family change in conjunction with wider social change and with individual change. In this regard, role of Christianity and colonialism, for instance, were explained. The feminist perspective challenges the public/private dichotomy with regard to employment of married females. The perspective argues that social life involves overlapping interdependent contexts (Hagerdon, 1994:378/9). To focus on the domestic functions of married women was, therefore, to miss the overlapping duties women perform.

6.2 Family Structure and Functions

Data in this study revealed that the maintenance of values of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe was affected by colonization, urbanization, modernization and industrialization. Family set-ups studied had “accepted” Christian values and the new education system. These had a direct impact on the pattern of relationships among family members.

Figures 4.1 to 4.3 indicate a relationship between level of education, age and preferred number of children. In all three cases, the number of children was “deliberately” limited to three. The ages of the family members ranged from 31 to 55 years. In all cases, both husband and wife were in formal employment. They were also members of different Christian denominations. Their assets were relatively substantial; suggesting that the families could have been able to sustain themselves.

Reasons given by the interviewed couples for both husband and wife taking up formal employment were:

- ❖ The cost of raising children and supporting a family were so high that to survive financially, both parents had to be employed;
- ❖ It was important to protect one’s career;
- ❖ There were insurance (health) and retirement benefits;
- ❖ Children’s development was likely to be improved; and

❖ It was mentally and socially healthy to be employed.

However, it was important for the couples to manage their earnings in a way which minimized misunderstandings because the availability of money on its own did not guarantee family happiness and success. Instead, the reverse might happen. There was a danger too that married partners tended to look to how well marriage served their individual interests rather than how it increased the likelihood of successful outcomes for children. A major cultural and policy imperative was to strengthen the marriage in order to increase the number of children who grew up with their two married parents, in supportive communities and to decrease the number of children who did not.

The organization and functions of the family were affected by schools and churches. Today's social complexities require that the formal education of children be delegated to schools and churches. Schools and churches had become agents of socialization and were also expected to complement each other in the upbringing of children. The family had therefore lost some of its functions to organizations such as schools and churches. The problem, however, was how to harmonize the teachings of the churches, schools and those of the families. For example, how did schools and churches harmonize Christian teachings with some of the Shona belief systems such as burial rites and marriage practices?

Shona value systems were sometimes at variance with the teachings of schools and Christian churches. The conflict perspective claims that relationships between husbands and wives, and between parents and children, were deemed to

be confrontational from time to time because each had different interests. This is in addition to conflicting socialization which might be taught in schools and churches. We however noted, as Bourdillon did (1990: 268/9), that missionaries “provided access to new resources and knowledge of the wider world, as well as being associated with the politically powerful society. This made Christianity attractive to converts and made claims of the superiority of Christianity as a religion seem more plausible.” New gods could, however, be incorporated without abandoning the old.

Figures 4.4 to 4.7 show a single parent setup. A single parent was a spouse or partner who had the day-to-day responsibilities of raising the children following either divorce or death of the other partner.

Figure 1 on page 3 of this thesis, shows that in 2011, there were 1596 recorded cases of divorce. This gave a monthly divorce rate of 133 cases; about four divorce cases per day. Reasons for divorce were varied. Long periods of separation between spouses because of the diaspora issue, was one of the reasons. The husband or wife went to work outside the country and deserted his/her partner and children. One probably started a new family or lived a life of debauchery, exposing oneself to diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

Domestic violence, mainly caused by infidelity, was another cause for divorce. In 2013, about 10 000 cases of domestic violence were recorded. This gave a monthly average of about 833 cases and a daily average of about 27 cases. This is

a disturbing statistic, especially if we consider the effects which this may have on children.

Figure 4.8 shows grand parents who cared for grand children following the deaths of their parents. Five of their sons and their wives died of HIV/AIDS – related illnesses. This happened in a commercial farm environment where workers stayed in a compound which probably did not have adequate, healthy living conditions. Multiple sex practices might have been rife and therefore the transmission of HIV was rapid. Caring for grandchildren in a farm environment was a difficult task. Grandparents themselves needed care.

6.3 Family Instability and Baby Dumping

Data in this study show that the ZRP encountered an average of three cases of baby-dumping per day. This is a telling statistic as it may imply 90 cases of baby dumping per month and 1080 cases per year. The figure might have probably doubled if we included unrecorded cases. Fifty-six percent of the dumped babies were females while 44% were males. Statistics show that as the age of the infant increased, the likelihood of being dumped decreased. Only a few infants of up to 60 months were dumped, otherwise the majority of the victims were below 15 months old. The distribution of baby-dumping cases by gender of the accused showed that 93% of the perpetrators were female. Ordinarily, women were the ones who took care of infants after giving birth. The few males who were arrested for baby-dumping were mainly step-fathers who did not want to take care of their new wives' children. The motives for baby-dumping ranged from an

intense desire to fix the spouse, financial problems, unwanted pregnancies, the desire to continue prostitution, to the desire to punish the child. In most cases, the father would have denied paternity of the child.

Attachment theory by Bowlby and Ainsworth provided three concepts that can help to explain baby-dumping. These concepts are emotional detachment or affectionless psychopath, delinquency or criminality and relationship instability in adulthood. The concepts are related to parental support and guidance required in the development of the whole person. The cases of baby-dumpers who were jailed for baby-dumping helped to explain the effects of loss of parents. It was akin to removal of a protective shield which then left them exposed, with no one to advise them as they developed into the adolescent stage. The 'home port' from which they started their lifelong journeys through society was not available. The social structure which is made up of constructive actions was absent. In a family set-up, the positions of 'father' and 'mother' which ought to have indicated the nature of relationships, was missing, so was the meaning of life which these positions provided. This meant that what normally carried the positive values and norms of society and had the potential to give families stability and continuity was absent. The development of Human Factor characteristics such as discipline, honesty, dedication and awareness of what was right and/or wrong, failed because of lack of parental support and guidance. In the case of PB, for example, she did not see eye-to-eye with her brother and uncle. She therefore drifted into human factor decay behaviour such as prostitution and beer drinking. The result was an unwanted pregnancy. Parental loss was therefore highly correlated with baby-

dumping because these orphaned adults had experienced parental loss and, most probably, developed emotional detachment to an extent that they could not feel emotionally attached to their own babies. Baby-dumping was also a form of delinquent and criminal behaviour for which these individuals were convicted and jailed. Emotional detachment from the mother was revealed by the desire to punish the father of the child and even the desire to punish the innocent baby as well. The current research, therefore, validates Bowlby's thesis that parental absence was a risk factor for undesirable developmental outcomes like early sexual activity, teen pregnancy and unstable marriages later in life.

Another aspect linking baby-dumping to parental loss was the fact that these individuals engaged in sexual activities at an early age. It was found in the study that most of the baby dumpers had engaged in early, multiple and unprotected sexual encounters. As a result, the 'alleged' fathers in most cases denied paternity. Such sexual relations were usually multiple and unstable because people who were not securely attached did not form trusting and long-term relationships. That these individuals were not intellectually highly developed, might explain their involvement in transactional sex as a way of earning a living.

The other factor had to do with men who impregnated girls but 'denied responsibility of the pregnancy'. The accounts of baby-dumping given in this study seem to lay all the blame on women who were often seen as uncaring perpetrators who had to be arrested, tried and jailed. The men who were also to blame were left 'free.' We found cracks in the laws which were used to handle

cases of unwanted pregnancies and baby-dumping. We noted that Shona 'customary' law required that in such cases, close members from the two disputing families should be summoned before the traditional courts which handled such cases. The weakness seemed to have been in the Age of Majority Act which stipulated that any person who had reached the age of 18 years and above, was an independent adult answerable to his/her actions. This removed the traditional 'collective' responsibility approach which required that members of the accused family be brought before the courts. This was why men were able to deny responsibility for pregnancies. There was no longer pressure from family members. Under known Shona practice, family members were also expected to be collectively 'guilty' or 'innocent' with the perpetrators of the crime, especially in cases involving pregnancies. Another weakness was the tendency to use Eurocentric values to explain African behaviour and practices. This was inherited from colonialism.

Another factor that emerged from the current study concerned the apparent high frequency of baby-dumping in rural areas such as Manicaland and Mashonaland West Provinces. A possible explanation was that the two provinces had a predominance of commercial farms which employed large numbers of workers from Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Since some of these migrant workers inter-married, there was therefore a possibility of tensions caused by differences in cultural values. Besides, levels of knowledge on the legal provisions governing issues such as baby-dumping might have been low. The current study also reveals the weakening of society's social control mechanisms

and social support networks. Normally, a society should have in place social control mechanisms and social support networks. Society should have value systems designed to regulate the behaviour of its members. Answers given during group discussions and interviews revealed that there was a gap in knowledge of the social control mechanisms which could have been used by members of society, especially those who ended up on the wrong side of the law. How were they to react when they faced problems? Were they to ask for help? Run away? Blame someone? Resign to fate or face the problem head-on and on their own? Were they fully aware of the consequences of their actions? Were they able to make correct and informed decisions?

The current study established that there was a strong link between parental loss and baby-dumping, because the majority of baby-dumpers had experienced parental loss. The study, however, has significant implications for Zimbabwe. The findings point to a number of issues which have implications on policy as well as practical matters. The practical matters have to do with changes in the structure and functions of the family. The extended family system which would normally ensure adequate social safety network for members of society had been weakened. Various economic constraints, urbanization and new forms of associations such as church groups, were some of the contributing factors.

6.4 Emergence of Children's Homes

Data in this study reveal a number of factors which contributed to the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe. One of the major factors was conflict between

social groups. In Zimbabwe, the 1896/97 clash between white settlers and the indigenous people over the ownership and control of the country's assets, left the majority of the indigenous people weakened. Families were broken either temporarily or permanently. Women and children were the worst affected. This gave rise to a children's home at Chishawasha; a place which had been occupied by Roman Catholic Jesuits. It had been turned into a military command centre during the Chimurenga uprising. Makumbi Children's Home, a few kilometers north of Chishawasha, took in orphaned and abandoned children in the manner Chishawasha Mission had done.

The First World War had its impact in the then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) because it left eleven white children without parents because they had died in the war. This gave rise to Harare Children's Home in 1919.

One inevitable result of conflict was that people were unable to produce food for themselves. Besides, war destroyed crops and infrastructure. This was what happened during the 1896/97 Chimurenga. Women and children were left without food; and as a result, orphaned and abandoned children were taken in at Solusi Mission in Matabeleland.

War and various other conflicts have continued to be causes of the emergence of children's homes and refugee camps in many parts of Africa such as Liberia and Sierra Leon.

Linked to war were outbreaks of diseases. This was yet another cause of the emergence of children's homes in Zimbabwe. For example, the outbreak of the 1917/18 influenza left a number of children without parents. We observe an almost similar trend caused by HIV/AIDS. Most of the children in children's homes studied lost parents to HIV/AIDS. For example, Mother of Peace Community in Mutoko and Grace Mugabe Children's Home.

A comparison between a children's Home and a Normal Home (Table 12) brings out issues which require further analysis and discussion. Children's homes accommodated children who were abandoned, orphaned and vulnerable. They were looked after by care-givers who acted as "social mothers". They provided basic needs such as shelter, clothing and food. They rarely catered for the spiritual needs of the children. In fact, social parents did not know "madzinza nemitupo" of these children. During the first five years, these issues seemed not to matter because children accepted whatever they were told.

As they grew older, they started to ask questions. For example, a 17 year old boy at Makumbi Children's Home, demanded to know who his parents were. When he was told what had happened to them, he cried uncontrollably until he died of heart failure. A girl at the same home disliked the name Rashayi. It was later changed to Zvikomborero, much to her delight!

The issue here was that of identity. Who am I? Where did I come from? Who are my blood relations? These were key questions, particularly to Shona people who cherished their "madzinza nemitupo." To know your "dzinza nemutupo"

was to know your ancestors; your spiritual attachment figures. This enabled one to relate with others in society. Whose son/daughter are you? is the question often asked by people in most African societies. A name, especially one's family name, was on its own a label of who one was. Abandoned children who did not know their parents, were like a book without a title! They were like a creature without a head! Even when they left children's homes to live in an open society with other members, they were still worried about their identities. Two cases were referred to in this study. A man who had been adopted from a children's home in Zimbabwe by a white couple in England, phoned from time to time to the children's home where he had been brought up. He wanted to know where he had been picked up after he had been dumped and abandoned. A medical doctor who had been raised in a children's home also asked the same question.

Data in Table 9 show that out of the 19 children's homes studied, two of them were government run; nine were church related and eight were run by individuals. The various church organizations which started children's homes might have been influenced by a desire to help orphaned children. However, there was also a hidden agenda to recruit these children to be members of the church. They also might have used the plight of these children to solicit for money and other materials for the church. We noted that the donor community had shrunk and therefore most of the church-run children's homes struggled to maintain the standards required.

Government-run homes were under-funded and therefore could not meet stipulated standards. Individual-run homes met the required standards mainly because the owners had networks of substantial supporters. It was, however, doubtful that their reasons for establishing children's homes were based on philanthropy. Instead, they might have used "their social height to eat the fruits intended for short persons," to use a Shona idiom (Kudya zvomupfupi nokureba).

The legal system had conflicting provisions which made it easy for men to impregnate girls and deny responsibility. The existing laws did not make it mandatory for men to look after their children, and the maintenance laws did not give adequate protection to women, particularly girls.

6.5 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

Zimbabwe was a member of the African Union (AU) and the United Nations, (UN), as well as many other regional and international organizations. As a member of both the AU and the UN, Zimbabwe was a signatory to the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, as well as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Membership to these bodies meant that Zimbabwe's legal and administrative arrangements governing the care and welfare of children took on board the provisions and requirements of these treaties.

The African Charter, which was adopted by the then Organization of African Unity in 1990, and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, were the only international and regional human rights treaties that covered the whole spectrum

of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights on children. For instance, the African Charter noted

“that the situation of most African children, remained critical due to the unique factors of their socio-economic, cultural, traditional and developmental circumstances, natural disasters, armed conflicts, exploitation and hunger...” (Preamble, November 29, 1999).

Article 19 of the Charter referred to parent care and protection of children and said:

“Every child shall be entitled to the enjoyment of parental care and protection and shall, wherever possible, have the right to reside with his or her parents...”

Article 20 assigned parents the following responsibilities.

- a) To ensure that the best interests of the child were their basic concerns at all times;
- b) To ensure, within their abilities and financial capacities, conditions of living necessary to the child’s development; and
- c) To ensure that domestic discipline was administered with humility and in a manner consistent with the inherent dignity of the child.

On the other hand, Article 31 referred to what the responsibilities and obligations of the child ought to be:

“Every child shall have responsibilities towards family and society, the state and other legally recognized communities, and the international community.”

These included:

- a) To work for the cohesion of the family, to respect parents, superiors and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need;
- b) To serve his national community by placing his physical and intellectual abilities at his service...; and
- c) To preserve and strengthen African cultural values in his relations with other members of the society...”

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child required that its provisions be monitored and enforced where violations occurred. In this regard, an African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child was formed in July 2001, one year after the Charter came into force. The members of the Committee were selected by the assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union. The criteria for the selection of members were:

- Members must be nationals of a State Party to the Children’s Charter;

- They must be individuals of high moral standing, integrity, impartiality and competence in matters of the rights and welfare of the child;
- Members were nominated by signatory countries and elected by the Assembly of Heads of State of the African Union; and
- Members were elected for a term of five years and served voluntarily in their individual capacities. They might not be re-elected.

The 24-member Committee of Experts was expected to meet twice each year, usually in May and November in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Zimbabwe was represented on this Committee and occupied the position of Rapporteur. The Committee was empowered to receive and examine country reports on the measures they will have adopted to implement the provisions of the Children's Charter as well as the progress achieved regarding how the rights were being protected.

The Committee was also empowered to resort to any appropriate methods of investigation in respect of any issue covered in the Charter. Countries that will have ratified the Children's Charter were to submit initial reports within two years of ratification or the entry into force of the Charter and every three years thereafter.

In 2008, the Committee of Experts started the process of reviewing the first four reports that had been received from Egypt, Mauritius, Nigeria and Rwanda. The state party report should contain specific information pertaining to children in

their country. This included political, legal and administrative issues that were linked to the requirements of the structure supplied by the Committee of Experts.

The report should ideally be comprehensive. It should include input from the state, civil society and other recognized bodies at the regional, continental and international levels. Once received, the report became available as a public document and it underwent a process of elaboration, consideration, follow-up and then submission to the AU. The reports were translated into the working languages of the AU, that is, English, French, Portuguese and Arabic.

There were specific requirements of communicating complaints about violations of children's rights. The report:

- Cannot be anonymous;
- Must be written;
- Must be submitted within a reasonable deadline or timeframe, depending on the nature of the complaint;
- Must be written in a reasonable and non-defamatory tone;
- Must be compatible with the AU rules and laws or the Children's Charter;
- Must not be exclusively based on information in the media; and

- Must only be submitted when all local/domestic remedies will have been exhausted.

As of August 2012, the Committee of Experts did not have a functional Secretariat; which meant that it could not properly carry out its activities or deal with communications as well as country reports. The committee also suffered from a serious lack of resources. Besides, many member states were not keen and were often unwilling to nominate suitable people to sit on the Committee of Experts. Often, some Committee members resigned midway through their term.

Other setbacks identified were the lack of legal counsel present at sessions of the committee to give legal guidance on decisions being taken by the committee. Sometimes sessions were delayed or cancelled because of lack of cooperation and communication between the African Commission and the Committee.

6.6 Children's Charter Vs Convention on the Rights of the Child

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child originated because member states of the AU believed that the Convention on the Rights of the Child did not address important socio-cultural and economic issues particular to Africa. The Charter emphasized the need to include African cultural values and experiences when dealing with the rights of African children. For example, it challenged traditional views which were often at variance with children's rights such as child marriage, parental rights and obligations towards their children.

The African Charter was, however, criticized on the grounds that:

- It did not protect children from life imprisonment without the possibility of release;
- Article 20 could be construed as supporting punishment by parents because it was not clear regarding the meaning of “domestic discipline;”
- There was some confusion regarding Article 31 that dealt with children’s responsibilities. Children were required to respect parents, superiors and elders at all times, which would conflict with the children’s rights to participate in decisions that affected them; and
- The omission of a provision which required countries to fully commit and use their resources meant that the Children’s Charter had no way to ensure or force states to provide resources to ensure the realization of Children’s rights (Wikipedia, 01/03/2013).

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

Hitcock and Hughes (1989:13) point out that:

“Research and its products should facilitate reflection, criticism, and a more informed view... which will in turn help improve professional practice.”

This study, from the onset, sought to establish whether:

- ❖ There were changes in family structure and functions;
- ❖ There was a link between changes in family structure and functions and the emergence of children’s homes in Zimbabwe; and
- ❖ The role of children’s homes in developing children.

Legal provisions governing the management of children’s homes were also assessed.

7.2 Summary of Findings.

One of the main findings of this study was that there were social and historical factors which contributed to changes in the structure and functions of the family in Zimbabwe.

Values and value systems of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe were affected by the process of colonization which brought about Christianity, urbanization and urbanism. Social complexities brought about by these changes, required that the formal education of children be delegated to schools and churches. The content of education provided by these new agents of socialization was at variance with some of the beliefs and teachings of the indigenous people. The family lost some of its functions such as the socialization of its members. Besides, the extended family network was weakened. In most cases, the extended family disappeared, paving way for new forms of associations such as those organized by church organizations. The new forms put in place new social values, norms, rules and procedures. Missionaries provided access to new resources such as knowledge of the wider world, as well as being connected to the politically powerful colonizing forces. Christianity became “attractive” to the indigenous people because it made claims of superiority over the beliefs of the indigenous people.

The conflict brought about by colonization propagated seeds of family instability, famine and diseases. One result of these social dislocations was parental loss. Many children were left without parents, thus leading to the emergence of children’s homes.

Parental loss meant that the affected children experienced emotional detachment, delinquency and relationship instability, particularly in adulthood. Cases of baby dumpers who were jailed help to explain the effects of loss of parents. It was tantamount to the removal of a protective shield which then left the children

exposed to human factor decay behaviour such as prostitution and beer drinking. It was found in the study that most of the baby dumpers had engaged in early multiple and unprotected sexual activities. That these baby dumpers might have not been intellectually highly developed, may explain their involvement in transactional sex as a way of earning a living.

Some of the dumped and abandoned babies found themselves in children's homes. The desire of almost all children's homes studied was to provide basic requirements such as food, shelter, clothing, medical care and necessary social services. Most of them were struggling to meet these needs because there was limited government support. The donor community was also experiencing pressure caused by limited financial resources. The legal provisions which governed the management and operations of children's homes lacked adequate capacity to enforce compliance. This included even continental and international organizations such as African Union and the United Nations.

7.3 Implications

The study has implications on policy issues, political processes, economic and social issues, organization and management of children's homes as well as future research.

Who must take full responsibility for family stability in society? What about abandoned, orphaned and vulnerable children? The major policy imperative was for national governments to strengthen marriage and therefore the family

institution in order to increase the number of children who grow up with their two married parents in supportive communities. The philosophy of “*unhu*,” which embodies the practice of “*ukama*” and a set of values, attitudes and practices of tolerance and forgiveness should be nurtured and encouraged. Taking care of abandoned, orphaned and vulnerable children is a clear demonstration of one’s “*unhu*.”

The Shona belief in “*ngozi*” is based on the natural law of cause and effect. If one causes suffering, then as a natural consequence, one will experience suffering. If, on the other hand, one causes happiness, one will experience happiness.

The wider implication of this study, particularly its focus on children’s homes, is its contribution to real “*unhu*.” In post-colonial Zimbabwe and also South Africa, there was a vivid demonstration of former victims who offered hands of reconciliation to their former oppressors. Biko (1978:46) claimed that:

“...in the long run, the social contribution to the world by Africa will be in the field of human relations. The great powers of the world may have done wonders in giving the world an industrial and military outlook, but the greatest gift still has to come from Africa; that of giving the world a more human face.”

In conclusion, the gift which children’s homes can offer to Zimbabwe, is that of children who would otherwise have been dead, but have now been given a new lease of life.

There is therefore a need for further research in the area of the welfare of children, especially children's homes, causes of baby dumping, family instability and legislation governing children's homes, marriage and other related issues.

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INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSION GROUPS

04/07/12

22/08/12

24/07/13

20/08/13

22/08/13

7&8/08/13

APPENDIX A: Children's Homes Studied

BULAWAYO PROVINCE			
NAME OF CHILDREN'S HOME	LOCATION	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
John Smale Children's Home	23 Van Reibek Barham Green, Bulawayo	1972	67
Isaiah UmuziWentando	57 Heyman Road Suburbs, Bulawayo	2007	24
HARARE PROVINCE			
Chinyaradzo Children's Home	4819 Main Street Highfield	1962	58
Harare Children's Home	2 Daventry Road, Eastlea, Harare	1990	90
Matthew Rusike Children's Home	Epworth Mission, Hatfield, Harare	1960	145
SOS Children's Village Waterfalls	Corner Lyne and Parkway Rd, Parktown Waterfalls	1989	150
Chiedza Children Care Centre	Mbare	2001	1550
MASVINGO PROVINCE			
N and B Children's Home	716 Crocodile Road, Chiredzi	2001	10
Chiredzi Christian Children's Village	3241 Makondo Tshovani Chiredzi	2002	48
MASHONALAND CENTRAL			
Grace Mugabe Children's Home	Iron Musk farm, Mazowe	2011	75

MASHONALAND EAST			
Mother of Peace	No 320 Budga Farm Mutoko	1994	124
Rose of Sharon	6833 ZIMRE Park	2006	100
Shearly Cripps	121 Juru, St John's Mission	1963	80
Makumbi Children's Home	Makumbi Mission	1936	87
MIDLANDS PROVINCE			
Midlands Children's Home	Stand 2091 Parklane, Athlone Avenue, Gweru	1970	63
Driefontein Orphanage	P Bag 7001 Mvuma	1970	40
Midlands Children's Hope Centre	Mkoba 6, Gweru	1996	36
MANICALAND PROVINCE			
Daisy Dube Children's Home	P. Bag 509, Mt Selinda, Willis Peace Memorial Hospital, Chipinge	1989	31
Sacred Heart Children's Home	Box 10 Rusape, Stand Number 58, Rusape		
Total Number of Homes	19	Total Number of Children	2 791

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL STATISTICS ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CASES, CRIMES OF PASSION, MURDER CASES AND DIVORCE RATE: 2011 TO SEPTEMBER 2013

CRIME	2011	2012	% Change	2013 (JAN – SEPT)
Murder	296	270	9	209
Domestic Violence	10667	13170	+23	9909
Aggravated Indecent Assault	460	460	0	291
Indecent assault	2829	3124	+10	2441
Rape of Adults	1593	1596	+0.2	1195
Rape of Juveniles	3243	3168	-2	2425
TOTAL	19088	21788	+14	16470

CASES OF INTEREST AND ANALYSIS OF VIOLENT AND SEXUAL CRIMES

Murder

Analysis

Murder cases emanated from both domestic and civil disputes. Trivial issues at beer drinks especially in rural areas degenerated into violent attacks whilst accusations of infidelity, witchcraft and financial constraints amongst family members resulted in deadly assaults.

Cases of Interest

1. On Tuesday 12 December 2011 at about 15.00 hours, a woman reported an assault case to the Police to the effect that she was assaulted by her husband after a domestic dispute. The scene was attended and the husband was arrested. The woman was referred to Harare Central Hospital where she was admitted. Her condition deteriorated and died on Sunday 17 December 2011.
2. On Friday 1 June 2012 at about 08.00 hours, a husband struck his wife with an axe once on the head and she died on the spot following a domestic dispute.
3. On Monday 28 October 2013 at about 16.00 hours, the deceased went to fetch some water and returned home late. This angered her husband who started assaulting her. The husband took a knife and slit his wife's throat and she died on the spot. The husband also slit himself with the same knife and he died after a short while.

Domestic Violence

Analysis

Domestic violence cases were mainly perpetrated by husbands who beat up their wives due to extra marital affairs and intoxication.

Cases of Interest

1. On Sunday 6 October 2013 a husband and his wife had an argument after the wife came across a receipt which indicated that the accused had purchased face powder,

black opal and other perfumes from Edgars Stores but did not bring them home. The argument resulted in the husband confessing that he had bought the items for his girlfriend. The husband went on to assault the wife with open hands on the face and she sustained a swollen eye.

Aggravated Indecent Assault

Analysis

The majority of Aggravated Indecent assaults were committed by females upon males who forcibly have sexual intercourse with them. In some cases they would collect sperms for unknown purposes.

Cases of Interest

1. On Saturday 21 December 2011, two boys aged (12) and (11) were sodomised by an unknown male adult at Mukuvisi River. The male adult was disturbed by a passer-by and he ran away. The boys went home and informed their mother who reported the matter to the Police.
2. On Thursday 29 November 2012 at about 1300 hours, a female adult went to Bindura Labour Office to seek for assistance in regard to a Labour dispute at her work place. She was told to wait by a male adult whilst her papers were being processed. He took her to a secluded place where he wanted to have sexual intercourse with her but she refused. The male adult removed her clothes and assaulted her with fists all over the body before putting people pepper into her vagina.

3. On Tuesday 15 October 2013, a male adult aged 33 years was offered a lift by two unknown male adults from Chinhoy Bus Terminus to Chegutu. Along the way, one of the unknown male adults produced a pistol and ordered him to close his eyes and he complied. The two unknown male adults diverted the route and drove to an unknown house in Norton where he was forced to have sexual intercourse with an unknown woman ten times a day at two hour intervals. After ejaculation the two unknown male adults would collect the semen. He was released on Sunday 20 October 2013.

Indecent Assault

Analysis

The majority of the cases mainly involved boyfriends who had sexual intercourse with their consenting minor girlfriends. These mainly occurred in bushy areas, boyfriend's homesteads, school premises and lodges.

Cases of Interest

1. On Friday 21 December 2012 at about 14.30 hours, a woman aged 19 years approached the accused who is a self-proclaimed prophet in a bid to receive prayers to strengthen her relationship with her boyfriend. The accused started rubbing Vicks and Dettol on her vagina and further fondled her breasts. The accused later released her and she reported the matter to the Police.

2. On Wednesday 10 April 2013, a male adult called a girl aged 17 years into his bedroom and started to fondle her buttocks. The girl managed to escape and reported the matter to the police.

Rape of Adults

Analysis

Most of the cases were committed by strangers. The victims were mainly waylaid in bushy areas and footpaths mostly at night. Other victims were raped during robberies along highways and low density suburbs.

Cases of Interest

1. On 22 December 2011 at about 21.00 hours, a woman aged 23 years hired a taxi. An unknown male adult was already on board. When she was in the taxi, she fell asleep. On 23 December 2011 at about 00:10 hours, she was awakened by the taxi driver, who ordered her to get out of the vehicle. She noticed that she was naked and was bleeding from the vagina. She was told that the male adult who was in the taxi had raped her. The taxi driver ordered her to get out of his vehicle and threatened to kill her. The taxi driver pushed her out of his vehicle and drove away.
2. On 1 January 2012 at about 02:00 hours, a woman aged 70 years was sleeping alone in her bedroom when she heard some noise coming from her kraal. She went outside to investigate. While she was outside, an unknown male adult

sneaked into her bedroom. When the woman returned, she was suddenly grabbed and raped once by an unidentified male adult. He then left the bedroom and went away.

3. On Saturday 1 June 2013 at about 1400 hours, a female adult aged 18 years was on her way home from Mavorovondo Business Centre, Zvishavane. Along the way she met a male adult aged 21 years who asked to accompany her home. The male adult grabbed and dragged her into a bush and raped her once.

Rape of Juveniles

Analysis

Neighbours, close relatives, persons familiar but unrelated to victims were the major perpetrators of the crimes. Victims were way laid on their from school, grazing lands, crop fields, homesteads and play grounds in the absence of parents or guardians.

Cases of Interest

1. On an unknown date between June and July 2011, a girl aged 5 years was raped by her cousin brother aged 19 years. The two were staying with their aunt at the same residence. The rape occurred when the two were left together at home by their aunt.
2. On 22 February 2012 a male adult aged 30 years raped a female juvenile aged 14 years who was left alone at her homestead.

3. On Friday 25 October 2013 a girl aged 13 years was on her way from the Business Centre when she met an unknown male adult who grabbed, dragged her into the bush where he raped her once. The girl went and revealed the matter to her father.

DIVORCE CASES STATISTICS

Consolidated High Court Divorce Cases: 2011 – 2013

MONTH	YEAR			TOTAL
	2011	2012	2013	
JANUARY	109	141	146	396
FEBRUARY	144	121	119	396
MARCH	152	142	119	412
APRIL	106	141	149	396
MAY	134	139	148	417
JUNE	157	119	148	424
JULY	170	142	200	512
AUGUST	145	136	121	402
SEPTEMBER	136	148	156	402
OCTOBER	121	154	176	451
NOVEMBER	115	148	54	317
DECEMBER	107	100	-	207
TOTAL	1596	1631	1544	4771

Analysis

A total of one thousand five hundred and ninety six (1 596) cases were recorded in 2011 as compared to one thousand six hundred and thirty one (1 631) cases that were

recorded in 2012 signifying a two percent (2%) increase. An increase in divorce cases is also anticipated during the current year of 2013.

Generally the reasons for divorce have been due to long periods of separation between spouses because of the Diaspora issue. Either the man or woman who goes to work outside the country deserts the family and starts a new family abroad.

Domestic violence mainly caused by infidelity, changes in values systems and increasing access to the legal system are the major drivers of an increase in divorce cases in Zimbabwe. Women are now more aware of their rights and of where to go when they find themselves in a situation as a result of an increase in legal awareness.

People no longer value the system of marriage. They take little time to know the person they are going to marry leading to wrong choices. A support system around marriages that includes cultural and religious forms is required to sustain marriages.

Comment

There are three types of marriages which are as follows:-

1. Customary Unions

This is an unregistered traditional African marriage which is most popular in the rural areas. It constitutes the majority of marriages in Zimbabwe.

2. Customary Law Marriages Act Chapter 5:07 (Previously Chapter 238)

This type of marriage is registered but has become unpopular with the general populace because it is polygamous in nature as it permits a man to marry several wives.

3. Civil Marriages Act Chapter 5:11 (previously Chapter 37)

This is the most popular type of marriage registered at the High Court and it constitutes 95% of all registered marriages in the country. It is monogamous in nature and is the most preferred one as it protects the rights of the children and spouses.

Zimbabwe Republic Police General Headquarters.

APPENDIX C

Interview Guide

Children's Homes In-Depth Interview Guide

1. What is the name of the Children's Home?
2. Why was the Home established?
3. When was the Home established?
4. How many children are at the Home?
5. What is the distribution of children by gender?
6. What is the structure of the management of the Home?
7. What housing system is used by the Home?
8. What are the challenges faced by the Home?
9. What lessons are taught to children?
10. Do Children's Homes produce a whole person?
11. How do Children's Homes sustain themselves?
12. Where do Children's Homes get funds?
13. What is the relationship between the Homes and the Social Welfare Department?
14. Are Children's Homes an effective way of raising children?
15. Why have you decided to work with children?
16. What have you learnt during the time of working with children?

CHISHAWASHA IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE 21/10/13

1. When was the mission established?
2. Why was the mission established?
3. What were the causes of the emergence of Children's Homes?
4. What was the role of the church with regard to orphans?

MAZOE FGD INTERVIEW GUIDE 1 24/07/12

1. What is the nature of changes in the family structure and functions?
2. What changes have occurred in the family structure?
3. What are the functions of the family?
4. What factors have contributed to changes in the functions of the family?

MAZOE FGD INTERVIEW GUIDE 2 09/08/12

1. How effective are the administrative arrangements of Children's Homes by Department of Social Welfare Services?
2. What are the problems of Children's Homes as of 2010 Annual Report in Zimbabwe?
3. What are the reasons for the proliferation of unregistered Children's Homes in Zimbabwe?
4. What are the causes of the rise of Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Zimbabwe?

MAZOE FGD INTERVIEW GUIDE 3 27/08/12

1. How effective are the existing legal and administrative frameworks that govern the rights of the children in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the weaknesses of the Children's Act in Zimbabwe?
3. What are the weaknesses of the Birth and Death Registration Act in Zimbabwe?
4. What are the causes of abortion?
5. How can abortion cases be reduced in Zimbabwe?

CHIWESHE FGD Interview Guide 31/05/13

1. How were orphans handled in the past before the emergence of Children's Homes in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the causes of baby dumping in contemporary Zimbabwe?
3. What are the causes of the emergence of Children's Homes in Zimbabwe?
4. What are the causes of divorce and family instability in Zimbabwe?
5. What cases are brought before the Chief for trial in Chiweshe?