

**BEYOND INSTITUTIONAL CARE:
AN EVALUATION OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS' TRANSITIONS
AND LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES IN HIGHFIELD, HARARE**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this study entitled “Beyond institutional care: An evaluation of adolescent girls’ transitions and livelihood outcomes in Highfield, Harare” is my own work and all sources used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....
Pamhidzayi Berejena Mhongera

.....
Date

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ABSTRACT

BEYOND INSTITUTIONAL CARE: AN EVALUATION OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS' TRANSITIONS AND LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES IN HIGHFIELD, HARARE

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Transition to adulthood is a complex phenomenon, yielding varying outcomes for young people in different environments. Hence, adolescent girls transitioning from institutional care are a heterogeneous group with varying transition experiences and livelihood outcomes. Studies suggest that adolescents leaving care have less desirable outcomes compared to their counterparts in familial care (Vaughn, Shook & McMillen, 2008). Therefore, adolescents in the institutional context need specialised transition programmes as they traverse to adulthood and independent living (Storm, Porter & Macaulay, 2010:307). Unfortunately, institutions fail to provide well-structured and gender-sensitive transition programmes that promote the achievement of sustainable livelihoods during and after leaving care (Powell, 2006:143). As a consequence, adolescents are vulnerable to negative social and economic outcomes beyond institutional care.

iii.

The goal of the study was to evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

This study, which is participatory action research, evaluated the transitions and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls transitioning from two institutions in Highfield, Harare. To conceptualise the transition phenomena, sustainable livelihoods and feminist theoretical frameworks were applied. Mixed methods approaches were used and qualitative as well as quantitative data were collected, analysed and interpreted concurrently. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty-two adolescent girls, two superintendents and a district social services officer. Focus group discussions were held with participants from Institutions A and B and observations made on their counterparts discharged from the same institutions. A gender assessment questionnaire was administered to superintendents to establish whether the programmes being provided were gender-sensitive.

Findings from the study showed that adolescent girls in the two institutions have access to more assets (55.55%) compared to those outside with 49.2%. Hence, adolescent girls leaving institutional care lose 6.35% assets, making them poorer than their counterparts in care. Adolescent girls in the institutional context face increased gender-based constraints resulting in limited access to livelihood opportunities. Findings also indicate that adolescent girls living in resource-constrained institutions and households have more complex and harder transitions compared to those in well-resourced institutions and households.

The study concluded that the transition programmes being provided are not adequately preparing adolescent girls for life beyond care and they are also not gender-sensitive. Thus, they have a negative impact on the transitions and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls. Furthermore, stakeholders in the transition process lack financial and human resources to develop and implement gender-responsive transition policies and programmes, thereby affecting adolescent girls' access to different kinds of livelihood assets.

To facilitate successful transitions, this study recommends the development of gender-sensitive transition policies, transformation of the case management system and more investments in participatory policy development, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluation of transition programmes.

Key words

Adolescent girls

Assets

Case management system

Evaluation

Feminist approaches

Institutional care

Livelihood outcomes

Poverty

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

Transition programmes

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Letter of approval to conduct research from the University of Pretoria

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL OVERVIEW

1.1. Introduction

Globally, the transition to adulthood is widely recognised as a complex phenomenon, yielding varying outcomes for young people in different environments. Although this period presents opportunities, it can be detrimental for youth if they fail to access services and support necessary for physical, psychological, social and economic development. As noted by Osgood, Foster, Flanagan and Ruth (2005:1), what happens during the transition to adulthood has great implications on young people's futures. Therefore, adolescents need programmes that foster positive livelihood outcomes as they transition to adulthood.

A lot of research has focused on the transition to adulthood for young people involved in specific government systems such as 'the mental health system, the foster care system, the juvenile justice system, the criminal justice system, special education, the health care system (for youth with physical disabilities and chronic illness), runaway and homeless youth'' (Osgood, Foster & Courtney, 2010:210). However, few studies have examined the transition experiences of young people in the institutional context and their livelihood outcomes within the facility as well as in the wider society once they leave institutional care (Freidus, 2010:295). In addition, there is limited research which focuses on how youth aging out of child welfare vary from each other in terms of outcomes as a result of individual experiences and characteristics (Vaughn, Shook & McMillen, 2008:420). This scenario points out to a serious need for research that closes this identified gap in knowledge and social work practice.

As asserted by Mendes and Moslehuddin (2006:110), young people leaving institutions lack sufficient resources and support for successful independent living. They lack structured transition programmes before leaving care and after-care support to sustain their livelihoods

(Powell, 2006:143). This has resulted in livelihood deficits, causing youth to experience poor education and employment outcomes, poor mental and physical health, weak social support as well as homelessness, crime, juvenile prostitution, poverty, drug and/or alcohol abuse and early parenthood (Mendes & Moslehuddin, 2006:114-116). Therefore, young people need specialised programmes to enable them to navigate the challenges and opportunities of adolescence as they traverse to adulthood and independent living (Storm, Porter & Macaulay, 2010:307). As affirmed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:7), transition programmes should bring the most vulnerable youth into the development process. Nevertheless, governments and institutions are unlikely to be homogeneous in the extent to which they provide transition programmes and this has a bearing on the livelihood outcomes and transition experiences of youth during and after institutional care. Therefore, understanding the experiences, characteristics and circumstances and how these influence the transitions and livelihood outcomes of vulnerable youth is fundamental for the development of evidence-based welfare reforms and programmes (Vaughn et al., 2008:421).

This study sought to understand the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls transitioning from two institutions in Zimbabwe, a developing country in Sub Saharan Africa. The two institutions located in the country's capital, Harare, represent, public (governmental) and private (non-governmental) ownership and different living arrangements (dormitory and family-type respectively).

1.2. Definition of key concepts

A child refers to a person below the age of 18 years (Ministry of Labour and Social Services 2010a:v). Orphans are defined as children below the age of 18 whose mothers or fathers (or both) have died and vulnerable children are those whose survival, well-being, or development are at significant risk (UNAIDS, UNICEF & USAID 2004:6). This study focused on orphaned and other vulnerable adolescent girls in the institutional context.

Adolescence ranges from 10-19 years; younger adolescents from 10 to 14 years and older adolescents from 15-19 years (Lukas, 2008:3). This study focused on females transitioning from two institutions in Highfield, Harare aged from 15 to 21 years. However, for the purpose of analysis, the term “adolescent girls” is used as the emphasis of this study was on transition preparations by older adolescent girls in the institutional context.

Aging out, graduating and leaving care are terms used to define the cessation of legal responsibility by the state or other private institutions providing care for young people who are not living in familial homes (Mendes & Moslehuddin, 2006:111).

Capabilities refer to what people are effectively able to do and to be (Robeyns, 2003:5).

Gender refers to the structure of social relations as determined by reproductive distinctions between bodies (Connell, 2002:10).

Highfield is the second oldest high density suburb found in the south western side of the Central Business District of Harare. As an urban centre, Highfield is linked to most suburbs in Harare and has great political significance in the history of Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle (Data Compilation Report Highfield Constituency, 2006:2, 3).

Institutional/Residential Care is a group living arrangement for children in which care is provided by adults who would not be regarded as traditional care-givers within the wider society (Powell, 2006:133). There are two distinct models namely; the dormitory and family-based. The dormitory model provides a boarding school-type environment which offers little or no opportunity for development of close relationships with care-givers with the latter having family units resembling a normal home environment (Powell, 2006:133).

Transition means change, a passage from one style, form, state, or from one place to another (Atkinson, 2007:3). Transition is also defined as a change in status from behaving primarily as a child to assuming adult roles in the community (Halpern, 1994:116). It also

involves movement from childhood to adulthood and dependency to self-sufficiency (Wehman, 2011:4).

Transition services and programmes are a coordinated set of activities designed within a results-oriented process to facilitate movement from school to post-school activities, including postsecondary education, vocational training and employment (Wehman, 2011:4).

Livelihoods comprise the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (Carney, 1998:213). A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and manage to enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Carney, 1998:213). Livelihood strategy is how people are able to draw on their different assets to enable them to manage and sustain their lives (May, Brown, Cooper & Brill, 2009:12).

Resilience refers to how effectiveness is achieved, sustained or recovered in an adverse environment (Collins, 2001:281).

1.3. Rationale and problem statement

Transitions for youth in Zimbabwe are complicated, causing concern to individuals, families, communities and the country at large. According to Grant (2003:411), youth in urban areas struggle to achieve self-sufficiency due to severe social, economic and political instability, growing personal insecurity as well as the devastating impact of the Aids pandemic. The traditional career trajectory of young people leaving school, taking further study and moving into a job has shifted due to high levels of unemployment and labour market changes (Mauchi, Karambakuwa & Gopo 2011:1306). This shift has resulted in many school leavers experiencing long spells of unemployment resulting in desperation and civil unrest. If young people living with their families in communities are struggling to achieve self-sufficiency, then, it follows that their counterparts in institutions who, in most cases lack familial support are likely to have more challenges.

Zimbabwe faces the challenge of a large population of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC). According to Miller, Sawyer and Rowe (2011:3), one out of four children in Zimbabwe is an orphan and over a million are orphaned by Aids. Of these, seventy-three percent are adolescents between the ages of 10 and 17 years and thirty-six percent are aged between 15 and 17. The increase of OVC has resulted in the growth in numbers of children being institutionalised even though along the continuum of care, institutionalisation is considered as the last resort. The preferred forms of care in order of priority are; biological nuclear family, extended family, community care, formal foster care and adoption (Ministry of Labour and Social Services 2010a:13). Traditionally, Zimbabweans have prided themselves for their ability to take care of orphans and other vulnerable members of society through mobilisation of resources from the community. These concepts are known as the Zunde raMambo/Insimu yeNkosi and the Dura raMambo/Isiphala senkosi (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:4). Furthermore, the term ‘orphan’ had no meaning culturally. In the event that parents die, the brothers and sisters of the deceased were considered as fathers and mothers, thus assuming the parental roles and responsibilities (Jackson, 2002:278). Hence, extended families and communities have traditionally played the important role of looking after orphans (Jackson, 2002:282).

However, due to the spiralling levels of poverty and the adverse effects of HIV and Aids, the capacity of the family and community safety net systems has weakened resulting in the institutionalisation of many orphans and other vulnerable children (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:7). The abusive treatment being received from families and communities is also another factor fuelling the institutionalisation of children (Ministry of Labour and Social Services 2011a:7). As cited by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:5), many orphans are “subjected to abuse, including forced sex in adolescence, which increases their likelihood of contracting HIV.” Additionally, formal fostering and adoption are considered as taboos in many African cultures. These practices are believed to cause misfortunes since the adopted or fostered children have different totems from the host families (Jackson, 2002:284). Hence, formal fostering and adoption are not common practices among local Zimbabweans. As noted from the foregoing facts, there

will always be push factors which result in the institutionalisation of children and in that respect, places of safety will always be needed to provide temporary care to orphans and other vulnerable children in need. Therefore as argued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011a:7), institutions are indispensable elements of the child protection system in Zimbabwe.

The increase in the number of institutions being built and the children being placed under their care, signify the relevance of residential care facilities as a safety net system. To this end, institutions are expected to provide services and support to young people as typical families do (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:7). Thus, as asserted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010a:14), family-type institutions are preferred than dormitory-type living arrangements. In line with the Children's Protection and Adoption Act, the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and institutions have been given the legal mandate to provide protection and care to children living in institutions (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:1). The National Residential Care Standards were developed to provide guidelines on the provision of services that are able to meet the individual needs of children in care as well as prepare them for life after care (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:14). However, as observed by Wyatt, Mupedziswa & Rayment (2010:iii), the government and institutions lack the capacity to provide important transition programmes due to inadequate financial, human and other material resources. This situation, unfortunately, results in poor transitions and negative livelihood outcomes for young people transitioning from care.

When young people living in Zimbabwean institutions reach the age of eighteen, they cease to receive services and support and are discharged from care (Powell, 2006:142). In most cases, they age out without the means of sustaining their livelihoods, with inadequate social skills and no social relationships, which expose them to a myriad of socio-economic risks (Child Protection Society, 2014:9). With many of the young people approaching the age of eighteen, reunification and community integration challenges are imminent. Firstly, young people leave institutional care without adequate assets needed for independent living. While

some young people have relatives or friends in the community, due to poverty, these social networks may lack the capacity to provide care and support. The other category is of young people coming from abusive families, who face the risk of being abused again when they are reunified with former abusers. These scenarios place young people in a dire situation, where their livelihood options are limited. Therefore, to curb these challenges Mendes and Moslehuddin (2006:121) emphasise the importance of mainstreaming young people in the social and economic systems to increase their chances of accessing income or resources, employment opportunities, public services and social networks. However, the lack of programmes promoting social and economic empowerment results in failed transitions, particularly for adolescent girls who are most likely to face more gender-based constraints in their transition to adulthood and out of care.

As noted by Caro (2009:3), women and girls face gender-based constraints that affect their social and economic well-being. Gender-based constraints are gender relations that hinder different sexes' behaviours, knowledge, attitudes and access to different livelihood opportunities (Caro, 2009:3). Historically, the political economy of Zimbabwe has been instrumental in shaping gender relations governing access and distribution of resources as well as power (United Nations Development Programme, 2009:2). As a consequence, gender inequality is still pervasive in the country, causing systematic disempowerment of women and girls in many spheres of life (United Nations Development Programme, 2009:viii). As cited by the Ministry of Women's Affairs Gender and Community Development, (2013:5), women in Zimbabwe are poorer than men with 68 percent of female-headed households living below the total consumption poverty line. Thirty-seven percent women are formally employed compared to 62 percent men. According to the Ministry of Women's Affairs Gender and Community Development (2013:5), 18 percent and 12 percent women benefited from the Land Reform Programme under A1 and A2 schemes respectively and 70 percent of agricultural labour is provided by women who receive lower wages than men. In terms of gender-based violence, findings from the National Baseline Survey on the Life Experiences of Adolescents reveal that 32.5 percent females aged 18-24 compared to 8.9 males reported experiencing sexual violence in

childhood, while 9 percent females and 2 percent boys reported experiencing sexual violence in the 12 months preceding the survey (Judicial Service Commission, 2012:17).

In Zimbabwe, adolescent orphan girls are less likely to access quality education, healthcare and other basic needs of life due to poverty and other socio-cultural factors (Miller, et al., 2011:3). As noted by Miller et al. (2011:3), orphans are three times more likely to be infected by HIV than non-orphans and adolescent orphan girls are at increased risks of forced sex. As reported by UNICEF (2012:22), the rate of HIV infection is higher for adolescent orphan girls living in *urban* areas compared to boys living in both urban and rural areas. This is because during the critical period of transition, “many of these adolescents are left without access to appropriate information, treatment, care or support, including age-appropriate sexual and reproductive health care and prevention services” UNICEF, 2012:22). If adolescent girls in the community lack adequate information and services on sexual and reproductive health, those in institutions who lack comprehensive and well-structured transition services are more vulnerable to HIV infection and other negative livelihood outcomes. Although adolescent girls in institutions face the risk of social isolation, family reunification and community integration can also be perilous due to the prevailing levels of poverty and gender-based violence. Therefore, adolescent girls in the institutional context face multifaceted risks that need the development of gender-responsive policies and programmes which are both preventive and protective.

Using sustainable livelihoods and feminist theoretical approaches, this study evaluated transition programmes and how they facilitate access to social, financial, physical, human and public assets to adolescent girls in the institutional context. Through an analysis of livelihood assets, needs, strategies, transition programme needs, this study sought to understand the transition experiences and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context. As affirmed by DFID (1999:1.2), “adopting the sustainable livelihood approach provides a way to improve the identification, appraisal and evaluation of developmental programmes so that they better address the priorities of poor people.” Therefore, an evaluation of livelihood outcomes helps in identifying how transition

programmes are addressing the developmental priorities of adolescent girls, reducing vulnerabilities and contributing to poverty reduction. Findings and recommendations of this study will be useful in facilitating gender-responsive policies and programmes that enhance the social and economic well-being of young people before and after institutional care.

1.4. Hypothesis

The hypothesis of the study was:

The transition programmes being provided by institutions in Highfield, Harare were not adequately preparing adolescent girls for sustainable livelihoods post institutional care and were not gender-sensitive.

1.5. Research question

The main research question for the study was:

How do transition programmes being provided by institutions in Highfield, Harare affect the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls during and after institutional care?

The following sub-questions informed the main research question:

- What are the livelihood needs of adolescent girls, the different kinds of assets they have access to, transition programme needs and their livelihood strategies within institutions in Highfield, Harare?
- What are the livelihood needs, the different kinds of assets they have access to, transition programme needs and livelihood strategies for the adolescent girls who have left institutional care and live in society?
- What are the differences between the livelihood needs, assets livelihood strategies, transition programme needs and outcomes within the institutional context and the level of access to assets, livelihood strategies, transition programme needs and livelihood outcomes outside institutional care?
- What are the gender outcomes on transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls by the institutions?

- How effective are the transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls before and after institutional care in promoting access to human, social, physical, financial and public assets?

1.6. Goal of the study

The goal of this study was to evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

1.7. Research objectives

The objectives of the study were:

- To contextualise and conceptualise transition programmes for livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls within a sustainable livelihood approach and feminist theoretical framework.
- To establish adolescent girls' livelihood needs, the different kinds of assets they have access to, transition programme needs and their livelihood strategies within the institution.
- To establish livelihood needs, the different kinds of assets they have access to, transition programme needs and the livelihood strategies of the adolescent girls after institutional care.
- To make a comparative analysis of the livelihood needs, assets, livelihood strategies, transition programme needs and outcomes within the institutional context and the level of access to assets, livelihood needs, strategies, transition programme needs and livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls who have left institutional care.
- To assess the gender outcomes on the transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls by institutions.
- To propose gender-responsive policies and programmes that enhances the social and economic well-being of young people before and after institutional care.

1.8. Research Methodology

In this study, the mixed methods design was used to understand the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context. According to Creswell (2009:233), mixed methods combine hypothesis, strategies and specific methods of research enquiries in one study. The use of mixed methods “adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any enquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:5). Therefore, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, sustainable livelihood and feminist theories as well as hypothesis were used in this study. The main study was preceded by a pilot conducted in two institutions in Harare (Institutions C and D). According to Bloor and Wood (2006:131), piloting helps the researcher to test the research design and instruments so that modifications can be made in line with the changing circumstances. In this respect, the sampling method for adolescent girls in the institution was changed from quota to availability sampling to cater for the increased mobility of older adolescent girls. Changes were also made on some questions on the semi-structured interview schedules to enhance clarity. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected using semi-structured interview schedules, focus group discussions, self-administered questionnaires, direct observations and document analyses. Thirty-two adolescent girls (sixteen adolescent girls living inside Institutions A and B, and sixteen discharged from the same institutions, two superintendents providing oversight to the institutions and a district social services officer representing the Ministry of Public Services, Labour and Social Welfare participated in the study.

Quantitative research provides information about the world in form of numbers through a process of measurement (Punch 2005:55). As cited by Miller and Brewer (2003:192), quantitative research is the numerical measure of specific aspects of a phenomenon. In this study, the researcher used quantitative research to establish the differences between or relationships among variables. The variables used to explain the transition phenomena included livelihood assets, needs, strategies, programme needs, livelihood and gender outcomes. As affirmed by Miller and Brewer (2003:19), variables form the basis of analysis useful for establishing sets of relationships critical for “testing theories, identifying general

patterns and making prediction.” Quantitative research is deductive in nature and can therefore be referred to as explanatory study (Miller & Brewer, 2003:193).

Although the mixed method study design was used, the emphasis on this study was largely qualitative. As noted by Denzin & Lincoln (2005:5), qualitative research uses multiple methods to develop an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in question. While quantitative approaches are concerned about breadth, qualitative research seeks meaning by exploring certain features of a phenomenon within its context, thereby contributing to theory development (Miller & Brewer, 2003:193). Qualitative research “seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings” (Berg, 2004:7). Qualitative research is inductive and is therefore explorative (Engel & Schutt 2009:54). Accordingly, this study explored the transition phenomena and how adolescent girls ascribed meaning to their transition experiences.

Evaluation research, often referred to as programme evaluation or practice evaluation searches for practical knowledge regarding the implementation and effects of social policies or the impact of programmes (Engel & Schutt 2009:21). As asserted by Garbarino and Holland (2009:5), an “evaluation that combines quantitative and qualitative methods can generate both statistically reliable measure of the magnitude of the impact as well as the greater depth of understanding how and why a programme was or was not effective and how it may be adapted in the future to make it more effective.” Qualitative evaluation methods are used to produce detailed descriptions of how programme participants engage with each other, how the programme experiences varies for different people and how the programme changes and evolves over time (Engel & Schutt, 2009:387). As asserted by Engel and Schutt (2009:396), evaluation research that seeks to identify the effects of a social programme uses quantitative methods where outcomes between groups are compared and change is tracked over time.

The more complex social programmes are, the more qualitative methods are used in an evaluation study (Engel & Schutt, 2009:396). Transition programmes are complex because

they have many different features. With complex programmes, it is not always obvious that some particular features or a combination of features are responsible for the programme's effects or the absence of effects (Engel & Schutt, 2009:396). Due to the complexity of the transition phenomena, this study is more qualitative than quantitative. Additionally, "evaluation research requires the application of theory in order to focus and prioritise inquiry" (Kelly, 2007:469). As such, this study used both development and social theories (sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical frameworks respectively) to analyse and interpret data on adolescent girls' transitions.

As cited by Miller and Brewer (2003:225), participatory action research allows the researcher to examine theory, practice as well as assumptions through the reflections of participants and experiences of their everyday lives (Miller & Brewer, 2003:225). As a distinctive type of study, the aim of participatory action research is to produce knowledge and action that is useful to the people, thus empowering them through the research process (Miller & Brewer, 2003:225). Therefore, according to Berg (2003:198), the procedure for conducting participatory action research entails identifying the research questions, collecting data to answer the questions, analysing and interpreting data and sharing the results with the participants. As cited by Berg (2004:195), participatory action research embraces "the principles of participation, reflection, empowerment and emancipation of people and groups interested in improving their social situation or condition." These principles were applied in this study as participants were able to reflect on their transitions as well as propose programmes for their social and economic empowerment.

1.9. Research report

This report is divided into six chapters. Chapter one provides a general introduction and orientation of the study. It gives the background of the study, describes the key concepts to the study, discusses the hypotheses, research question, rationale and problem statement, as well as the goals and objectives of the study. Chapter two reviews literature on adolescence, transitions in general and transition experiences of young people in the institutional context. The same chapter reviews documents on the legal, policy and programme framework for

orphans and other vulnerable children in the Zimbabwean context. Chapter three presents the sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical frameworks and these are linked to transition experiences and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context. The fourth chapter focuses on the research design and discusses the methods and techniques used. Chapter five outlines findings of the empirical study, where data collected were presented, analysed and interpreted. Key findings, conclusions and recommendations are presented in Chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALISING AND CONTEXTUALISING ADOLESCENT GIRLS' TRANSITIONS AND LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES

2.1. Introduction

To conceptualise youth transitions, this chapter discusses various literature on transition experiences and livelihood outcomes in general as well as in the context of institutional care. The chapter locates other studies on youth transitions to provide a framework for thinking on adolescent girls' transition experiences and livelihood outcomes during and after institutional care. The first sub-topic describes the various aspects of adolescence outlining the challenges and opportunities of this period. This is followed by the phenomenon of transitions, its many facets and how these link to livelihoods of young people in the institutional context. Next to be discussed are the transition needs of young people in institutions, the strategies being used for positive livelihood outcomes, the transition needs for youth who have exited institutional care as well as recommendations for successful transitions. The last discussion focuses on youth transitions in the Zimbabwean context, focusing on institutionalisation of young people, the challenges associated with reintegration into communities after care, and recommendations for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes. This section also discusses the legal, policy and programme framework for orphans and other vulnerable children (OVC) in Zimbabwe.

2.2. Adolescence

Adolescence marks the beginning of an adult identity, development of intimate relationships, adult roles and responsibilities (Collins, 2001:279). The advent of puberty is a major physiological occasion that transforms the human body and mind for both adolescent girls and boys (Cavanagh, Riegle-Crumb & Crosnoe 2007:187). For girls, menarche is a stage of pubertal onset characterised by the development of breasts and hips, the reproductive capacity, new expectations and self-image (Cavanagh, et al., 2007:186). These

changes bring varying levels of anxiety and expectations to the adolescents as individuals, families and societies at large.

As cited by UNICEF (2011:8), adolescence is a difficult term to define. This is because of differences in individuals' experiences as a result of physical, emotional and cognitive as well as other factors affecting maturation (UNICEF, 2011:8). Another complication of the definition comes from the variations in national laws governing participation in adult activities such as marriage, voting, property ownership, alcohol consumption and military recruitment (UNICEF, 2011:8). However, according to Lukas (2008:1) the period of adolescence ranges from the age of 10 to 19 years. As stated by Sommer (2011:979), early adolescence starts from the age of 10 to 14 and late adolescence from 15 to 19.

2.2.1. Demographic characteristics of adolescents

According to UNICEF (2011:20), adolescents constitute 18 percent of the human population. As cited by UNICEF (2011:20);

1.2 billion adolescents stand at the challenging crossroads between childhood and the adult world. Nine out of ten of these young people live in the developing world and face especially profound challenges, from obtaining an education to simply staying alive – challenges that are even more magnified for girls and young women.

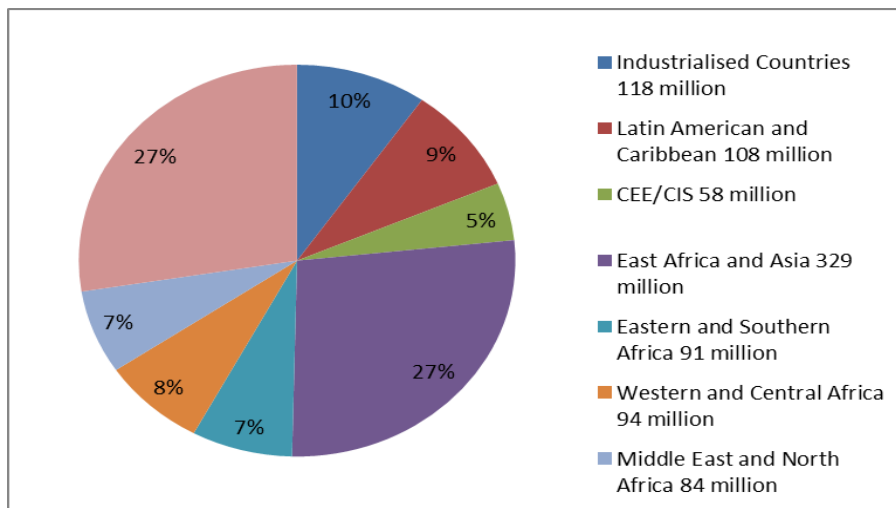


Figure 2.1: Adolescent population (10-19 years) by region, 2009 (UNICEF, 2011:20)

Figure 2.1 above shows the adolescent population of the world by region as at 2009. According to the chart, eighty-eight per cent of adolescents in the world live in developing countries with more than half of the world's adolescents living in South Asia or East Africa and Pacific Region (UNICEF 2011:20). India has the largest population of 243 million adolescents, followed by China with 207 million, United States 44 million and Pakistan and Indonesia (41 million for both). In Sub Saharan Africa adolescents account to one in every five people (UNICEF 2011:20).

2.2.2. Adolescence-related challenges

According to Campbell and Gentry (2002:3), adolescence is viewed as a time of storm and stress due to the many changes that occur during the transition from childhood to adulthood. This view was postulated by G.S. Hall in 1904 and it resulted in the scientific study of adolescence (Arnett, 1999:317). As noted by Hall, the storm and stress experienced by adolescents in those days was exacerbated by the growing urbanisation and its temptations as well as the need for activity and exploration (Arnett, 1999:317). It was also as a result of the failure of institutions such as the families, schools and religious organisations to understand the nature and challenges of adolescence and adapt accordingly (Arnett 1999:318).

The view that adolescence is a period of storm and stress is contestable between scholars and practitioners. For example, Arnett (1999:317) argues that not all adolescents experience storm and stress. Nevertheless, as noted by Arnett (1999:317), young people are more likely to experience storm and stress during adolescence than at other ages. This assertion is affirmed by studies of teachers, parents and students which concur that adolescence is tumultuous time as experienced by frequent fights, rebellion, rudeness, impulsivity, depression, insecurity, anxiousness and other emotional and behavioural problems (Arnett 1999:317). However, as postulated by Lerner (2010:843), some studies have shown that the turbulence associated with adolescence can be avoided through positive youth development programmes. In this regard, investing in positive youth development programmes help adolescents to build the resilience needed to weather the storms and stresses of adolescence.

UNICEF (2011:2) provides evidence around the world why it is important to invest in adolescents. According to the report, the second decade of life is very hazardous as evidenced below:

81,000 Brazilian adolescents, 15–19 years old, were murdered between 1998 and 2008. Global net attendance for secondary school is roughly one third lower than for primary school, worldwide, one third of all new HIV cases involve young people aged 15–24. And in the developing world, excluding China, one in every three girls gets married before the age of 18. About 400 000 adolescents die each year due to early pregnancy and childbirth, over 70 million are out of school and teenage girls suffer exploitation, violent conflict and abuse at the hands of adults (UNICEF, 2011:2).

The foregoing facts suggest that adolescence is a perilous period, fraught with vulnerability. However the same report states that adolescence can be pregnant with hope and opportunity, especially if more investments are channelled to this population (UNICEF, 2011:2).

2.2.3. Opportunities of adolescence

Investing in adolescents, particularly girls, supports the existing human rights treaties. According to UNICEF (2011:2-3), the Convention on the Rights of the Child applies to around 80 percent of adolescents and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women applies to all adolescent females. Additionally, investing in adolescents helps in consolidating the gains made in early and middle childhood in the 1990s such as primary school enrolment, safe water and immunisation (UNICEF, 2011:3). Investing in adolescents is also important because it accelerates the fight against poverty, inequity and gender discrimination which have implications that are transferable across generations. Investment in positive youth development programmes equips adolescents with the knowledge and skills to deal with social, political and economic challenges as well and enable them to contribute to households, communities, societies and economies effectively (UNICEF, 2011:7). Considering the sensitivity of the period of adolescence, states should invest more resources in youth-centred policies and programmes. This will reduce the risks associated with this stage and empower adolescents for positive livelihoods and successful transitions to adulthood.

2.3. Transitions

Transitions speak of change or development. As stated by Shanahan (2000:668), transitions are age-graded and can differ as a result of biological, social and cultural factors. These factors cause differences in experiences as well as livelihood outcomes during the life-course (Shanahan, 2000:668). The modernisation of societies with changes in “forms of social organisation, rapid technological changes, the emergence of market economies, urbanisation, industrialisation, the decline of agricultural life, secularisation, broad-based political participation, the use of currency and the spread of science,” have caused variances in transitions among cohorts of youth, reflecting inequalities with regard to race, gender and socio-economic status (Shanahan, 2000:668). As such, the standardised trajectories of school, work and family have shifted due to changes in historical events, economic circumstances as well as the exercising of agency by young people in constructing their biographies (Shanahan, 2000:670).

Although the transition to adulthood is reflective of the continuous transformation of the society, researchers and practitioners have not been blind to the intricate interaction of biological, psychological and social factors during adolescence. This interaction requires the continuous socialisation of institutions for them to respond to the changing needs of adolescents (Adegoke, 2001:21). Accordingly, this calls for the analysis of demographic profiles of populations within their social contexts and assessing the impacts of social and economic changes to their behaviours. To this end, Adegoke (2001:28) recommends a multi-disciplinary approach which focuses on the development and transformation of pivotal institutions such as families and schools to mitigate the effects of transition failures resulting in increased school drop-out rates, unemployment, unwanted pregnancies, violence and drug abuse.

2.3.1. Effects of poverty on youth transitions

Poverty is one of the drivers of transition failures. According to the International Labour Organisation (2008:1), poverty eradication and sustainable development can be achieved when young people have stable and productive employment. Therefore, policies and

programmes should focus on facilitating the school-to-work transition or work to school transition. International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines the school to work transition as a passage of a young person aged 15 to 29 years from the end of schooling to the first fixed-term or satisfactory employment (ILO, 2010:3). A labour-based perspective views a young person who has transited as the one who is currently employed in a fixed-term and satisfactory job, a fixed-term but unsatisfactory job, a temporary but unsatisfactory job or self-employed and satisfied. A young person still in transition is either employed in a temporary and unsatisfactory job, in wage and salaried employment with no contract, self-employed and unsatisfied, in unpaid family employment, unemployed and inactive and not in school, with an aim to work later. ILO defines a young person who has not yet transited as one who is in school or inactive and not in school, with no intention of looking for work (ILO, 2010:4-5).

According to ILO (2012:1), the world experienced an upsurge of youth-led political and social protests, with young people demanding jobs, freedom and social justice. The protests of young people over unemployment and authoritarian rule in Tunisia sparked the Arab Spring in 2011. This spirit spread to industrialised countries including Spain and Greece as young people demanded for action against economic and social exclusion (ILO, 2012:1). In the United States, the protests dubbed (Occupy Wall Street) demanded political and economic reform to address inequalities of wealth and income of the rich (1 per cent) at the expense of the majority (99 per cent) (ILO, 2012:2). In Chile, school students engaged in mass protests against social inequalities in the education system. In the United Kingdom students protested against the increase in university fees and the reduction of funding on higher education (ILO, 2012:1). Although ILO has been active in promoting youth school-to-work transitions, the recent youth uprisings worldwide has called for increased urgency to put the youth unemployment crisis as a topic on the agenda of the 101st Session of the International Labour Conference (ILO, 2012:1).

2.3.2. Gender and youth transitions

Gender is considered as an important factor in explaining the disparities in youth transitions (Thomas & Dominique, 2002:2). As noted by Thomas and Dominique (2002:2), gender disparities are noticeable at all levels from education to labour-market entry, with young women facing difficulties in their transition compared to their male counterparts. This is closely related to lack of training opportunities and unfavourable conditions in the labour market (Thomas & Dominique, 2002:5). According to Thomas and Dominique (2002:2) this results in higher levels of unemployment, lower wages and job status for women making them more vulnerable to poor livelihood outcomes compared to men. According to Andres (2002:16), the three factors that discourage young women from pursuing and succeeding in male-dominated fields of study or work are protective behaviours adopted by men, women being ignored by institutions and the lack of support when women engage in relationships, get married or fall pregnant. Another factor is the socialisation process where institutions like families and schools exude varying expectations and influence on the boy versus the girl child (Andres, 2002:8). The view by many parents and teachers that boys should be providers and that girls' formal work should be "less serious" send contradictory messages about gender roles affecting youth's aspirations and decision-making in their transition to adulthood (Andres, 2002:9). Against this backdrop, an understanding of the transition experiences in light of the sex stereotypes helps in promoting gender relations that facilitate access to gender-based opportunities (Caro, 2009:vi).

As cited by Buckley and Carter (2005:649), "Black women's definitions of womanhood have expanded beyond traditional notions of femininity to include hard work, perseverance, self-reliance, tenacity, resistance, and sexual equality. As a result, Black girls have been socialised with both traditional gender roles (e.g., care and nurturance) and non-traditional gender roles (e.g., worker, financial provider)." However, adolescent girls in Sub-Saharan Africa face multifaceted and complex challenges that have increased their economic and social vulnerability. According to Underwood, O'Brien and Skinner (2009:5), adolescent girls in Sub-Saharan Africa have been disempowered due to lack of access to information, incomprehensible information, the inability to make informed decisions and enact on

decisions. In that regard, development initiatives should understand and address the multi-level aspects of girls' vulnerability to poor transitions and livelihood outcomes (Underwood, et al., 2009:6).

The transition from childhood to adulthood for an African girl has been affected by the declining economic situations, civil strife, famine, HIV and AIDS (Adegoke, 2001:22). Adegoke (2001:22) notes the role of the social context, cultural and individual beliefs in the transitions of adolescent girls in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to him, the transitions of adolescent girls in Sub-Saharan Africa have been affected by the “invasions of modern-style concepts and changes in the economic conditions, social organisations and family structures that are responsible for reshaping and in some instances even replacing the traditional child-rearing beliefs and practices” (Adegoke, 2001:22). In light of these changes, an analysis of the demographic profiles of populations within their social contexts is essential in assessing the impacts of social and economic changes on their behaviours.

As cited by Manzini (2001:44), the sexual maturation of girls in many societies brings expectations of increased household responsibilities, restrictions of movements and increased pressures for sexual initiation. Due to these expectations, adolescent girls in Sub-Saharan Africa are at an increased risk of unprotected sex compared to boys due to poverty, age, partner behaviour and cultural practices (Manzini, 2001:44). A study of adolescent girls in KwaZulu Natal by Manzini (2001:48) showed that sexual activity is starting at an early age and girls are engaging in sexual activity with older boys or men. The study also revealed the increase of unwanted and unplanned pregnancies among schoolgirls (Manzini, 2001:49). In most cases, the pregnancies were carried to term with girls incurring the financial costs of raising children outside marriage. After delivery, more than half the girls did not return to school resulting in a cycle of poverty for both the mother and the child (Manzini, 2001:49). With such a high risk of poor transition outcomes, Sommer (2011:979) emphasises the importance of understanding the vulnerabilities that adolescent girls face in their transition to adulthood by considering the physiological, emotional and social implications of pubertal onset.

As has been observed from the foregoing discussion, poverty and gender have a bearing on youth' transition experiences as they create varying levels of vulnerabilities and opportunities. In order to understand the life pathways of different categories of youth populations, there is need for research that focuses on both the economic and social aspects of transitions. However as argued by Underwood et al. (2009:4), literature on opportunities and vulnerabilities of adolescent girls has been scant because they were grouped with women or with adolescent boys. According to Underwood et al. (2009:4), the “first instance ignores the effects of age-related permutation within female gender roles while the second fails to take into account the gendered nature of adolescence.” In that regard, research that is able to provide a gendered account of adolescent girls' transitions will help in bridging the gap in literature and also guide the development of gender-sensitive transition policies and programmes.

The next discussion provides examples of youth transition research that various countries have conducted to inform youth transition policy-development and programming.

2.3.3. School to work transitions in developed countries

Transition patterns tend to vary according to geographic locations. Thus, different countries conduct youth transition surveys as a human development agenda. For example, the European Science Foundation established the Network on Transitions in Youth in the early 1990s (Bynner & Chisholm, 1998:132). This initiative resulted in many European countries carrying out surveys as well as using administrative data to monitor the changing forms and outcomes of transition processes. These methods have generated data on education, training and labour-market that have been useful in informing the policy debate and track progress against the human development index. However, Bynner and Chisholm (1998:132) argue that “transitions data are products of individual choices and social imperatives in distinctive socio-cultural systems operating at particular points in historical time and they manifest features of the arrangements each country has developed for managing the transition from schooling to paid work.” Hence, findings on transitions cannot be generalised across countries. Furthermore, the data are also dependent on young peoples' patterns of behaviour

as governed by diverse histories, cultures and traditions of different countries and societies (Bynner & Chisholm, 1998:132). Therefore, in making comparative analyses of youth transitions across countries, Bynner and Chisholm (1998:132) advise social researchers to have a societal understanding of the youth first by seeking patterns amongst individuals, groups, processes, and structures, across space and time. Additionally, Bynner and Chisholm (1998:133) urges social researchers to consider the scope of the study by discussing the focus, level of analysis, motivation and purpose of the comparative research.

In Canada, the Youth in Transition Survey (YITS) is a longitudinal survey designed to provide policy information about school-to-work transitions and factors influencing pathways among education, training and work (Human Resources Development Canada, 2000:5). The survey which focuses on two cohorts aged 15 years and 18-20 is conducted every two years to identify educational and labour pathways and factors that influence those pathways. They examine incidences, characteristics, factors and effects of leaving school as well as assess the contribution of work experience programmes such as volunteer activities and part-time jobs to skills development. The surveys also explore transitions to the labour market, study behaviours, attitudes and skills of young people entering the labour market and investigate the educational and employment pathways of various sub groups, including ‘youth at risk’ (Human Resources Development Canada, 2000:18). According to Human Resources Development Canada (2000:11), these surveys help in establishing the type and level of investment required for education and development of transferrable skills that meet the demands of a knowledge-based economy.

Furthermore, the policy information obtained from YITS help in shaping programmes that support the growth of standards of living and ensure greater social cohesion. As noted by the YITS, the Canadian school to work transition has been discovered to offer multiple and flexible pathways (Human Resources Development Canada, 2000:23). The youth transition factors measured include; socio-demographic information, social and cultural capital, parental socio-economic status, individual achievements, family and custody history, career planning, influence of peers, health and psychological functioning, post-secondary

financing, programmes for preparation of work and unemployment (Human Resources Development Canada, 2000:28).

Anlezark (2009:1) views youth transitions “as a time of flux as young people try out different school, post-school work and study options.” As defined by Anlezark (2009:1), youth transitions refer to a period when young people move between school, post-school study and employment. During this time, some youth are considered ‘at risk’ of making unsuccessful transitions resulting in unemployment, part-time work and fewer hours of employment affecting their progression to high-skilled work. Therefore, by looking at disengaged youth, the longitudinal survey, facilitate the development of strategies which assist young people to have desired educational and employment outcomes. As noted by Anlezark (2009:5), since 1999, the Dusseldorp Skills Forum and the Foundation for Young Australians in recent years have published a series of annual reports describing the learning and working situation of young Australians. One of the reports between 2008 and 2009 highlighted the increase of youth at risk aged 15 to 19 years, a period which coincided with the economic meltdown (Anlezark, 2009:5). The same report also indicated that young females were more marginalised than males. Table 2.1 below summarises the characteristics of young people at risk of poor outcomes.

Table 2.1: Characteristics of young people at risk of poor outcomes

Exogenous factors	Mediating factors
Indigenous	Poor attitudes to school
Born in Australia	Attend government school
Live outside metropolitan areas	Poor student–teacher relationship
Low academic achievers	Dislike of school
Low levels of literacy and numeracy	Intention in year 9 to leave school early
Low socioeconomic status	Poor student behaviour
Parents work in blue-collar occupations	Lack of engagement with school extracurricular activities
Parents without university education	
Non-nuclear family	

Source: Anlezark (2009:9)

According to Anlezark (2009:8), being at risk for extended periods is associated with a complex interaction of individual, institutional and economic factors. It also leads to many disadvantages in the labour market (Anlezark, 2009:11). However, since adolescence is a highly transitory period, focusing on the young people who remain at risk for extended periods of time is considered to be more useful way of channelling resources to young people who need them most (Anlezark, 2009:11). The ensuing discussion focuses on school-to-work transitions in developing countries.

2.3.4. School-to-work transitions in developing countries

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) conducts School to Work Transition Surveys to collect information on the labour market situation of young men and women, critical for the formulation of youth employment or development policies and programmes (ILO, 2010:3). In Nepal, ILO conducted surveys to understand the transitions of different categories of youth. The survey considered factors such as the youth's background, education, perceptions and aspirations (ILO, 2008:12). Nepal, a country in South Asia with a population of 24.8 million is highly heterogeneous with over 100 separate caste and tribes. About 28 percent of the population are youth aged 15-29 (ILO, 2008:6). Evidence from surveys suggests that young people in Nepal face the challenge of underemployment which results in low productivity and poverty. According to ILO (2008:16), underemployment is higher for young women compared to men. This difference is associated with the longer hours females spent in household chores compared to males. The survey of transitions also showed the education gap between males and females as well as the differences between rural and urban youth with young women being worse-off in both cases (ILO, 2008:11). The diversities in caste and ethnicity also reflected differences in transition patterns and experiences. For example, the Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar tribes had similar transition statuses where most of the youth had not transited and less than half of them were employed (ILO, 2008:24). Accordingly, findings of the ILO study pointed out that the “prevailing practices towards women, the poor and disadvantaged groups have resulted in limited employment opportunities for youth of these groups” (ILO, 2008:24). In response to this challenge, the government was strongly urged to address issues of equity and social

inclusion as an integral part of the social and economic development process (ILO, 2008:50).

According to ILO (2013:1), a large number of young people in developing countries continue to face irregular employment, receive below-average wages and engage in work which they are either over-qualified or under-qualified for. In North Africa, youth unemployment was at 23.7 percent in 2012, with the unemployment of young women being higher at 37 percent compared to young men at 18.3 per cent (ILO, 2013:19). Youth unemployment rates are higher in South Africa, where over half of the young people in the labour force were unemployed in the first three quarters of 2012. In Namibia unemployment was 58.9 percent in 2008 and Lesotho 34.4 percent in 2008 (ILO, 2013:19). As highlighted by the same report, the high levels of youth unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa are linked to high levels of poverty and vulnerable employment (ILO, 2013:19).

As observed by Mwangi (2011:86) youth transitions in Sub-Saharan countries are characterised by higher levels of unemployment resulting in increased poverty and social isolation. This anomaly is attributed to the underdevelopment of economies, low literacy rates, small and under-resourced private sector, rural-urban migration, low quality education, mismatch of education and skills demanded by the labour market (Abukari, 2007:83). In Sub-Saharan Africa, the youth population which represents the large share of the population pyramid termed the 'youth bulge,' challenges inter-generational arrangements such as social contracts, role models and economic domains (Eguavoen, 2010:268). Consequently, the increase of youth in both social and economic transitions result in economic and social struggles that call for a research agenda capable of bringing development-appropriate policies and programmes (Abukari, 2007:83). According to Abukari (2007:83), this agenda is critical in light of the prevailing challenges by the devastating effects of crime, violence, drug abuse, HIV/Aids and civil strife. An analysis of the transitions of economically and socially vulnerable youth is therefore valuable as a preventive and protective measure against negative livelihood outcomes.

2.3.5. Transitions for vulnerable youth

According to Osgood et al. (2010:210), the transition outcomes of young people are determined by their different social and economic contexts. In their survey of youth transitioning from the social and justice systems, Osgood et al. (2010:210) highlight the challenges that vulnerable youth face and the special services and support they need for successful transitions. Osgood et al. (2010:211) argue that members of vulnerable youth groups face challenges in finding employment, attending college, marrying, starting a family, and have emotional and behavioural problems. According to the authors, these challenges may be due to lack of parental support, inability to acquire skills, lack of funding to go to college and a place to live during hard times (Osgood, et al., 2010:211).

According to Osgood et al. (2010:209), youth in the mental health, foster care, juvenile justice, criminal justice, youth with disabilities, runaway, homeless and youth in institutions face difficulties in their transitions due to “eligibility criteria that exclude youth from services that might benefit them, inadequate funding for transition services, a lack of coordination across service systems and inadequate training about young adult developmental issues for service professionals” (Osgood, et al., 2010:209). Thus, to facilitate successful transitions for vulnerable youth in the welfare system, the authors recommend the provision of socially and economically appropriate services and support, strengthening of all programmes for youth in transition, improving the systems of care for children and adolescents, improving access to services at the age of majority and effective coordination of systems for improved transition service delivery (Osgood, et al., 2010:209).

Orphaned adolescents encounter complex challenges in their transition to adulthood. According to UNAIDS, UNICEF and USAID (2004:18), adolescent orphans have less access to school as they assume new responsibilities of supporting the family. Poverty also deprives adolescent orphans from recreation and participation in community activities. As cited by UNAIDS, UNICEF and USAID (2004:16), the risks that adolescent orphans face include the lack of capacity for intimacy and responsibility to others, poor peer relations, lack of problem-solving skills, failure to recognise adults who may assist in problem-

solving, behavioural and emotional problems such as anger, resentment, depression, hopelessness, social and cultural marginalisation. As stated by UNAIDS, UNICEF and USAID (2004:18), adolescent orphans also lack information, skills and youth-friendly services that support positive transitions through provision of sexual and reproductive health services.

For adolescent orphan girls, the preparation to successful adulthood is disturbed by the premature death of parents which leaves them without the knowledge or skills they need to make a livelihood causing them to face the future without education or work training (Smith, 2002:67). As a result, “such might seek their own form of protection in relationships with older men, heightening their risk of infection and interpersonal violence” (Lukas, 2008:2). As cited by Smith (2002:64), “poverty drives many girls to accept relationships with ‘sugar daddies’ (older men who are prepared to give money, goods or favours in return for sex).” The unequal power relations reflected in such relationships affect adolescent girls’ ability to refuse unsafe sex, and expose them to sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/Aids as well as gender-based violence (Lukas, 2008:2).

Findings from a study by Hallfors, Cho, Rusakaniko, Iritani, Mapfumo and Halpern (2011:1082) in urban Harare of young married women aged between 14 and 19, half of whom were orphans, show that orphan girls are particularly vulnerable to dropping out of school, early sex, early marriage and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/Aids due to lack of social and financial support. The study revealed that 18 percent of the women were infected with HIV and 42 percent were infected with Herpes Simplex Virus 2 compared with a 6 percent sexually transmitted infection for those never married (Hallfors, et al., 2011:1082). Studies have therefore suggested that the transitions of poor and orphaned adolescent girls are risky, thus require urgent attention (Bruce, 2007:1).

Having discussed the transitions of other vulnerable youth in varying socio-economic environments, the ensuing section discusses the transitions of youth within the institutional context and their livelihood outcomes.

2.3.6. Youth transitions and positive livelihood outcomes

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the United Nations Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS (June 2001) signed by 189 countries clearly outlines the obligations of states to care and protect children growing up without families (Dunn, Jareg and Webb, 2007:2). In that respect, some governments and civic society organisations build residential homes or institutions to accommodate children as an alternative form of care where families and communities fail to adopt or foster children in need. These institutions make a valuable contribution in providing shelter to vulnerable children, who otherwise would be homeless (Hicks, Gibbs, Weatherly & Byford, 2009:8). Additionally, well-resourced institutions can provide “clothing, food, education, companionship and an induction into a set of moral and religious code” (Jackson, 2002:285).

Functionalists support institutions for their repeated and standardised way of meeting the needs of a particular society (Horton & Hunt, 2004:214). Institutions have well-developed role behaviours that are guided by role expectations which limit personal preferences, autonomy and freedoms. As asserted by Dunn et al. (2007:15), “the global use of residential care is often underpinned by a belief that if children are removed from undesirable influences in their homes or environments, given training, and subjected to strict discipline, they will somehow turn into model citizens.” Others believe that removing children from poverty-infested environments to well-resourced institutions will produce lasting benefits to the children and society. In addition, institutions appeal to donors who are able to assess how their money is spent and how the children are benefiting from the expenditure as compared to children living with their families and in communities (Jackson, 2002:285).

According to Dunn et al. (2007:15), it is believed that globally, as many as eight million children live in residential care. However, this is not the accurate figure as some governments may not be fully aware of the number of institutions providing care, how many children are in them and the reason of their admission (Dunn, et al., 2007:15). Although placing children in institutions is regarded as the last resort, it remains the main strategy for the care of children separated from their parents for several reasons. Studies have observed

that poverty in many households is the most contributing factor for the institutionalisation of children (Better Care Network, 2009:2). In Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet countries, children are placed in residential care as a result of household poverty (Dunn et al., 2007:15). Institutions are also regarded as places of safety to children who are at risk of abuse, exploitation and neglect from their families and communities. For example, over half a million of children in the United States of America are separated from their parents and live in foster care, various forms of group and residential care as a result of neglect and physical harm (Haskins, Wulczyn & Webb, 2009:1).

Children are also placed in institutions in order to have access to education. According to Better Care Network (2009:2), twenty percent of children in Sri Lankan North Eastern Province are institutionalised for the sake of education. Children with disabilities are also at risk of being institutionalised. For example in Jamaica, 65 percent of children with developmental or physical disabilities are placed in institutions (Better Care Network, 2009:3). Institutionalisation of children is also as a result of ethnicity and social exclusion. In Australia, Aboriginal children represent 237 per 10 000 children in orphanages whilst the non Aboriginal population is 36 per 10 000 (Better Care Network, 2009:3). In Africa, armed conflict and the HIV/Aids pandemic have given rise to a larger number of children growing up in institutions (Dunn, et al., 2009:16). Contrary to the belief that children in institutions have no parents, the large number of children in institutions are likely to have one or even both parents living (Better Care Network, 2009:1).

Table 2.2: Children in orphanages with at least one parent alive

Country	Estimated percentage of children in orphanages with at least one parent alive
Afghanistan	85-90%
Belarus	87%
Bolivia	59%
Kyrgyzstan	80%
Zimbabwe	35%

Source: Better Care Network (2009:1)

Table 2.2 above provide estimated percentages of children in institutions in five developing countries who have at least one parent alive. According to the report, about 85-90% of children in Afghanistan and 35% in Zimbabwe's institutions have parents who are alive (Better Care Network, 2009:1). Hence, according to the report, not all children in institutions are orphans. Against this background, there is a possibility for the reunification of children with their families and the deinstitutionalisation of a larger proportion of children in institutions (Better Care Network, 2009:1). However, this may not be that simple because of individual and structural reasons. For example, Jackson (2002:288) argues that although children living in well-resourced institutions tend to benefit materially, they may look down on poorer communities around them making it difficult for them to adapt to life after leaving institutional care. Secondly, child protection systems vary from one country to another and deinstitutionalisation may not be the preferred option.

The increase in the institutionalisation of children in many countries is caused by the failure of the child protection systems to do the following;

prevent the breakdown of family care, develop alternative child care and make better decisions on the need for admission, assist children leaving care, carry out good periodic reviews of the child's need to be in the institution and provide regular supervisory functions to ensure standards in institutions (Dunn, et al., 2007:7).

In that regard, states are encouraged to build strong social protection systems and ensure that adequate resources are made available to children in need, entitling them to standards of care that guarantee their rights (Dunn, et al., 2007:4). Failure thereof, results in negative livelihood outcomes for children in institutions and a further increase in the number of children being institutionalised globally.

2.3.7. Negative livelihood outcomes associated with the institutionalisation of children

Studies have shown poor standards of care for children living in institutions resulting in negative life outcomes. Therefore, as asserted by Better Care Network (2009:8), "orphanages should be an intervention of last resort and temporary solution." According to UNAIDS, UNICEF and USAID (2004:19), institutions usually have fewer caregivers and

therefore lack the capacity to provide the affection, attention and personal identity that, families and communities are able to give to children under their care. People who grew up in institutions may not know who their parents, siblings, relatives and the reasons for their admission in care (Murray, Mallone & Glare, 2008:240). Additionally, institutional care separates children by age and sex as well as from other key relations necessary for emotional development. This will result in emotional and behavioural problems as well as less knowledge and understanding which lead to psychiatric impairments in adult life.

As cited by Horton and Hunt (2004:219), some institutions place uncomfortable demands on young people under their care such as painful hardships, self-denial, unquestioning obedience and separation from loved ones. According to Sen, Kendrick, Milligan and Hawthorn (2008:414), a study in England and Wales revealed negative cases of maltreatment where children were punished for bedwetting, smoking, swearing and other misdemeanours. Some of the punishment included sleeping on the floor or in wet blankets, having mouths washed with carbolic acid, excessive corporal punishment, being forced to run down the high street in underwear as well as sexual abuse. Hence, as noted by Freidus (2010:294), children in institutions are at risk of “exposure to physical and sexual abuse, dependence on the institution, undermining of local kinship and family systems, and lack of adequate health care and food.” Jackson (2002:285) also identifies the risk factors and likely outcomes of institutionalising young people as indicated in the following table.

Table 2.3: Potential risks of residential care for children

Risk Factors	Likely Outcomes
No stable, loving parent substitute Separation from siblings Movement from one home to another or from one section of the home to another (by age group or gender). Little staff training in or knowledge of child development	Low self-esteem, self-blame, insecurity, experience of bereavement, lack of trust in others, difficulty in establishing secure relationships, antisocial behaviour, punishment, blame, rejecting, and reinforcement of negative self-image; some develop a clinging, needy approach to strangers, desperate for love and affection: they are easily exploited
Lack of cultural knowledge and identity, including totem, clan, local customs and traditions; loss of own religion	Insecurity, difficulty in finding a marriage partner; for instance who will pay or receive bride price, how will ancestors respond if people marry within or outside the appropriate totem; who are the child's ancestors?

Risk factor	Likely outcomes
Poor quality of care	Inadequate food, clothing, no personal possessions, poor health care, low stimulation, little recognition as an individual; some residential institutions have high death rates, particularly of young children
Sexual and other abuse (far more common than realised in the past)	Insecurity, guilty, low self-esteem, difficulty in establishing good sexual relations later; risks of STIs and HIV, and of pregnancy or infertility
Release at a given age into the community with little or no community identity	Inadequate support to establish a secure home base and employment; risks of abusive relationships, petty crime, poverty, early pregnancy for girls; likelihood of poor parenting skills, risk of alcohol and drug abuse; lack of support system when destitute or sick, or assistance for own children if dying. High HIV risks, and perpetuating the cycle of deprivation in the next generation

Source: Jackson (2002:285)

Chirwa (2002:107) cites the proliferation of institutions that claim to care for orphans and other vulnerable children. Although this is attributed to the liberalisation of the economy, Chirwa (2007:107) questions the philanthropic interests of these institutions and argues that many of them are run like private schools and have investments that bring material and social benefits such as “publicity, socio-political status and honour to those that operate them through access to economic facilities and support provided by donors, governments and other development agencies.” Horton and Hunt (2004:215) also question the extent to which the “institutionalisation process is undirected or consciously controlled.” Recently, a new phenomenon termed ‘Aids Orphan Tourism’ has developed in many institutions in developing countries. According to Richter and Norman (2010:222), orphanhood is now viewed as a globally circulated commodity of economic value. Volunteer tourism operators are taking advantage of the great needs of orphans and institutions in developing countries and tourists are encouraged to make close connections with vulnerable children in institutions. The problem arises when the tourists leave, as the children begin to experience abandonment, thereby increasing their risk to poor psychosocial outcomes (Richter & Norman, 2010:224).

In light of the negative livelihood outcomes associated with the institutionalisation of children, Sen et al. (2008:411) warn against the stigmatisation of institutions. As observed by these authors, residential child care is not the only setting with potential risks that produce negative outcomes for children. In that regard, policy reforms should support positive improvement in institutions caring for children instead of reinforcing the historic stigma (Sen, et al., 2008:411). As such, institutions must be able to adapt to a changing society for them to be relevant and build their capacity to provide better standards of care that meet the transition needs of young people during and after care (Horton & Hunt, 2004:215).

2.3.8. Transition needs of youth within the institutional context

Institutions play a pivotal role in addressing the livelihood and transition needs of young people transitioning to independent living and self-sufficiency. Institutional policies and processes have the power to shape the circumstances and opportunities of young people either negatively or positively, resulting in varied livelihood outcomes (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002:207). However, institutions do not exist in vacuums. They operate in different socio-economic environments, affecting their ability to meet the transition needs of youth. Studies show that many adolescents in institutions face conditions in their environments that hinder successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes (Collins, 2001:279). These conditions have a bearing on educational, employment and social outcomes. The lack of employment and educational opportunities results in poverty as well as social isolation. Even with good educational qualifications, there is still lack of formal employment opportunities for young people of all categories in many countries. For example, the number of unemployed university graduates is on the increase in Zimbabwe (Mauchi, et al., 2011:1306).). Against this backdrop, all young people, particularly those in institutions who lack the social capital, need alternative livelihood opportunities that promote positive economic and social integration.

Although young people in all environments go through the transition from childhood to adulthood, the differences in social and living arrangements result in variances in life

experiences, level of access to assets and livelihood strategies. According to Murray et al. (2008:240), growing up in institutional care has an ongoing impact across a person's life in light of the lived experiences within the institutional context. For adolescents living in institutions, the transition to adulthood and out of institutional care can be complex. This is because adolescents in institutions undergo two transitions (Vaughn, et al., 2008:419). According to Vaughn et al. (2008:419), the first transition involves movement from “the care, protection, and supervision of the child welfare system to personal autonomy and responsibility and the second from childhood to adulthood.” The transitions of youth in the child welfare system would be detrimental, especially if they receive minimal guidance in their preparation for social roles and inadequate financial support to facilitate independent living (Cote & Bynner, 2008:263). Therefore, vulnerable young people, particularly those in out-of-home care need support to prepare themselves for the new life and experiences of adulthood.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is one critical phase in human development because it is a period where an individual makes important decisions and set goals for the future. It is normally a turbulent period for adolescents who have to decide on where to live, where to work, how to meet people and maintain social networks (Wehman, 2011:2). Although young people can overcome the diversities and hurdles of transitions, personal agency on its own is not sufficient to overcome structural challenges which affect their livelihood pathways and outcomes. Ringle, Ingram, Newman, Thomson and Waite, (2007:231) believe that the challenge of transitioning to adulthood can be eased by the opportunity of living at home, where a young person can test the waters of adulthood whilst having a safety net to fall back to. However, for adolescents living in institutions, transitioning to adulthood is risky and complicated due to changes in traditional forms of socialisation and the shifts in the adult labour market being experienced by many societies (Ringle, et al., 2007:232).

Due to the challenges associated with adapting to life after institutional care, adolescents in institutions need programmes that will help them to prepare for the challenges and

opportunities of life. Gilligan (1999:188) defines preparation as “equipping the child or young person with the emotional resilience and practical techniques and knowledge to make their way in the world when they leave care to live either in their own family or elsewhere.” Resiliency refers to how effectiveness is achieved, sustained or recovered in an adverse environment (Collins, 2001:281). The preparation for young people in institutions includes the teaching of life skills essential for everyday living such as self-maintenance, obtaining a job, use of community resources and money management and interpersonal skills which include self-monitoring, decision making and problem-solving (Schiff, 2006:351). To adequately prepare young people for successful transitions, institutions require policies and programmes that meet the transition needs of young people holistically. Additionally, institutions that are already implementing transition programmes need to conduct evaluation studies to assess their effectiveness in meeting the identified transition needs. The subsequent paragraph discusses how the transition needs of young people transitioning out of institutional care can be met.

2.3.9. Transitions and positive youth development programmes

Lerner (2010:843) emphasises the importance of preparing young people for successful transitions through positive youth development programmes. As postulated by Lerner (2010:843), positive youth development programmes focus on development of the following 5Cs; *competence, confidence, connection, character and caring*. These are critical for fostering constructive and enduring relationships with adults, cultivate life skills and community leadership functions (Lerner, 2010:843). As cited by Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak and Hawkins (2004:101) positive youth development programs are approaches that promote bonding, social, emotional, cognitive, moral and behavioural competences and foster resilience, self-determination, spirituality, self-efficacy, clear and positive identity, belief in the future, pro-social norms as well as providing recognition for positive behaviour and opportunities for social involvement. Positive youth development programmes as a strategy “offers a paradigm shift from focusing on correcting deficits in individual youth toward enhancing their potential for healthy development” (McKay, Sanders & Wroblewski, 2011:19).

Positive youth development programmes focus on individuals' capabilities to function and participate in activities that bring desired outcomes (Robeyns, 2003:6). According to McKay et al. (2011:19), positive youth development programmes prepare young people to meet the challenges of adolescence and adulthood through a coordinated series of activities and experiences. Mentoring and after-care are such programmes that promote resilience and help ease the transition process. As noted by Atkinson (2008:189), mentorship programmes enable youth to regain trust in relationships and improve social skills, which are essential in unlocking livelihood opportunities. Regaining of trust is particularly important for adolescent girls who are at risk of falling into abusive and exploitative relationships. As affirmed by Jackson (2002:287), young people who leave institutional care need programmes that develop resilience and skills to deal with the dramatic transition from life in the institution to the community. Building resilience protects youth from different forms of vulnerability and enhances their ability to cope with daily life stresses (Chase, Wood & Aggleton, 2006:3).

In many developing countries positive youth development programmes in developing countries started twenty years ago in response to the growing population of adolescents and as a strategy to curb the increased rates of early marriages, school drop-out, unwanted pregnancies, unemployment and HIV infections (Lukas, 2008:5). These programmes reach adolescents through youth centres, peer education, family life education and youth-friendly health services. They provide structured activities and experiences that enable young people to become socially, morally, emotionally, physically, financially and cognitively competent, thereby increasing their prospects for sustainable livelihood outcomes (Collins, 2001:283). As proposed by Ringle et al. (2007:232), positive development programmes should promote access to different stocks of assets required by young people such as services, support and knowledge on financial management, health care, family planning, social skills, home management, continued education, employment, housing, legal and community services. However, the degree of access to such programmes varies depending on the material sources of entitlement, power relationships and the context within which they are distributed (Eriksen, Brown & Kelly, 2005:288). According to Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002:84), an

understanding of the various assets that vulnerable populations have helps in fostering positive social and economic change where policy-makers are able to develop short and long-term welfare policies and programmes.

The next section highlights some strategies being used to secure sustainable livelihoods within the institutional context.

2.4. Strategies within institutional care

Young people in institutions need good mental and physical health, the opportunity or potential to earn cash, the ability to acquire marketable skills and the capabilities for lifelong learning for them to have successful transitions (Karmel & Liu, 2011:18). Additional measures include leaving the child welfare system and living independently as well as the ability to make a positive contribution to the economy and broader society (Karmel & Liu, 2011:18). To achieve this, institutions and young people employ different strategies that help them to realise desired outcomes across all life's domains. Transition programmes therefore offer strategies that promote self-determination and advocacy, ensure access to post-secondary education and employment, improve collaboration and links between systems of support and ensure active participation in all aspects of community life such as social, recreation and leisure opportunities (Wehman, 2011:2). The subsequent sections provide examples of different strategies used to prepare young people for self-sufficiency and how these help in accessing the different kinds of livelihood assets.

2.4.1. The integrated approach to youth permanency and preparation for adulthood

According to Frey, Greenblatt and Brown (2005:5), “comprehensive preparation for adulthood is a conscious, purposeful and collaborative process which must be systematic, developmentally appropriate and continuous.” The *integrated approach to youth permanency and preparation for adulthood* is made up of transition domains and desired outcomes as described in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: Preparation for adulthood outcomes

Transition Domains	Desired Outcome
Employment	Young people generate a sufficient income to support themselves by obtaining and retaining steady employment leading to a viable career path
Education	Young people acquire sufficient education, training and opportunities that provide them with choices to pursue post-secondary education and/or the means to obtain and retain steady employment
Housing	Young people have access to safe, stable, appropriate, affordable housing in the community that is near public transportation, work or school
Life Skills	Young people demonstrate mastery of basic study skills, work skills, money management, social development, self-care and practical daily living skills
Personal and community engagement	Young people have in place supportive relationships and are able to access services in the community to achieve their personal goals and are supported in their efforts to contribute to the civic life of their communities
Personal and cultural identity	Young people demonstrate a healthy sense of ethnic or cultural identity, personal identity and spiritual identity
Physical and mental health	Young people have sufficient and affordable health insurance for both physical and mental health
Legal information and documents	Young people have the skills, information and assistance to access essential legal documents pertaining to their personal, family, medical and educational histories

Source: Frey, et al. (2005:5)

This model is holistic and integrative in nature and promotes a vision of shared responsibility by young people, families, state and civil society in providing youth-centred policies and practices (Frey, et al., 2005:7). Increased collaboration and commitment by all stakeholders contribute to the achievement of successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes for vulnerable youth.

2.4.2. The Treatment Family Home Model (Boys Town)

Ringle et al. (2007:233) describe the transition preparation process for young people living in Boy's Town. The therapeutic approach called the Treatment Family Home (TFM) starts by the development of a departure or life plan. According to Ringle et al. (2007:233), the

TFM provides a systematic and individualised approach for each young person in high school to prepare for the future and consists of workbooks “which assist youth in developing basic life skills knowledge and plans for their education, career goals, and independent living.” The workbook which comprises exercises and activities are coordinated by Family Teachers, clinical supervisors, and continuing care personnel and has six fundamental elements. According to Ringle et al. (2007:233), these are;

teaching life skills, using motivational systems, building trusting relationships with peers and adults, living in the most family-style oriented setting possible, encouraging the development of moral and spiritual values and making self-control and self-governmental a goal for every youth.

The family teachers, who are married couples, are responsible for reinforcing appropriate behaviours through daily guidance and support, enabling youth to learn new ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with others. As noted by Ringle et al. (2007:233), the TFM is one of the widely researched models of residential care and has evolved over 30 years enabling many adolescents to be successful in their transition to adulthood and after leaving institutional care.

2.4.3. Transition to Independence Process (TIP) System

The Transition to Independence Process (TIP) System was developed for vulnerable young people aged from 15 to 24. These young people are at a greater risk of poor livelihood outcomes due to emotional or behavioural problems as a result of their involvement with correctional authorities and/or dependency on social services (Clark, 2004:3). According to Clark (2004:3), the strategy is to build a service delivery system that assists young people in achieving their goals in employment, education, living situation, personal effectiveness and community life functioning (Clark, 2004:3). The success of the TIP Model is dependent on the collaboration of government agencies, families and other stakeholders at community levels who work closely with the young people in transition, planning and providing developmentally-appropriate services and supports that facilitate movement toward greater self-sufficiency and achievement of goals across each transition domain (Clark, 2004:4). Figure 2.2 below illustrates the transition domains of the TIP Model (Clark, 2004:3).

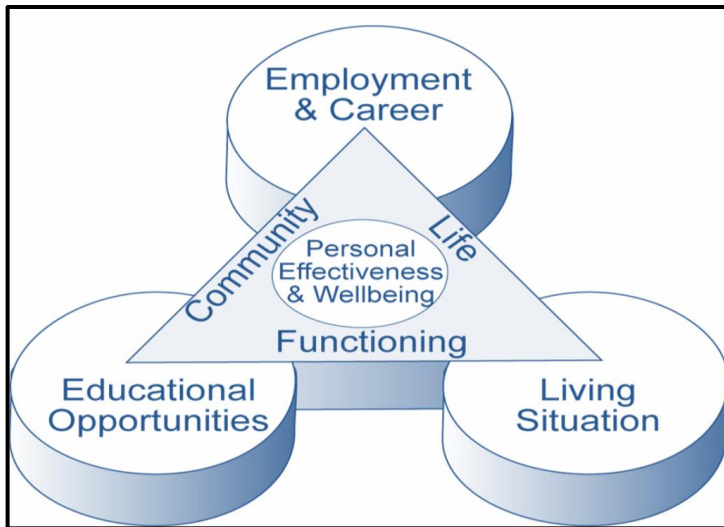


Figure 2.2: The TIP Model. Source: Clark (2004:20)

The TIP strategy also advocates for system development, expansion, evaluation, funding and policy reform to support a responsive and effective service delivery system (Clark, 2004:12). This strategy is further supported by operational research which provides guidelines to parents, practitioners, educators, administrators, policy makers, and researchers to better respond to the unique needs and circumstances of vulnerable young people. As noted by Clark (2004:4), research findings on best practices by a number of transition programmes implemented by some communities have supported the TIP system and its guidelines through the documentation of reports showing improved outcomes across all the four domains of youth transitions. Essentially, this model facilitates the provision of wrap-around services and supports for vulnerable youth, particularly those leaving institutional care.

2.5. Transition needs for youth post institutional care

Young people exiting institutional care are more likely to find themselves stranded with little or no preparation for life beyond the institution. As adolescents move towards adulthood, their eligibility to government and institutional support ceases and in most cases the cessation is abrupt (Bruce & Hallman, 2008:212). Both government and private institutions often fail to provide the on-going financial, social, emotional and nurturing support needed when the children reach the legal age of majority, which in many countries

is eighteen years (Mendes & Moslehuddin, 2006:112). This sudden discontinuation of services and support result in economic depravity and exposes young people to poor livelihood outcomes (Fowler, Toro & Miles, 2011:336). The case is even more complicated for girls, who face structural impediments that threaten access to social and economic assets (Bruce, 2007:1).

Leaving care is a major life event which requires adequate preparation on the part of the adolescents involved and programmes that address the transition needs (Collins, 2001:272). Due to the regimented and depersonalised environments, young people leaving institutional care often fail to acquire the skills, capacity and motivation for independent thought and living resulting in a condition termed “Institutional Syndrome” (Powell, 2006:133). Unlike young people raised in families of origin, children growing up in institutions are deprived of the experiences of a family (the major socialisation agent), which is responsible for transferring the resources and skills needed for adulthood roles and obligations (Collins, 2001:272). As noted by Collins (2001:272), the family safety net may be non-existent, problematic or may lack the capacity to provide support for young people leaving institutional care. This deprives them of social, emotional and financial support, making it difficult for them to cope with life outside the institutional environment (Powell, 2006:134).

According to Cote and Bynner (2008:262), institutionalisation increases social isolation and marginalisation, resulting in poor access of opportunities needed for navigating the passage to self-sufficiency and independence. Horton and Hunt (2004:211) define an institution as “an organised system of social relationships which embodies certain basic needs of the society. Because institutionalisation entails the establishment of norms which assign status positions and role functions of behaviours, youth transitioning out of institutions need to develop social skills and require social support which facilitates access to community opportunities (Horton & Hunt, 2004:212; Vaughn, et al., 2008:423). Collins (2001:274) gives an example of a study of young people leaving the child welfare system in San Francisco. Of the 55 young people interviewed, more than half reported having serious money troubles, 38 percent had not graduated from high school, 32 percent were receiving

public assistance, 14 percent males and 10 percent females were homeless and 27 percent males and 10 percent females were incarcerated at least once (Collins, 2001:274). The challenges in securing employment and the requisite social skills needed for young people to survive and thrive in society justify the importance of structured transition services and programmes.

Transition programmes and services for young people leaving care need to be well-structured and systematic. Thus, timing is a very important factor in the transition process (Collins, 2001:280). According to Collins (2001:280), early transitions to adult roles can have negative long-term consequences whilst late transitions can put individuals out of sequence with prevailing institutional structures. For example, the young people who left Israel group homes perceived their transitions as hard with girls facing more difficulties than boys (Schiff, 2006:343). Although the evaluation of their group-home care experience was positive, they expressed great difficulty in separating from their care-givers with a fifth of them reporting on having no one to talk to immediately after leaving care (Schiff, 2006:350).

The retrospective study which investigated the young people's experiences within care and post care showed that the young people who left care needed more time to prepare for their transitions, follow-up and support soon after leaving care, assistance in housing and employment as well as help in renewing relationships with biological families (Schiff, 2006:351). According to Schiff (2006:351), the girls needed a longer preparation time than boys to process the feelings and thoughts about transitions and establishing closer relationships with relatives, peers or parental figures before leaving care. The study revealed the need for adolescent girls to be taught "how to redefine themselves and order their lives and relationships in light of the breakup of current relationships and the social constraints imposed on women in the general society" (Schiff, 2006:351). Findings from the foregoing study suggest that young people, particularly adolescent girls, need person-centred programmes that will adequately prepare them for the demands and challenges of life beyond institutional care (Schiff, 2006:351). The study also shows that if young people are

well-prepared during their stay in institutions, it will be reflected in their livelihood outcomes after care. In that regard, there is need for effective strategies that produce better livelihood outcomes and successful transitions for young people before and after leaving care. The forthcoming discussion provides such recommendations.

2.6. Recommendations for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes

In light of different transition experiences of young people, researchers and practitioners have given recommendations aimed at building and strengthening youth-centred transition policies and programmes. These have focused on the role of different stakeholders in promoting the right of young people to life, survival, development and active participation in shaping their destinies. The recommendations emphasise the delivery of services and support that promote equitable access to developmental opportunities and protection from risks. Successful transitions are therefore directly linked to positive livelihood outcomes. The policy and programme recommendations made by various authors are presented hereunder:

- Successful transitions can be achieved through the joint designing and implementing of transition programmes by the recent youth who have aged out of care and adolescents close to legal adulthood and professionals (Schiff, 2006:351).
- To effectively manage transitions, assessing vulnerability is fundamental in examining interactions between individuals, their physical and social surroundings (Hahn, Riederer & Foster, 2009:2).
- According to Scannapieco, Connell-Carrick & Painter (2007:432), caseworkers should assess the needs of youth before and after leaving in order to identify and link young people to community agencies that are able to assist them to meet their transition needs.
- “The importance of collaboration within and outside the agency is important for the transition to adulthood” (Scannapieco, et al., 2007:432). In that respect, caseworkers should establish collaborative relationships either, formal or informal to facilitate the building and nurturing of permanent connections for youth (Scannapieco, et al., 2007:433).

- For improved livelihood outcomes, youth need services and support that enable them to learn about the new environment they are getting into and what they need to do in order to thrive. They also need to know the roles and responsibilities of various agencies and the resources they are able to access in time of need (Scannapieco, et al., 2007:433).
- As advised by Scannapieco et al. (2007:433), a review of the youth's case record and the engagement of youth in making possible contacts can be useful in transition planning and in identifying past and future relationships.
- Finally, Adegoke (2001:28) recommends a multi-disciplinary approach which focuses on the development of pivotal institutions such as the family, schools and traditional institutions for them to be better able to respond to the transition needs of vulnerable young people.

As observed from the fore-going recommendations, it is clear that a multidimensional understanding of adolescents lives' which recognises the assets that they hold in the wider context of institutions, regulation and cultural norms is essential in the development of responsive policies and programmes (Toner & Franks, 2006:81). As asserted by Cooper (2009:178), welfare reform for positive youth development should therefore enhance strategies that are inclusive and equitable in order to promote sustainable livelihoods and should remove barriers that hinder access to human, social, physical, financial and public assets. To this end, successful transitions from adolescence to adulthood and dependency to self-sufficiency require a multi-sectoral approach and collaboration among transition specialists across service systems as well as the active participation of adolescents themselves in shaping their futures.

The next section focuses on the transitions of youth in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to young people in the institutional context.

2.7. Youth transitions in Zimbabwe

Like any other Sub-Saharan countries, Zimbabwe has experienced the devastating effects of the HIV/Aids pandemic, poverty, political and other socio-economic challenges (Ministry of

Labour and Social Services, 2011b:8). Faced with such challenges, the prospects of youth have been blighted, especially among vulnerable youth groups. While some young people are in school and others in training institutions, many have flooded the informal sector as an alternative livelihood strategy (Kamete, 2010:60). According to Kamete (2010:60), the prospects of employment in the shrinking economy are remote and the few available jobs are not paying enough to wade off poverty. As a consequence, some young people have resorted to politics as well as cross border trading while others have left for the neighbouring countries in search of greener pastures. As noted by the Finscope Consumer Survey of Zimbabwe (2011:2), out of a population of 12.6 million people, “65 percent live in rural areas and 35 percent in urban areas. 40 percent are under the age of 30 years and these are not financially active. 25 percent of the population rely on money from others (household members or remittances) and 18 percent receive a regular salary. 80 percent of the adult population earns less than USD 200 per month, (including 17.3 percent who do not have an income at all).” With unemployment being estimated to be at 80%, 78 percent of the population being absolutely poor and 55 percent living below the food poverty line, the social protection needs of Zimbabweans have been growing, requiring the strengthening of the social protection system (Schubert, 2010:6).

According to Schubert (2010:12), “social protection refers to a group of policy measures and programmes that reduce poverty and vulnerability, thus promoting sustainable livelihoods. In response to the widespread poverty and vulnerability, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ), which is a signatory to various regional and international declarations on the rights and protection of children, has adopted a child-sensitive social protection system. This approach is sensitive to the specific needs of children while at the same time addressing the needs of other vulnerable groups like orphans, the elderly, widows, persons living with disabilities, chronically ill persons and unemployed youth (Schubert, 2010:14). As stated by Schubert (2010:14), the child-sensitive social protection of Zimbabwe focuses on aspects of well-being addressing gender inequality, preventing child abuse inside and outside the home, reducing child labour and preparing adolescents for their own livelihoods, taking into account their current needs and future aspirations as workers and parents. In this regard, the

issue of adolescent transitions to adulthood and self-sufficiency is relevant to the social protection agenda of Zimbabwe.

2.7.1. Institutionalisation of children in Zimbabwe

Institutionalisation of children has doubled in the last decade, despite the fact that the Government of Zimbabwe Orphan Care Policy considers this form of care as the last resort (Powell, 2006:130). As noted by Powell (2006:135), the number of residential care facilities in Zimbabwe is not known, since some institutions are still being constructed and others are under-going registration with the Ministry of Labour and Social Services. As a consequence, the actual number of children in institutional care in Zimbabwe is not known. To address this gap in knowledge, the Government of Zimbabwe has made a call to conduct a baseline survey on children living in residential care facilities. According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Service (2014: C4), the survey seeks to understand the situation of children living in residential care facilities in Zimbabwe, including number of institutions, and children living in those institutions. The other aspects of the study include assessing the mechanisms in place for reintegration to family or alternative care, the transition processes for over 18 year olds and their preparation for life outside residential care. Additionally, the survey will investigate whether institutions are complying with the requirements of the National Residential Child Care Standard, establish what children think of their living situations and seek recommendations for best models and practice to support appropriate alternative care in line with the global standards (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Service, 2014: C4).

According to Powell (2006:140), children are admitted in institutions in Zimbabwe for various reasons as illustrated by Figure 2.3 below;

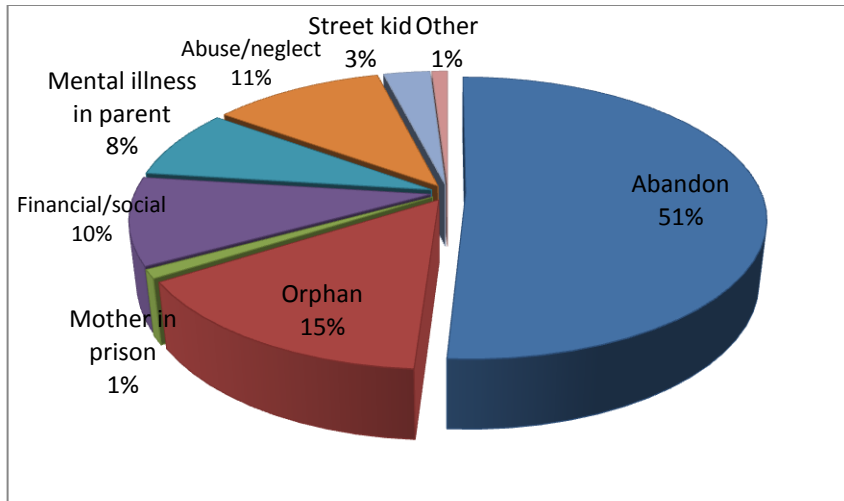


Figure 2.3: Reason for being in care Powell (2006:140)

Foundlings or abandoned children constitute the largest portion (51%). This is followed by orphans (15%), 11% abuse/neglect cases and 10% who are admitted as a result of financial and social challenges. Reintegrating of abandoned children, who are the largest population of children in institutions, is a complex process due to some cultural beliefs and practices upheld by most Zimbabweans (Jackson, 2002:248).

2.7.2. Cultural effects associated with the institutionalising of children in Zimbabwe

According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and UNICEF (2004:8), institutionalisation leaves orphans and other vulnerable children as insignificant members of a large institutional group, without an individual identity. Children may not know their totem, a phenomenon of belonging which is highly regarded among many African cultures. This affects the prospects of getting an acceptable marriage partner and complicates cultural burial practices upon death. Powell (2006:134) argues that the issue of totems also affects alternative forms of care in Africa, such as adoption. There is fear among most Zimbabweans that an adopted child will bring her family spirits (ngozi), should any harm befalls the child in their guardianship (Jackson, 2002:284). This is however not the case in Western Societies, where formal fostering is a normal practice being legally and financially supported by governments. Whilst there are orphans in institutions, a large number of children are foundlings or have been abandoned, and some have relatives that

cannot be contacted or are not prepared to accept them (Powell, 2006:142). This causes serious social, emotional and behavioural challenges and has a negative bearing on the livelihood outcomes of young people both before and after discharge from care.

2.7.3. Livelihood outcomes of young people in institutions

A study conducted by Powell (2006:143) shows varying living conditions for young people in institutions across Zimbabwe. These variances are directly related to the lack of resources (both financial and human). Although some institutions in Zimbabwe are managing to meet the basic needs of young people under their care, most young people expressed great anxiety about the lack of transition programmes that build self-esteem and enhance their opportunities for employment and personal autonomy (Powell, 2006:143). Sachiti (2011) reports on the well-being of children in rural orphanages in Zimbabwe. In her report, she indicates that institutions in rural areas are facing financial challenges resulting in poor living standards for children under their care compared to their counterparts in urban areas that are well-funded (Sachiti, 2011). According to Sachiti's report, institutions in the rural areas are in dire need of financial assistance to provide adequate food, clothing, school fees, and health services and to construct family-styled housing units, thus removing children from the dormitory-styled accommodations.

2.7.4. Family reunification and community reintegration challenges

The Child Protection Society (2011:1-3) generated substantial qualitative information on lessons learnt on the reunification and community integration process conducted in Zimbabwe during the period 2007 to 2010. Results from this process-based project showed that factors such as age, sex, gender, type of institution, religion of institution, siblings in other institutions, receiving families, attitudes of children and institutions' staff towards reunification affect the success of the reintegration process. According to the Child Protection Society (2011:1-3), some of the specific challenges encountered in the reintegration process include the following;

- The non-availability of relatives and foster parents to care for children being discharged from institutions.

- Children who were still attending school could not be released before completion of their education.
- Girls were not interested in being reunited with their relatives even though they were easily accepted by the receiving families compared to boys. Receiving families preferred girls because they assist with household chores and will also marry, bringing some bride price to the household.
- The fear of abuse from aunts and uncles or living in poor conditions deterred other children from being reunified.
- Some children were still angry with their relatives and reasoned that if the relatives genuinely loved them, they should have not abandoned them in institutions in the first place.
- However, some children were happy to be reunited with their relatives but wanted the assurance of continued provision of food, clothing and education.
- Some religious institutions saw it as their God-given service and moral obligation to look after orphans and could not readily accept the reunification project.
- Employees from some institutions were not happy about the project because they feared the loss of their jobs as well as the emotional bonds formed following years of providing care to the children, while others welcomed the project because it was going to reduce the burden of care.
- Some institutions were supportive of the project because it was better for children to be reunified with their relatives before they were discharged by the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services.

Another study by Muguwe, Taruvinga, Manyumwa and Shoko (2011:148) reveals the challenges being faced in reintegrating institutionalised children in communities. These include the lack of adequate financial resources to implement the reunification programme, difficulties in tracing children's origins, abuse of children by relatives and failure by children to adjust from urban to rural life (Muguwe, et al., 2011:148). In light of these challenges, Muguwe et al. (2011:149) recommend the allocation of adequate funds by the government to facilitate the reintegration process, education of communities on how to

support children being integrated into the society, increased monitoring of the reintegration process by the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services to ensure the protection and well-being of children being integrated into the society as well as the provision of professional counselling services as part of the reintegration process.

Child Protection Society in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour and Social Services conducted a study to ascertain the quality of the reunification process and establish the circumstances and experiences of children after reunification in the ten provinces of Zimbabwe (Child Protection Society, 2014:8). Findings from the study conducted by the Child Protection Society revealed that adolescents were not happy with their lives because they had no access to transition resources such as; secure accommodation, employment, sufficient food, sufficient clothing, identity documents, school fees to continue with their education and community participation (Child Protection Society, 2014:9). While the study showed that more than 80 percent of the children and young adults felt protected from violence and abuse, 12 percent of young adults experienced violence and abuse regularly. As noted by Child Protection Society (2014:9), the main form of violence in the home was physical and emotional abuse whilst 13 percent with no stable homes were emotionally abused, over-worked and had limited access to food and clothing.

As noted by the study conducted by Child Protection Society, young people did not receive adequate preparation for community life whilst in institutions and thus were vulnerable to negative influences such as crime. Twenty-three percent of adolescents had problems they could not resolve and did not know where to turn to for help in the community and 52% of young adults were not involved in community activities resulting in social isolation (Child Protection Society, 2014:10). While 31% of young adults had few friends, 6 percent had no friends and some had problematic friends (Child Protection Society, 2014:10). About 78% were not working or economically productive as a result of “poor educational performance, uncompleted secondary education, absence of life skills training, unavailability of identity documents and working capital for income-generating projects (Child Protection Society, 2014:10).

As cited by Child Protection Society (2014:10), the factors that contributed to poor transition outcomes include:

- Lack of follow-up home visits by probation or institution officers.
- Lack of psychosocial support for the child and receiving families.
- Limited participation of the child in the re-unification process resulting in lack of psychological preparedness.
- Inadequate financial and material support for the receiving families to secure the basic needs and services prior and after reunification.
- Some children with disabilities lack assistive devices like wheelchairs and others require frequent visits to hospitals for medical attention.
- Limited life skills for adolescents whilst in the institution resulting in failure to sustain oneself as well as inability to meet the society's expectations.
- More difficulties in adjusting to the new environment for children above 14 years who spent over 4 years or their lifetime in institutions.
- Limited information on available community support systems such as Child Protection Committee (CPC) members and other sources of assistance at community level.

The study conducted by Child Protection Society also noted the effects of some cross-cutting issues such as gender, age, disability and HIV and AIDS. According to Child Protection Society (2014:49), the needs of adolescent girls and boys were not taken into consideration during the reunification process. For example, adolescent girls found themselves without sanitary wear after leaving the institution and were also not aware of how they were going to meet their sexual and reproductive health needs (Child Protection Society, 2014:49). According to the study, some adolescent girls reunified with their step-fathers and mothers were often physically and emotionally abused. In terms of age, reaching eighteen years entailed leaving institutional care whether one was ready or not and also whether the receiving family was prepared or not (Child Protection Society, 2014: 50).

In view of the findings discussed above, the Child Protection Society (2014:12) recommended the implementation of gender-sensitive and age-appropriate transition

programmes for adolescents. According to Child Protection Society (2014:12), young people should be given the opportunity to live with minimal support a year before being discharged and be provided with start-up capital for income generating projects. More resources should be channelled towards the assessment of receiving families to establish their preparedness to take in care-leavers prior to reunification and development of measurable benchmarks for after-care services by probation officers. Additionally, probation officers should link care-leavers to other social protection programmes in the community. Finally, the government and other development partners should promote sustainable livelihood activities to strengthen household economies and food security for care-leavers and their care-givers (Child Protection Society, 2014:12).

The next section discusses legislation, policies and programmes for orphans and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe.

2.8. Legislation, policies and programmes for OVC in Zimbabwe

The availability of data on programmes for youth transitioning from institutions and their livelihood outcomes remain limited in Zimbabwe. Most of the data of young people in the institutional context is found in the public sphere and relate to legislation, policies, strategies and programmes for orphans and vulnerable children. Nevertheless, in recent years, the transitions of young people to adulthood and self-sufficiency in Zimbabwe have drawn much attention among academics and development practitioners. This is in light of the social and economic woes that have bedevilled the country in the last two decades, which have affected people of all ages. If young people living in families and communities are experiencing difficulties in their transitions, young people living outside families are a major cause for concern. The following section reviews documents on legislation, policies and programmes for orphans and other vulnerable children in Zimbabwe.

The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) has developed guidelines on the care, protection and development of all children, including orphans and other vulnerable children. As asserted by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:vii), Zimbabwe has well-

defined legislation and policy frameworks relating to children. One of the key legislative pieces which provides the major guidelines on child care and protection is the Children's Protection and Adoption Act (Chapter 5:06). Other pieces include the Guardianship of Minors Act which deals mainly with the custody of children following the divorce or separation of parents and the Maintenance Act which enforces the right of children to be maintained by their errant parents (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:1-2).

In terms of policy, the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy was developed to provide guidelines on the care and protection of orphans and other vulnerable children. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010a:11), Zimbabwe is a signatory to United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (UNCRC) and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). The Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy is founded on the principles from these conventions and charters. As captured by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010a:11), the principles include; the *best interest of the child* (Article 3 UNCRC, Article IV ACRWC), *survival and development* (Article 6 UNCRC, Article V ACRWC), *name, nationality and identity* (Article 5 UNCRC, Article VI and XVIII ACRWC), *participation* (Article 12,13,14,15,17 UNCRC, Article VII,VIII ACRWC) and *protection of a child without family* (Article 20 UNCRC). Accordingly, the policy provides guidance to the government and other development partners on how to address the needs of orphans and other vulnerable children, support existing family and community structures in orphan care, and mobilise resources to develop and support orphan care strategies (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:10).

The Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy promotes provision of public and private resources to facilitate increased access to health care, education, legal assistance, and support as well as protection from abuse, neglect and all forms of exploitation (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:10). Accordingly, the purpose of the policy is to sensitise all sectors of the Zimbabwean society on children's rights and ensure appropriate training on child-friendly strategies is offered to service providers. The policy support continuous research on issues that affect all children in Zimbabwe (Ministry of Labour and Social

Services, 2010a:10). To this end, this research meets one of the objectives of the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy.

As cited by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010a:1), the Children's Protection and Adoption Act (Chapter 5:06) has placed the mandate for the welfare and protection of children in the hands of the Ministry of Labour and Social Services. The Ministry then employs probation officers who are responsible for removing children in situations of risk to places of safety. According to the policy, children living outside a family environment include those placed in institutions, foster care, adopted or those returning to parents, with or without supervision (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:1). The Ministry is therefore responsible for ensuring that these children have basic needs and should provide resources and services to meet those needs. In the subsequent section, the researcher discusses some of the programmes and strategies for the care and protection of OVC in Zimbabwe.

Using a collaborative approach, the Government of Zimbabwe conducted a review of the policies, legislation and programmes to assess the support being provided to orphans and vulnerable children in the country. As cited by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:9), the assessment established existing programmes targeting OVC such as the Basic Education Module (BEAM), a government programme providing tuition fees, levy and examination fees to orphans and vulnerable children. The government offers assistance to vulnerable families through programmes such as Public Works, Cash transfers, Public assistance, Drought Relief and Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTOs). Through the Children in difficult circumstances programme, the government provides resources for children in both government and private institutions as well as children in foster care (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:9). Additionally, a 3% tax levy is charged to support programmes for people living with HIV as well as OVC and this programme is administered by the National AIDS Council (NAC) (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:9). Other programmes providing care and support to OVC are implemented by actors such as faith-based organisations (FBOs),

Community-based organisations (CBOs) and Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:9).

A review of the legal and policy framework highlighted the need to amend legislation on children in line with children's rights approaches (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:12). However, the stakeholders in the review process agreed that the most urgent and priority intervention was to close the gaps in legislation that increase vulnerability and ban practices that are harmful to children. Therefore, instead of changing laws, more attention was directed towards advocacy efforts to enforce the existing child protection laws (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:12). In the same token, the stakeholders agreed that the existing policies that protect the rights of children must be fully implemented and evaluated by institutions serving children (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:12).

2.8.1. National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (NAP for OVC 1)

Phase one of the NAP for OVC in Zimbabwe was developed at a National Stakeholder's Conference held in Harare in June 2003. The vision for NAP for OVC Phase 1 was to reach out to all orphans and other vulnerable children in Zimbabwe with basic services that positively impact on their lives. The goal was to develop a national institutional capacity that identifies all orphans and vulnerable children, reach out and provide services to at least 25 percent of OVC in Zimbabwe who are considered to be most vulnerable (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:11). According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:11), recommendations from the conference sought to increase access to education, food, health services, birth certificates and protection of OVC from abuse and exploitation.

In 2005, a mechanism for resource mobilisation was developed where donors pooled resources together for the implementation of NAP for OVC (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:17). The mechanism, called the Programme of Support (PoS) being managed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), provided a

framework for multiple-year funding of NAP for OVC. By 2008, US\$85 million had been mobilised to support the Programme. The Ministry of Labour and Social Service (MoLSS) established a National Secretariat to strengthen the coordination of structures implementing OVC programmes (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:19). The structures are illustrated in Figure 2.4 below:

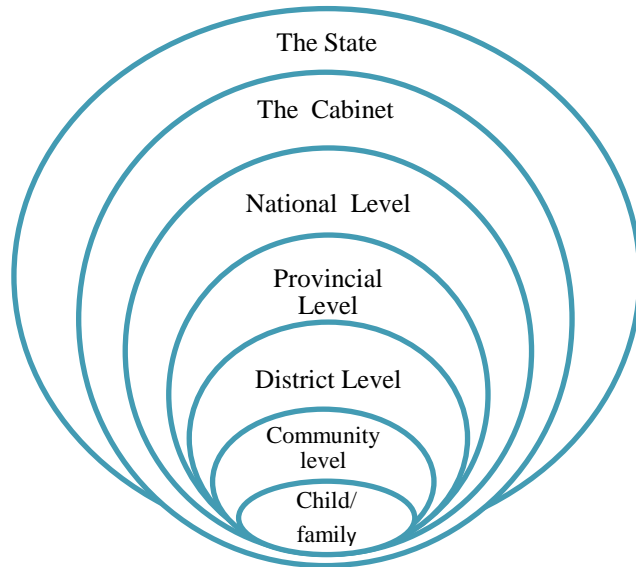


Figure 2.4: NAP for OVC Institutional Structure: Government of Zimbabwe (2004:13)

According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:13), the child is at the centre of OVC programming and all efforts seek to empower the family to provide care and protect the child. At community level (ward and village), the traditional leadership chairs a child protection community represented by children, community members, CBOs, FBOs and extension workers. This level is important in the coordination and sustainability of OVC programmes because they are closer to the family than other stakeholders along the structure (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:13). At district level, the District Administrator chairs the district child protection committee comprising representatives from government line ministries, National AIDS Council Local authorities, NGOs, private sectors and children. As cited by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:14), secretariat services (SS) provided by the Department of Child

Welfare and Probation Services in partnership with the district child protection committee are responsible for activity coordination, budgeting, supervision, monitoring and evaluation.

The provincial child protection committee is chaired by the Provincial Administrator and through secretariat services provided by the district level are responsible for budgeting, planning, monitoring and evaluation (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:14). At national level, the Working Party of Officials comprising members from government line ministries, National AIDS Council, UN System, local and international NGOs, private sector and children, are responsible for driving the plan, through resource mobilisation, supervision, policy formulation and technical support (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:14). The Cabinet Development Committee on Poverty Reduction and Social Services Delivery comprising of cabinet ministers of children and social services ministries, representatives of rural and urban councils and the National AIDS Council are responsible for monitoring programmes with secretariat services (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:14). The state composed of the Members of Parliament and the Executive approves the policies and makes commitments to their fulfilment (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:14).

In implementing OVC programmes, NAP for OVC promotes the active participation of children and communities. According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:12), OVC programming should address cross-cutting issues such as gender, age and HIV/AIDS (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:12).

Therefore, the seven objectives for NAP for OVC Phase 1 were to:

Strengthen the existing coordination structures by mobilisation of resources and development of functional structures at all levels, increase child participation where appropriate in all issues that concern them from community to national level, considering their evolving capacities, increase the percentage of children aged 0-17 with birth certificates from 64% to 80% , increase school enrolment of OVC by at least 25% while ensuring retention of OVC in primary and secondary schools, increase access to food, health services, water and sanitation for all OVC, increase access for OVC to nutrition , health, health, hygiene, HIV prevention and life and livelihood skills

education and promote healthy family environment and protect children from abuse (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2004:11).

To achieve the above-mentioned objectives, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services and UNICEF, partnered with 33 NGOs and 150 local organisations (sub-grantees) to undertake various activities under the NAP for OVC. By December 2010, five hundred thousand orphans and vulnerable children were reached through the Programme of Support (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:5). The PoS which was initially a three year funding mechanism was extended to 2010 in response to difficulties encountered in 2008 as a result of extreme political and economic instability, hyperinflation and a temporary ban on NGOs (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:5). An independent evaluation of NAP for OVC Phase 1 activities conducted in 2010 concluded that PoS had achieved its goals in terms of relevance, efficiency and cost-effectiveness. However, a few challenges were noted such as unclear targeting due to different definitions of OVC, fragmented nature of the PoS activities, focus on numbers of children reached instead of quality and standard of service provided, ineffective coordination due to limited capacity of the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services, inadequate attention to lesson-learning and good practice, delayed operational research and lack of consideration on the effects of child poverty (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:6). To address these issues, Phase II of the National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children was conceived.

2.8.2. National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (Phase II)

The National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children Phase II (2011-2015) was conceptualised on the lessons and recommendations made from NAP for OVC Phase I (2004-2010). NAP for OVC II adopts a child-sensitive social protection approach and its vision is that all children in Zimbabwe will live in a safe, secure and supportive environment that is conducive to child growth and development by 2020 (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:vii). The goal of NAP for OVC II is that by December 2015, the most vulnerable children are able to secure their basic rights through the provision of quality social protection and child protection services (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:19). NAP for OVC II is funded through the Child Protection Fund (CPF) (a pooled

funding mechanism comprising the Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development (OECD) donor group, the Government of Zimbabwe and other development partners (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:26). This fund is managed by UNICEF in line with the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness which calls harmonisation of donor support (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:26). The CPF adopts strategies that meet the different needs of children and addresses cross-cutting issues such as age, gender, non-discrimination, HIV/Aids and child participation (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, , 2011c:15).

Figure 5.2 below highlights the NAP for OVC II pillars being supported under the Child Protection Fund:

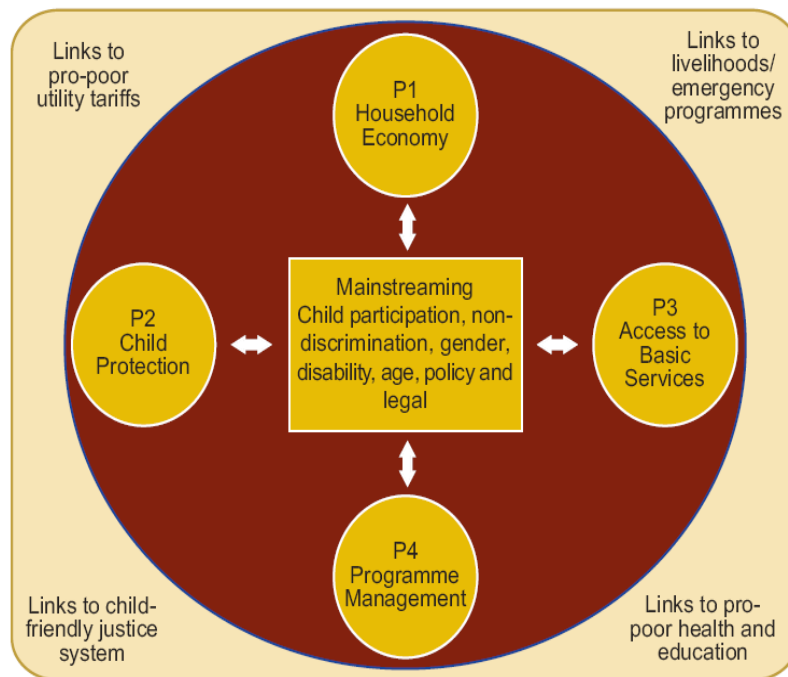


Figure 2.5: Child sensitive social protection framework for NAP II: Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011:20)

According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:19), the objectives of NAP for OVC II are achieved through the following pillars:

- *Pillar 1: Strengthening the household economy.* Increase the incomes of 250,000 extremely poor households, particularly those with orphans and vulnerable children,

through systems such as cash transfers, to build a healthy and supportive family environment.

- *Pillar 2: Child protection.* Increase access of all vulnerable children to effective child protection services, including social welfare, justice and specialised child protection services.
- *Pillar 3: Access to basic services.* Increase access of all orphans and vulnerable children and their families to basic education, health and other social services.
- *Pillar 4: Programme coordination and management.* Strengthen coordination structures at national and sub-national levels by mobilising increased resources and capacity building of staff.

As cited by Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011c:9), a child sensitive social protection is able to make a significant difference to the livelihoods of vulnerable children and families. In order to accomplish this, the child sensitive child protection strategies must be holistic, child-centred and empower families to be able to meet the needs of all children (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:9). Therefore, the move from NAP I to NAP II has resulted in “improved relevance, delivery, efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability and impact” (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:8). Although there has been some changes to the strategic focus, the coordination structures of NAP for OVC II are similar to that of NAP for OVC I with the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare being the implementer in collaboration with other relevant ministries and UNICEF offering technical support (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:25). NAP for OVC II still relies on community, district, provincial and national structures to deliver OVC services. To this end, “NAP has become one of the most important vehicles by which the country fulfils its commitments under UNGASS Declaration of June 2001, regional protocols, and national policies and laws pertaining to children’s rights, survival and development” (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:1).

2.8.3. Linking National Action Plan for OVC to livelihoods Based Social Protection

According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:7), sustainable livelihood approaches are able to bring the most vulnerable groups into the developmental process

through interventions that build people's existing capabilities and assets. These approaches which take a holistic view of human development help in strengthening linkages between institutions and service delivery, thus increasing vulnerable people's access to assets (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010c:7). Since livelihood approaches complement the rights-based approaches to programming, development practitioners are urged to focus on initiatives that enhance that promote sustainable livelihoods for vulnerable members of the society (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010c:7-8).

Due to the multiple and complex challenges affecting the livelihoods of orphans and vulnerable children, a livelihood based social protection is required to address both the short and long-term needs of this group. Social protection is described as “all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised with the objective of reducing economic and social vulnerability of the poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups” (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010c:19). According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:15), orphans and vulnerable children need more assets to reduce their vulnerability and strengthen their resilience. OVC need *human capital* (skills, knowledge, ability to labour, nutrition, good health and physical capability); *social capital* (social resources such as networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society); *physical capital* (basic infrastructure such as transport, shelter, water, energy, communication, production equipment); *financial capital* (financial resources such as savings, pensions, remittances) and *natural capital* (natural resources stocks such as land, water) (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010c:15-16). As defined by the Ministry, a livelihood outcome is a function of the interaction between OVC's livelihood strategies and institutional influences (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010c:16).

The Government of Zimbabwe therefore promotes sustainable livelihood approaches to OVC programming. As noted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:16), vulnerable children need to use the identified capitals or assets in various mixes to get

sustainable livelihoods, failure of which results in poor coping strategies such as prostitution, begging, gold panning and other forms of child labour. Institutions, processes and policies should assist children to have increased access and use of assets for them to gain sustainable livelihoods. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:16), the weak monitoring and evaluating of institutions' processes and policies make it difficult to assess their effectiveness in bringing about positive livelihood outcomes for children.

In order to mainstream the livelihood based approaches into programming, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:25) developed a tool for analysing and implementing livelihood approaches to OVC programming in Zimbabwe. The tool focuses on building assets to address the risks being faced by OVC, provide activities to be implemented as well as the stakeholders responsible for the implementation. According to Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:20), livelihood based social protection activities should clearly focus on OVC, recognising their position in the broader community and their evolving capacities. As such, transformative initiatives that secure and protect the asset base will guarantee the immediate and future livelihoods of OVC (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010c:20). To guarantee this, the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare developed standards for OVC programming in Zimbabwe.

2.8.4. Minimum quality standards for OVC programming in Zimbabwe

In order for OVC to benefit fully from development programmes and increase their access to assets, implementers are not supposed to focus merely on numbers of children reached but on the quality and effectiveness of their interventions on livelihood outcomes (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:3). To achieve this, common quality standards are needed across all service areas to harmonise OVC programming and measure their national-level impact (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:4). In that regard, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in collaboration with Catholic Relief Services Zimbabwe (CRS/ZW) and the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Services held a workshop in 2007 to develop the Minimum

standards for OVC programming in Zimbabwe (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:4). The ten standards provide a benchmark for evaluating quality of service in all OVC programming (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:7-23). The provision of services in line with expected quality standards foster improved livelihood outcomes across all service areas and facilitates increased access to different kinds of assets.

Table 2.5: Service areas and expected outcomes

Service Area	Expected Outcomes
Child protection	Promote a healthy family environment
Economic strengthening	Increased income levels to ensure sustainability of OVC families
Coordination	Mobilise resources and develop functional structures at all levels for coordinating OVC programmes
Education	All OVC complete primary and either secondary or vocational education
Food and nutrition	A household caring for OVC is assured of continuous access to at least three balanced and nutritious meals each day.
Health	The child accesses primary health care in the following areas: immunisation, growth, monitoring, affordable medicines, treatment of general ailments, and health education with special consideration for children with HIV and AIDS
Shelter	Children live in a family setting that provides safe and secure shelter
Child participation	Children participate meaningfully in issues that affect them
Water and sanitation	All children have access to potable and wholesome water and basic sanitation facilities
Birth registration	Every child should have a birth certificate

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008:7-23)

As cited by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008:3), quality care is defined as a bunch of services provided to children, families and communities to “maximise benefits and minimise risks.” In line with the minimum quality standards, these services should be given in the correct mixes, using best practice as well as expert

knowledge. The views of service users should be incorporated on the nature of care and services they receive (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:3). The dimensions of quality include safety, effectiveness, efficiency, technical performance, professionalism, sustainability, compassionate relations, appropriateness and participation (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:3). Due to the differences in the circumstances of OVC, the Government of Zimbabwe developed specific standards relating to the care of children living in residential child care facilities.

2.8.5. National Residential Child Care Standards Zimbabwe

As cited by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010b:11), “the Government of Zimbabwe, as a state party to the to the UN Convention, agreed to provide special protection for a child deprived of the family environment and to ensure that appropriate alternative family care or institutional placement is available in such cases.” In that regard, the Ministry with support from the Zimbabwe National Council for the Welfare of Children (ZNCWC) and UNICEF developed the National Residential Care Standards. In line with the Child Protection and Adoption Act, the Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Services (2010b:4) has the statutory mandate for the registration and monitoring of residential child care facilities in Zimbabwe (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:4). The Ministry also ensures compliance with regulations on child care, protection and development within residential care facilities.

According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010b:3), the National Residential Care Standards define dimensions of the quality of care and give minimum standards to be followed by residential child care facilities in the provision of services in the protection and care of children. A standard is defined as a measurable performance indicator used for management and delivery of service (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:7). Fifteen standards have been developed and these pertain to the establishment of the residential child care facility, service provision, design and layout of facility, safety and security, care-taking process (placement/admission plan), leaving care process/discharge plan, discipline/behaviour management, the child’s health plan and treatment, education,

protection from abuse, absence of a child without permission, handling of complaints, staffing recruitment, staffing requirements and staffing support (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:14-31).

In line with the standards, the residential care facility should be registered with the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services and is supposed to provide holistic services that meet the individual needs of children (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:14). The facility should accommodate children in a family unit with girls and boys of aged 8-18 living separately and with rooms and furniture arranged in a way that ensures privacy. On admission, each child should have a development plan which includes the day to day care as well as the child's longer term care needs that include family placement. The development plan which is developed in consultation with the child, the family, the probation officer and care-giver should be reviewed regularly after every six months (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:19).

Standard six of the National Residential Care Standards which regulates the leaving care process or discharge plan is central to this study. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010b:20), this standard outlines the process through which a child becomes independent, returns to family of origin or another placement. Every child must have a discharge plan which ensures the provision of programmes that facilitate access to continued education, training and work, support and follow-up for children with special needs, safe and secure accommodation independent living skills, information on available social services and benefits, social networks that provide advice and information and follow-up arrangements and support to ensure that the child has adjusted to the new living environment (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:21). Before discharge, the standard requires institutions to provide transition programmes that prepare young people for life outside institutional care. The preparation includes the development and maintenance of relationships with others, understanding of sexuality and establishment of positive and caring relationships, over-coming trauma and establishment of self-esteem and resilience, prepare for the work or further education and the development of independent life skills

(Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:21). However, due to the varying capacity levels, institutions may not be in a position to provide the requisite transition programmes. The next section discusses the institutional capacity assessment of the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services.

2.8.6. Institutional Capacity Assessment of the Department of Social Services

Assessing the capacity of any institution is critical for the purpose of checking its ability to deliver quality services as per the required standards. It is against this background, that the Ministry of Labour and Social Services engaged Oxford Policy Management and Jimat Development Consultants to conduct a capacity and institutional assessment of the Department of Social Services (DSS) (Wyatt, et al., 2010:ii). According to Wyatt et al. (2010:ii), the goal of the assessment was to establish the human resources and institutional capacity, identify gaps in carrying out statutory responsibilities of child care and protection as well as provide recommendations.

The research which involved fieldwork, workshops, questionnaires and interviews, collected data on workload, resources and concerns from 65 district offices and 10 provincial offices across the country (Wyatt, et al., 2010:ii). According to the assessment, it was observed that in addition to the statutory mandate to protect children, the Department of Social Services also administers a variety of other public assistance programmes for vulnerable groups such as the elderly, people with disabilities and extremely poor households (Wyatt, et al., 2010:ii). The Department is therefore expected to deliver services to a host of vulnerable groups as well as coordinate the implementation of OVC activities for other Government ministries and other non-governmental organisations. In view of such broad statutory and administrative responsibilities, DSS has been finding it difficult to effectively and efficiently discharge its duties (Wyatt, et al., 2010:ii).

According to the assessment, it was discovered that the ratio of children to social workers was 49,587:1, thus in comparison with other countries in the region, Zimbabwe's social welfare system had huge case loads (Wyatt, et al., 2010:iv). To compound the situation, DSS

was seriously under-resourced with a number of vacancies for professional posts not filled. The shortage of physical resources such as transportation, computers, telephones, photocopiers, stationery, office space and furniture as well as staff accommodation resulted in poor service delivery and discontent among staff (Wyatt, et al., 2010:43-44).

According to the assessment, the shortage of funding is the underlying factor affecting the DSS's human and physical resource capacity (Wyatt, et al., (2010:45). Thus, if DSS is to fully execute its mandatory responsibilities, funds need to be availed for the recruitment of more qualified personnel, capacity building of current personnel, procurement of equipment such as vehicles, computers and the general improvement of working conditions as well as remuneration for social services officers (Wyatt, et al., 2010:60-61). Accordingly, one of the mandatory responsibilities of DSS that has been affected by the lack of adequate resources is the reunification and community reintegration of children coming out of residential child care facilities (Wyatt, et al., 2010:iii).

2.9. Summary

This chapter has analysed the transition experiences of young people in different contexts, exploring the challenges and opportunities of adolescences, the transition needs and strategies as well as the livelihood outcomes. While the transition trajectories of young people in general may seem problematic and require support, studies show that vulnerable youth, especially those in the institutional context require more services and support in their preparation for independency and self-sufficiency. These services and support which come through transition programmes reduce social and economic vulnerabilities and facilitate increased access to assets needed to enhance social and economic security. An understanding of vulnerabilities and livelihood opportunities in the institutional context therefore requires the application of both sociological and developmental perspectives.

The last section of this chapter reviewed the legal, policy and operational documents that guide the implementation of OVC programmes in Zimbabwe. However, this literature is more generic, covering all OVC, particularly those in communities. There is limited

literature covering specific developmental interventions and holistic service provision targeting adolescents in the institutional context. As a result, young people in institutions are left out in development processes. The document analysis also reveals that Zimbabwe has policies, laws and strategies guiding the provision of care and support to orphans and other vulnerable children. However, as noted from the institutional capacity assessment of the Department of Social Services, implementation of such policies as well as enforcement of laws has not been to expected standards. Thus, as affirmed by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2004:9), Zimbabwe has well-documented policies and legislation but lacks the financial and human resources to implement them fully.

A review of documents in this chapter has therefore provided a framework for understanding transition programming in general as well as in the Zimbabwean context. This understanding forms the basis for evaluating the effectiveness of transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls through a comparison of what is documented and realities on the ground. The next chapter discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS AND FEMINIST THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1. Introduction

Evidence about what works or does not work is important in social development. According to the Centre for Global Development (2006:2), knowledge on the effectiveness of social programmes provides governments and agencies ideas and guidance on how to develop new programmes and improve existing ones. However, building such knowledge requires the use of relevant theories to explain the phenomenon under study. This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study and provides an understanding of the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context. It links theory to the transition experiences and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls during and after institutional care. Due to the complexity and plurality of youth transitions, this study uses feminist theories and sustainable livelihood approaches to understand the transition experiences of adolescent girls from two institutions in Highfield, Harare.

Social scientists explore social worlds, which are made up of individuals and groups of people (Mason & Dale, 2011:7). The social worlds constitute experiences, which help in shaping identities. Identity as a concept enables groups to come together and articulate their shared experiences (Cranny-Francis, Waring, Stavropoulos & Kirkby, 2003:36). On that basis, understanding the experiences of young people both as individuals and as a group is important for academic, policy and programmatic purposes. Cranny-Francis et al. (2003:39) define an experience as a process whereby “a subject interacts with material, economic, and interpersonal realities and transforms them into subjective experiences, interpreting and creating her/himself in the process.” In other words, an experience is a “doing and a becoming” which produces either negative or positive livelihood outcomes (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:39).

Theories are concepts and principles designed to enhance the understanding of events, facts and phenomena and they provide a system of explanation, a framework and a way of looking at things (Ruth, 2001:20). According to Ruth (2001:20), *descriptive* theories help in telling what is going on, *normative* theories prescribe or guide actions by informing what should be going on and the third category combines both. Feminist theories fall in the third category. The researcher also used the sustainable livelihoods approach to assess the level of assets that adolescent girls have access to in the institutional context.

3.1.1. Feminist Theories

Using the feminist theory, this study sought to establish the status of adolescent girls in the institutional context and how they struggle to access the livelihood assets in a male dominated society. Feminism is an ideology in sociology that focuses on how social change can take place to improve women's status and everyday lives (Delamont, 2003:8). It can be viewed as the struggle of women to increase women's access to equality in a male dominated culture (Green, 2007:35). Delamont (2003:18) argues that feminism is a "theory in sociology with four criteria; (1) that gender is a central focus; (2) that gender is systematically related to social contradictions, inequalities and pressure points; (3) that the theory accepts that gender relations are mutable, have changed and will change; and (4) that it can be used to challenge, counteract or change situations in which women are devalued or disadvantaged." Using the feminist theory, this study sought to establish the status of adolescent girls in the institutional context and how they struggle to access the livelihood assets in a male dominated society.

The feminist theory is shrouded with much controversy and its definition has taken many shapes and forms. As noted by Gamble (2000:viii), feminism is far more complex than it is portrayed or understood. According to Green (2007:35), feminism has always been a dynamic and multi-faceted movement and there has never been a universally agreed agenda. Nevertheless, the political goals of feminism have survived despite "the hostile political climate and heated internal criticism, largely because feminism has continually redefined itself" (Green, 2007:35). Despite these contradictions, feminist analysis has

increased solidarity and allowed women to evaluate their political, social and economic conditions differently than male politicians do and enabled them to come up with different solutions to their challenges (Green, 2007:30). In overall terms, feminism enhances political activism for both individuals and groups and as a political movement has advanced the rights of women as well as men and children (Green, 2007:30). It has made a rich contribution both as a social theory and political practice, greatly impacting on the fabric of culture (Andermahr, Lovell & Wolkowitz, 2000:93).

Feminism can be divided into four categories namely; the First Wave from 1848 to 1919, Second Wave from 1918 to 1968 and the Third Wave started from 1968 (Delamont, 2003:8). The contemporary feminism is what has given rise to what is termed the post-feminist era (Cranny-Francis et al., 2000:68). *Radical or separatist feminists* have a pessimistic view of human species and believe that patriarchy is the fundamental system of oppression; *Marxist feminists* believe that the economic system drives the other aspects of every society while the perspective of *Liberal feminists* is that human species, organisations and society can change (Delamont, 2003:8). Post-feminism can be linked to the Third Wave feminism because both challenge earlier feminism which put women in boxes of silence and repression of critical aspects of positioning such as non-white, working class, lesbian among other specific feminist issues (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:68).

Early feminists challenged social and political inequalities between men and women and highly esteemed women's roles and responsibilities, whereas latter feminists emphasised women's similarities with men (Green, 2007:35). The first wave feminism pursued educational and property rights as mothers, where motherhood was an endowment of social power unlike the latter feminists who reject the idealisation of motherhood (Green, 2007:35). The strategy for the second wave highlighted the importance on femininity, culture and difference and criticised the "man-made world for its aggression, competition and destruction of female values of peace, cooperation and life-giving" (Freedman, 2002:69). As a starting point for analysis and generation of knowledge, second wave

feminism relied on the experiences and consciousness of women (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:69).

Contemporary feminism frees women from the earlier feminist ideologies by enabling them to recognise their differences from other women, creating new mutually beneficial alliances with different women, learning from those women and positioning their own feminist agendas in relation to their own beliefs, values, behaviours and desires (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:68). Due to its flexibility and ability to understand the dynamics and demands of politics of difference, post-feminism has generated two responses which place greater emphasis on individual and collective action, incorporating concerns like class, race, ethnicity and sexuality instead of focusing only on gender (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:68).

According to Cranny-Francis et al. (2003:69), post-feminism calls for a paradigm shift for many feminists, provoking their earlier thoughts, positions, social roles, theories and practices. For example, Andermahr et al. (2000:24) identify Black feminism as a variety of feminisms which oppose racism and sexism encountered by black women. Black feminism goes beyond challenging dominant cultures and restoring the lives of black women but also seeks to develop methods of analysis for interpreting the ways in which race and gender are inscribed (Andermahr, et al., 2000:24). In that regard, this study puts the post-feminist lenses that focus on individual and collective action in addressing the transition concerns of black adolescent girls within the institutional context. By virtue of their gender, the researcher believes that adolescent girls in institutions face unique gender-based constraints in their transition to self-sufficiency and independence, which warrant further analysis and rethinking by social theorists and development practitioners.

3.1.2. Gender

Gender is at the core of feminist inquiry and it intersects with other social systems such as race, class and sexuality (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:4). It permeates many aspects of life and its application cannot be restricted to specific fields and approaches (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:246). The study of gender matters because it shapes the identities and behavioural

dispositions of individuals (Wharton, 2005:9). According to Ruth (2001:29), gender is composed of a set of socially defined character traits. It is defined as “the culturally variable elaboration of sex, as a hierarchical pair, where male is coded superior and female inferior” (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:4). Gender is also a reflection of rules, norms, customs and practice that socially distinguishes biological males and females into men and women and boys and girls (Kabeer, 2003:2). Each sex is assigned roles and sex is defined as the biological distinction of humans which categorises them as males and females while roles refer to a pattern of behaviours prescribed for individuals playing a certain part in a society (Ruth, 2001:29). Gender roles are socially or culturally defined and learned expectations about how people will behave in specific situations (Association of African Universities, 2006:2). Gender roles inform how men and women are to act in a particular culture (Strong, 2002:150).

Although most people are categorised as either male or female, some people are identified as transsexuals. According to Strong (2002:146), transsexuals believe that by a strange act of fate, they have been given the body of the wrong sex. Thus, transsexuals often seek surgery to bring their genitals in conformity with their gender identity (Strong, 2002:146). On the other hand, trans-genderists are individuals who embrace numerous genders and social identities without the need to alter their genitals (Strong, 2002:146). Trans-genderists often express themselves through cross-dressing. In light of the above-mentioned definitions, gender is a complex and ambiguous phenomenon, which transcends the biological divide of maleness and femaleness. However, in this study, gender refers to women and men, girls and boys.

Through socialisation, people learn of their roles and what society expects of them as males or females. As defined by Wharton (2005:31), socialization refers to the process through which individuals take on gendered qualities and characteristic and acquire a sense of self. According to Wharton (2005:32), “social learning theory asserts that gender roles are learned through the reinforcements (positive or negative) children receive for engaging in gender-appropriate and gender-inappropriate behaviours.” According to Wharton (2005:10),

an individualistic view of gender portrays men and women as either villains or victims, oppressing, exploiting or defending against each other. Interactionist approaches to gender focus more on the social context within which individuals interact and asserts that people's reactions and behaviours vary in response to their social context (Wharton, 2005:54). The social context constitutes other participants in a setting where an interaction takes place and results in social categorisation. As cited by Wharton (2005:55), social categorisation is a process through which individuals classify themselves and others as members of particular groups and this classification produces gender differences and inequality.

3.1.3. Gendered institutions

Gender as a subject of research is highly contextual in its impact and is embedded in the structures and practices of organisations and social institutions (Wharton, 2005:8). Social institutions include large, formally organised sectors of societies, such as education, religion, sport and less formally institutions such as marriage and family (Wharton, 2005:10). According to Wharton (2005:65), an organisation is a social unit established to pursue a particular goal and operates on a set of rules and procedures while an institution has organised, regular and established patterns. Institutions operate on what is termed a central logic (a set of material practices and symbolic constructions which include structures, patterns, routines and belief systems in which they attach meaning (Wharton, 2005:65). An institution is said to be gendered when gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies and distribution of power in the various sectors of social life (Wharton, 2005:65). As noted by Wharton (2005:65), institutions vary in the way they are gendered and how they embody and reinforce gender meanings.

Gender manifests itself in various forms and as defined by the Association of African Universities (2006:2-5), *gender violence* manifests where women and men struggle for resources, influence and power in everyday life; *gender awareness* is whereby all players in the organisation or institution recognise the importance of gender on their objectives, plans and programmes; *gender sensitivity* is the translation of the awareness into practice resulting in the change in perception, plans and activities of an organisation and *gender blindness* is

where an institution does not recognise gender issues on their objectives, plans and programmes. *Gender segregation* refers to the concentration of men and women in different occupations, workplaces and sectors and is crucial in understanding the persistence of gender inequality in employment (Andermahr, et al., 2000:105). *Gender mainstreaming* “is a process in which women’s and men’s development challenges and needs as well development impacts on both men and women are clarified throughout the process of programme and policy formulation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation” (Tuyizere, 2007:362). *Gender responsiveness* “is a planning process in which programmes and policy actions are developed to deal with and counteract the problems which are likely to arise if the needs resulting from socially constructed differences between men and women are not met adequately” (Tuyizere, 2007:398). However, many policies and programmes are not gender responsive, thus gender inequality is pervasive in many institutions.

Gender inequality refers to unequal treatment under the law and inequality of opportunity (Kabeer, 2003:2). As noted by Kabeer (2003:xiv), gender inequality varies across different strata of society and affects the relations of production and reproduction. Hence, social analysts need to analyse institutions as units of social systems because they shape the lives of individuals and groups associated with them. As asserted by Wharton (2005:219), inequality is produced through institutionalisation and legitimisation. Wharton (2005:220) defines institutionalisation as a process through which social relationships take on the qualities of an institution. Wharton (2005:221) argues that institutionalised inequalities are perpetuated when dominant groups are benefiting from the unequal relationship and also when the subordinate group lacks alternatives. A marriage is an example of such an institution where through the system of patriarchy, a privileged position of power and authority is conferred to man over woman (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:15). Wharton (2005:221) defines legitimisation as the process through which inequalities are justified and viewed as fair and reasonable. Legitimation is fostered when a dominant group offers a subordinate group an interpretation that covers up unequal arrangements in a relationship. For instance, paternalism is a powerful ideology because it combines positive feelings for the subordinate group with the exercise of social control. According to Wharton (2005:222)

through the paternalist ideology, the subordinate group see no reason to challenge the dominant group's control over them. Hence, the dominant group continues to have power over the subordinate group.

Marx Weber, a social theorist, defines power "as the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in the position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Harcourt, 1994:182). According to Harcourt (1994:182), a person recognised by others as having power can control resources and other persons by convincing them to take a particular course of action. However, Michael Foucault, another social theorist is more interested in the processes of power and subjection that run through social institutions such as prisons, hospitals and so on. Foucault argues that social systems are made up of power which shapes particular institutions (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:49). Therefore, to understand inequality, there is need for knowledge on how relations of power operate on individuals, affecting their bodies, the way they behave and even communicate (Cranny-Francis, et al., 2003:49). To this end, an individual is a product of power and its articulation.

Gender is associated with deeply entrenched power and status differentials in political, social and economic sphere where men are considered to be at a better advantage than women (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001:59). Therefore, to promote gender equality of women, institutions should make conscious efforts to empower women through their policies and programmes. According to Harcourt (1994:206) women must have access to resources of institutions and information. In this regard, there should be improved documentation and understanding of what women do, how and why they do it and what is of value to them, their families and communities. Harcourt (1994:207) asserts that through sharing or withholding information and knowledge, women are disenfranchised. Thus, gender empowerment should facilitate the development of women's abilities and self-reliance through earning, owning assets and managing finances (Tuyizere, 2007:327). Gender empowerment stresses the importance of enhancing women's agency for them to know and negotiate for their rights in the household, place of work and community at large and

emphasise women's control over their bodies (Tuyizere, 2007:327). As defined by Wharton (2005:9), agency incorporates both observable action in the exercise of choice, decision-making, protesting, bargaining and negotiating as well as motivation and purpose that individuals bring to their actions. Gender empowerment programmes therefore foster gender equality.

Gender equality is enhanced through participation. Harcourt (1994:129) defines "participation as the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given situations on the part of the groups or movements of those hitherto excluded from such control." Hence, through gender mainstreaming programmes, women have been able to participate in different social and economic activities where they were previously excluded. According to Tuyizere (2007:363), the goal of gender mainstreaming in achieving gender equality has helped to identify existing gaps between gender, conduct gender-oriented research on gender concerns, establish gender monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, address gender disparities, develop policies that promote gender responsiveness and advocate for gender equity at all levels.

According to Neumann (1997:103), the feminist approach views gender as a dominant force in society that shapes beliefs and values and thus cannot be ignored in social processes of scientific inquiry. Feminist researchers assume that the experiences of women differ from that of men and since knowledge is power, research should be participatory and should have a political agenda that is concerned about values, morality and the improvement of society (Bloor & Wood, 2006:79). They are sensitive to how relationships of gender and power affect all spheres of social life. As noted by Neumann (1997:103), feminist researchers create empathetic connections with research subjects, recognise the similarities in human experiences and incorporate their personal feelings and experiences in the study. As a result, feminists are concerned about raising female voices over issues that affect their social, political, physical and economic status (Delamont, 2003:3). One of the ways of raising female voices is through a process of gender planning and analysis.

Gender planning is based on the rationale that because men and women play different roles in society, they often have different needs (Tuyizere, 2007:380). Therefore, identifying practical and strategic gender needs is critical. Gender interests should be considered because they have different implications for women with regards to their social positioning (Tuyizere, 2007:381). Gender analysis is a process where institutions incorporate gender concerns into policies, plans, strategies and activities in order to redress gender inequalities in a given situation (Tuyizere, 2007:398). Policy makers, programme planners and managers use different gender analysis tools (Tuyizere, 2007:398).

The Harvard Analytical is made up of four components. The *activity profile* analyses what girls/boys do in a given situation, intervention or programme, for example productive and reproductive roles by age and gender (Tuyizere, 2007:399). The *access and control profile* analyse who has access and control of resources to do their work as well as who has access to benefits derived from work (Tuyizere, 2007:400). *Influencing factors profile* seeks to identify factors influencing the division of labour, access and control of resources and the *project cycle analysis* focuses on applying the three types of analysis above from project start to closure to generate data that will inform the design of social and development policies and programmes (Tuyizere, 2007:400). Hence, the Harvard Analytical Framework provides a basis of social and development analysis. The ensuing paragraphs discuss the development theories, with specific focus on the sustainable livelihood approaches and how they can be used to analyse the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

3.2. Development Theories

The study of development has evolved and continues to evolve. Like other disciplines, development studies have not escaped the critical eye of both academics and practitioners. According to Kothari (2005:3), there are varying and contesting interpretations on what development studies are and should be. These debates have ranged from whether development studies should principally be concerned about academic research or policy and practical relevance, whether it possesses epistemology or methodology and to what extent it should be multi-disciplinary, inter-disciplinary or cross-disciplinary (Kothari, 2005:3). As

asserted by Kothari (2005:3), these contestations reflect a competing understanding about the purpose of development and the nature of the relationships between theories and ideologies, policies and practices. Nevertheless, while development studies cannot be identified as a discrete academic discipline, there is broad convergence among those in the community of its shared concerns and objectives (Kothari, 2005:4).

As cited by Kothari (2005:5), development can be defined as either visions and/or measures of progressive change, historical change process or the deliberate efforts of progress. Thus, with this mixture of ideas and histories, development policy and practice makes development as a subject of study both fluid and complex. According to Kothari (2005:5), development studies can be about debating what is desirable or progressive for society, understanding human needs and measuring dimensions of poverty and development. Development studies can also be about knowing people's lives, livelihoods, social relations in different parts of the world and how they have changed through various development agents as well as an understanding of the architecture of policy and governance (Kothari, 2005:5). However, as argued by Kothari (2005:7), development studies must provide policy-relevant research, devise practical tools for development interventions and should create a space for academic investigation of ideas and histories.

According to Harris (2005:30), development studies flourished as a result of the increase of British Universities in the 1960s and early 1970s. In the early years of development studies, it was believed that newly independent states and other poor countries had a central role in planning and managing social and economic development (Bernstein, 2005:114). Hence, in the 1970s, greater development emphasis was placed on productivity of small farmers, meeting basic needs and income generation for the landless poor. As cited by Bernstein (2005:114), the rise of the neo-liberal thinking in the 1980s rejected the interventionists' role by states in the south in bringing about economic development. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) were imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which allowed market forces to set prices and liberalised economies (Kabeer, 2007:4). As noted by Cameron (2005:148), neo-liberation claims that the more the society is based on

market principles, the less poverty there will be. However, the policy to roll-back state and liberalise markets were not enough to achieve economic growth and reduce poverty (Bernstein, 2005:114).

One of the benefits of neo-liberal approaches was the inclusion of poverty in economics in the mainstream neo-classical economics which was poverty-blind (Cameron, 2005:139). However, the most important question for the wider development academic society was not the inclusion of poverty analysis in development studies but why there were so many poor people in the world (Cameron, 2005:139). In the 1990s, poverty reduction was adopted as an over-arching goal by almost every major international and bilateral agency and as the basis of development cooperation (Kabeer, 2007:7). The work of Amartya Sen on human capabilities that enable people to achieve the range of valued ways of being and doing in a particular society and places human agency at the centre of development led to the production of The Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Programme in the 1990s (Kabeer, 2003:4).

Poverty is a complex concept which has resulted in contrasting definitions and measurements among academics and development practitioners (Cameron, 2005:149). According to Iyenda (2007:27), most researchers have defined poverty in terms of “scientific, cultural, social, ethical, political or ideological background, and the practices and conventions of their own community, society or country.” *Absolute poverty* is defined as a condition characterised by severe deprivations of human needs such as food, safe water, sanitation facilities, shelter, education and information while *relative poverty* is whereby income or resources are not sufficient to provide goods and services which are common or customary in a society (Iyenda, 2007:28). Sen (1999:86) identifies poverty in terms of capability deprivation, which goes beyond the lack of income to other factors such as age, gender, location, disability or chronic illness. To evaluate the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context, this study used the sustainable livelihood approach.

3.2.1. Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA)

The sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) has gained prominence in development thinking and is widely used among many academics and practitioners. According to DFID (1999:1.2) livelihoods thinking was conceived by Robert Chambers in the mid 1980s. The approach was further developed by Chambers, Conway and others in the 1990s. In 1998, DFID adopted the SLA and organisations such as OXFAM, CARE and UNDP followed suit, developing their own perspectives and methodologies (Carney, 2002:11). In that respect, the SLA has evolved and taken many forms for these organisations and other development practitioners and thinkers (Carney, 2002:11). This study uses the DFID (1999) sustainable livelihoods framework.

According to DFID (1999:1.2) the goal of SLA is to promote the sustainability of poor people's livelihoods and this is achieved through the promotion of access to education, information, technology and training and better nutrition and health. The objectives include the promotion of a more supportive and cohesive social environment, access and better management of natural resources, infrastructure, financial resources, a policy and institutional environment that support multiple livelihood strategies and equitable access to competitive markets for all (DFID, 1999:1.2). As cited by Fouracre (2001:1), policies and programmes that support SLA should contribute to sound policies and pro poor economic growth, good governance and realisation of human rights, prevention and resolution of conflicts and removal of gender discrimination.

The SLA as a distinctive development theory focuses on people's productive activities. According to Cooper (2009:181), it ensures that policy and programmes are based on an understanding of the assets and strategies that people employ in pursuit of livelihood goals. SLAs examine life experiences, strategies and outcomes by assessing the level by which people are able to draw from the human, social, physical, financial and public assets. SLAs therefore, help in understanding services and supports that people receive and how the power dynamics in a society affect their livelihoods (May, et al., 2009:5). It encapsulates the diverse ways of living, analysing the shocks and stresses that vulnerable people face as

compared to the narrower concept of employment (Toner & Franks, 2006:81). The SLA shows that although structural factors influence livelihood outcomes, people are active agents who respond to economic and social change and sometimes affect it (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002:84).

The recognition of value in the agency of the poor began with non-governmental organisations and culminated into a radical and political agenda for social and economic transformation (Toner & Franks, 2006:84). Traditionally, experiences of poverty were assessed through external needs analysis focusing on what individuals and communities lacked in terms of work, skills and money (Cooper, 2009:173). This resulted in researchers prescribing solutions to problems instead of people actively participating in articulating their experiences and potentials in addressing poverty. Therefore, the strengths of SLA include the direct involvement of people in the research process, their participation in result analysis as well as the holistic perspectives of their lives which include an assessment of their assets and livelihood strategies (Cooper, 2009:173).

Although the SLA provides a holistic view on the resources that poor people have and helps in understanding the underlying causes of poverty, its weakness is that it does not provide a way of identifying the poor that need assistance (Krantz, 2001:4). As cited by Carney (2002:9), there is need to strike a balance when implementing the SLA. This is because there is a risk of focusing on poor people's livelihoods at the expense of the larger institutional goals. Furthermore, responding to people's aspirations should not rob them of their own initiative. To avoid this trap, Carney (2002:9) advises practitioners to focus on SLA components that contribute more to the developmental priorities of individuals. In order to do this, the sustainable livelihoods framework can be used to analyse the various assets that people have and the factors contributing to livelihood outcomes. Figure 3.1 below, illustrates the DFID's sustainable livelihoods framework. The sustainable livelihoods framework is a useful tool which helps in understanding the livelihoods of people, particularly the poor (DFID, 1999:1.4).

According to DFID (1999:1.4), the framework can be used for planning new development activities or assessing the impact of livelihood programmes through an analysis of multiple interactions between various factors that affect livelihoods.

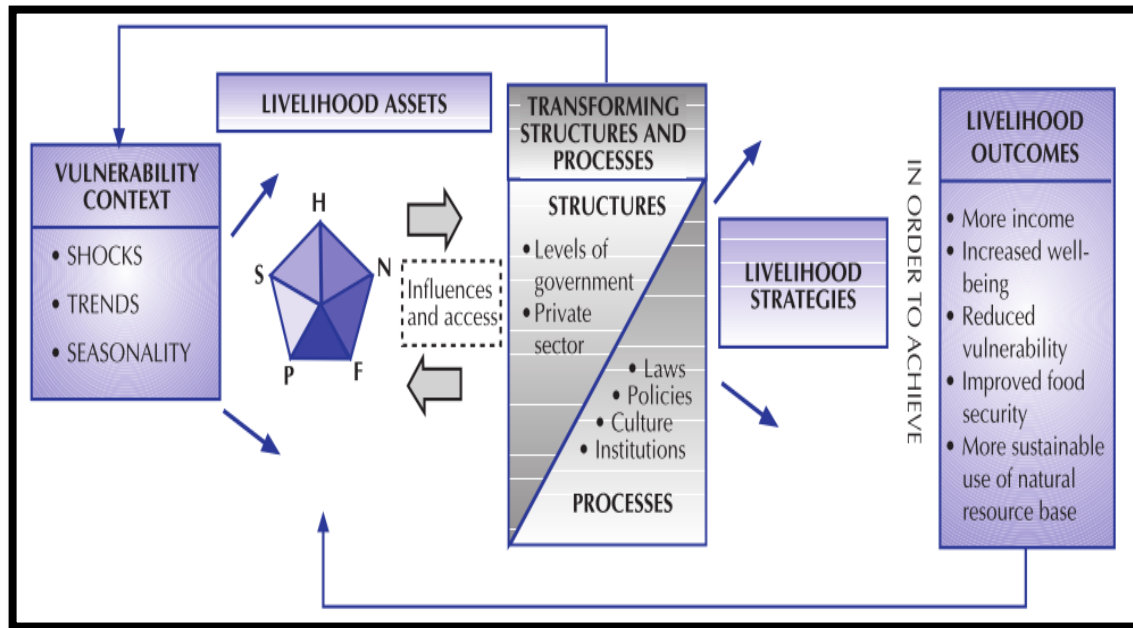


Figure 3.1: DFID’s Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Krantz 2001:19)

As noted by Krantz (2001:19) the DFID’s sustainable livelihood approach provides an “analytical structure to facilitate a broad and systematic understanding of the various factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities, and to show how they relate to each other.” Therefore, the framework helps in assessing how organisations, policies, institutions and cultural norms affect livelihoods and determine access to different kinds of assets and the livelihood strategies of people (Krantz, 2001:19).

The framework views people as operating in the context of vulnerability (DFID, 1999:1.1). The *vulnerability context* consists of shocks, trends and seasonality that cause hardships to people. Shocks, for example floods, sickness and civil strife can destroy assets, while trends such as economic, resource and technology can influence livelihoods strategies (DFID, 1999:1.4). As noted by DFID (1999:1.4), seasonal shifts such as changes in prices, availability of employment opportunities and food can adversely affect the livelihoods of

people. In order to manage the vulnerability context, poor people need support in order to build up their assets (DFID, 1999:2.2).

Livelihoods are made up of capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required to make a living (Carney, 1998:213). For livelihoods to be sustainable people should not be dependent on external support or if they are, the support should be economically and institutionally sustained, they should be resilient in the face of shocks and stresses and should not compromise or undermine their livelihood options (DFID, 1999:1.4). As defined by DFID (1999:1.4), *economic sustainability* refers to a state where a given level of expenditure can be maintained over time, *social sustainability* is achieved when there is social equity and institutional capacity is achieved when policies and structures are able to perform their functions over the long term.

Within the SLA framework, *transforming structures and processes* consist of institutions, organisations, policies and legislation that affect livelihoods (DFID, 1999:2.4). These are critical because they determine the terms of exchange between capital as well as govern the return on any given livelihood strategy (DFID, 1999:2.4). According to DFID (1999:2.4), this component of the SLA framework directly affects people in terms of their feeling of inclusion and well-being. It forms the governance structure that confers power through roles, responsibilities, rights and relations that provides a framework within which institutions or organisations work. In the framework, structures refer to organisations or hardware that design and implement policy and legislation, deliver services and perform tasks that affect the livelihoods of people (DFID, 1999:2.4). Processes also referred to as the software, determine the way in which structures and individuals interact. According to DFID (1999:2.4), processes provide incentives, grant or deny access to assets, enable people to exchange assets and affect inter-personal relations. Thus, in the SLA framework, transforming structures and processes affect the livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes of individuals.

Livelihood strategies refer to a range of activities and choices that people undertake to achieve their livelihood goals. According to DFID (1999:2.5), livelihood strategies vary over time in terms of levels, geographic areas, sectors and households. Thus development initiatives should focus on improving services and opportunities at household and community levels to cater for different categories of people. To improve livelihood strategies, people need different kinds of assets and building of safety nets in order to make positive livelihood choices. Negative livelihood choices such as prostitution and theft often caused by poverty result in negative livelihood outcomes. *Livelihood outcomes* are defined as the achievements and outputs of livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999:2.6). These may be tangible or intangible, for example, increased income, well-being, reduced vulnerability and improved food security. However, DFID (1999:2.6) reiterates the importance of understanding the aims of particular groups when thinking of livelihood outcomes. This is because needs, priorities and interests of different categories of people differ. Hence, “participatory poverty assessment provide some important lessons about the wide range of people’s objectives and how best to gather reliable information on these” (DFID, 1999:2.6).

According to Cooper (2009:173), SLA as a person-centred and participatory approach looks at the *assets* that individuals have such as:

- Human assets: the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives.
- Social assets: the social resources which people can draw on, including informal relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchange with families, friends and neighbours as well as more formalised groupings (for example community and faith groups).
- Physical assets: tools and equipment that people need to be productive along with the basic infrastructure needed to function productively such as affordable transport and energy, decent housing and access to information.
- Financial assets: including earned income, pensions, state welfare benefits, maintenance and so on, as well as savings and credit facilities.

- Public assets: public services, including libraries, local organisations and regeneration groups as well as people's general engagement within their community beyond the immediate circle of friends and family.
- Natural assets: refers to natural resources stocks from which resources flow and services useful for livelihoods are derived. Examples are land, forests and water (DFID 1999:2.3). While the DFID sustainable livelihood framework uses natural assets as one of the five arms of analysis, this study which is carried out in an urban context replaces the natural assets with public assets.

The *asset pentagon* which lies at the centre of the SLA framework provides a visual representation of people's assets, showing variations in terms of access. According to DFID (1999:2.3), the middle point of the pentagon represents zero access to assets and the furthest point shows maximum access to assets. Pentagons are useful in establishing the needs of different social groups and possible trade-offs between assets. However, due to changes in asset endowment, the shapes of pentagons are constantly shifting. Thus, according to DFID (1999:2.3), it is critical to gather information on trends and overall asset availability to understand which social groups are accumulating or losing assets and the reason why.

Assets reduce vulnerability and facilitate access to opportunities for people to pursue their livelihood goals. Access to different kinds of assets provides the basis for understanding the varying levels of vulnerability and how the effects thereof can be reduced. Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002:175) recognise the need to assess levels of vulnerability in order to allocate resources equitably among populations living in poverty. However, great difficulty lies in quantifying and weighting of bundles of assets to compare individuals' livelihood outcomes over time. This complexity requires further research that assesses the different forms of assets that specific population groups have or pursue to secure their livelihoods. The next section explores the link between gender and development.

3.3. The link between gender and development (feminisation of poverty)

Although development continues to be linked to economic growth, modernisation, industrialisation, trade, the income of nations and poverty of populations, over the years, there has been a change of focus to include education, health and gender (Rai, 2011:18). This move has led to analysis and development of reports such as the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) and the Gender-related Development Index (GDI). According to Rai (2011:28), the women in development (WID) which started in the 1970s, mapped a way for feminists engagements with development. The WID's agenda in the Third World advocated for women's increased access to the gains of modernisation (Rai, 2011:29). However this agenda overlooked the power of social and political structures within which women live. Resultantly, by the 1980s, feminist scholars removed emphasis from the access-based framework to gender relations, giving birth to the gender and development (GAD) movement (Rai, 2011:32). Gender and development theorists focused on the relationships of women in order to facilitate social and political transformation within their contexts (Rai, 2011:32). According to Rai (2011:35), the debates on WID and GAD have created a platform to reflect on policies and institutions and how these shape the lives of women. However, despite these debates, Rai (2011:35) laments about the continual existence of gender inequality and injustice in the society and their negative impact to development.

The oppression of women has a negative impact on human development, thus gender equality is a key developmental agenda at both the national and international level. According to Tuyizere (2007:327), approximately seventy percent of the world's poor are women. Poverty has more serious consequences on women than men because of imbalances in access to resources and power. Therefore, poverty reduction strategies must integrate gender concerns into development. As affirmed by Lombard, Kemp, Viljoen-Toet and Booyzen (2012:186), social and economic problems are so entwined such that the two cannot be separated. Therefore, as suggested by Tuyizere (2007:327), mainstreaming gender in development promotes the participation of both women and men in development processes, respects democracy, human rights and improves knowledge and information through continuous teaching and monitoring of development programmes. Integrating of

gender concerns into development also creates opportunities for fair access to and distribution of resources and income, thus avoiding the feminisation of poverty (Tuyizere, 2007:335).

As defined by Harcourt (1994:128), feminisation of poverty refers to male-biased development which causes greater impoverishment of women. As cited by Chant (2011:176), feminisation of poverty is characterised by women experiencing higher incidences, deeper, severe and longer-term poverty than men. Additional measures include increased poverty for women-headed households and more barriers faced by women in lifting themselves out of poverty (Chant, 2011:176). Hence, according to Kabeer (2003:1), “poverty is gendered because women and men experience poverty differently, unequally and become poor through different, though related processes.” To this end, feminisation of poverty as a notion has captured the attention of planners and policymakers beyond gender and development (GAD) circles and pushed forward the concerns of women in national and international discourses on poverty and social development (Chant, 2011:177). Although feminisation of poverty has managed to put gender on the development agenda, gender inequality is pervasive across different groups within societies and it intersects with economic deprivation, producing more intensified forms of poverty for women than men (Kabeer, 2003:xiii).

According to Kabeer (2003:1), there is overwhelming evidence which prove that women and girls are more disadvantaged than men and boys both across societies. To address this anomaly, 189 governments across the world gathered at the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000 where they made a commitment to take collective responsibility for halving the world’s poverty by the year 2015. The Millennium Declaration laid down a number of key developmental goals towards the promotion of human development, environmental sustainability and development partnerships and made an explicit commitment to gender equality (Kabeer, 2003:xiii). Henceforth, different countries have made considerable progress in developing and implementing national poverty and gender

policies and strategies. However, differences exist across societies in the terms of progress achieved in gender equality.

According to Underwood et al. (2009:7), women in Sub-Saharan Africa have been made vulnerable by interpersonal and structural factors as well as laws and policies that perpetuate gender inequalities. In many Sub-Saharan African countries, laws that protect women and girls from exploitation or abuse either do not exist or are not enforced (Underwood, et al., 2009:8). Therefore, according to Caro (2009:4), programmes for vulnerable adolescent girls should be both preventive and protective. Figure 3.2 below gives an example of an integrated programme design for adolescent girls.

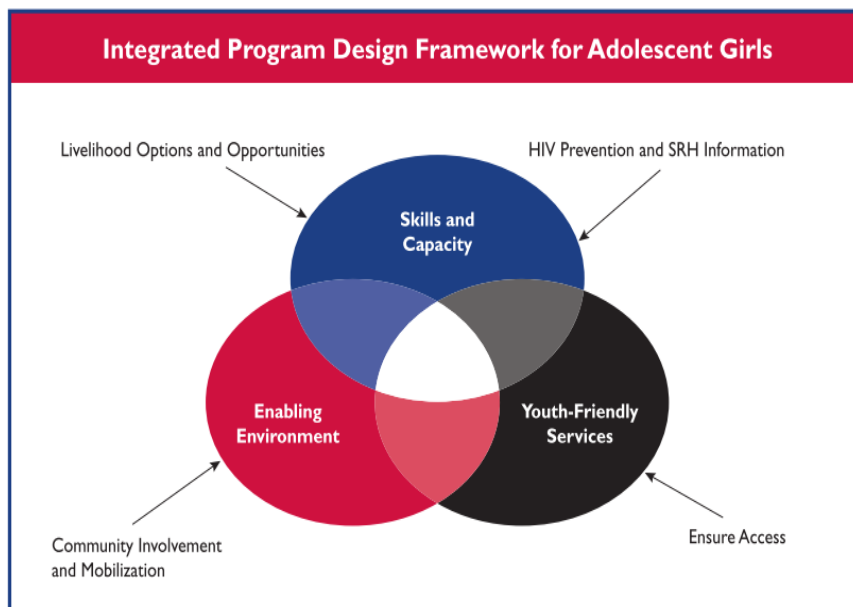


Figure 3.2: Integrated programme design framework for adolescent girls (Caro, 2009:4)

Integrated programmes for adolescent girls should provide HIV prevention and other sexual reproductive health (SRH) information, skills development and link adolescent girls to youth-friendly services (Caro, 2009:4). They should incorporate reproductive health, educational and livelihood needs and should not focus on a single need. For these programmes to be more effective, they should be implemented in the context where

adolescents live and should include key stakeholders such as parents, adults, community leaders as well as other decision-makers (Caro, 2009:4).

Underwood et al. (2009:18-24) give examples of integrated programmes in the Sub-Saharan region. The Stepping Stones International in Botswana targeted orphaned and vulnerable children aged 12-18 and offered after school programs such as job skills training, life skills, psychosocial support and counselling, study skills, volunteer activities, income generating projects, expression activities, outreach to families, and advocacy in the community (Underwood, et al., 2009:18). The Biruh Tesfa in Ethiopia targeted out of school girls aged 10 to 19 with literacy, life skills, livelihoods skills, and HIV/reproductive health education through girls' clubs led by adult female mentors (Underwood, et al., 2009:19). In Zimbabwe, the SHAZ Project (Shaping the Health of Adolescents in Zimbabwe) targeted adolescent girls with life skills, home-based health care education; livelihoods (vocational training with micro grant) and integrated social support (Underwood et al., 2009:24). The foregoing initiatives are examples of transition programmes that enhance access to different kinds of assets and are critical for the social and economic empowerment that foster positive livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls.

Since the transition from childhood to adulthood and from the institution to the society affect the livelihood outcomes, a focus on gender is critical in evaluating how these changes affect the adolescent girl's social and economic status in society. It is important to assess whether these changes are empowering or disempowering the adolescent girl and what protective and developmental measures can be taken. As noted by Kantz (2001:4), the DFID sustainable livelihood framework regards power relations as a component of the transforming processes, therefore gender as an aspect of power relations between women and men manifest inequalities and social domination. To this end, gender and livelihood analyses are able to show the ways in which young people in different circumstances are vulnerable and the kind of support they need to overcome social and economic barriers as they transition to adulthood and independent living.

3.4. Summary

This chapter has discussed development theories focusing on sustainable livelihood approach where poverty is assessed through an analysis of various types of assets that people have access to. The feminist theories focus on power and status differentials, with gender being at the centre of analysis. Accordingly, the discussion noted adolescent girls as a sub-group of vulnerable youth which requires special attention due to the high levels of social and economic depravity encountered as they transition to adulthood. To this end, both sociological and developmental perspectives can be applied simultaneously in a study to explain youth transition' experiences and outcomes. The next chapter discusses the research methods used to conduct this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the systematic way in which data was collected, analysed and interpreted. As cited by Wassenich (2007:2), data and methods are inextricably linked. Therefore, the kind of data that a researcher needs depends on the questions to be answered and the methods used to answer them (Wassenich, 2007:2). This study sought to answer the questions on transition experiences and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls from two institutions in Highfield, Harare. This chapter discusses the research approach, type of research, research design, study population, sampling, data collection instruments as well as the pilot study. It discusses qualitative and quantitative data analysis as well as ethical issues addressed in relation to data collection, analysis and interpretation and how the issues of validity, reliability and trustworthiness were addressed throughout the study. In the ensuing section, the research approach is discussed.

4.2. Research approach: Mixed methodology

Researchers who advocate for either quantitative or qualitative research paradigms have often found themselves in continuous rivalry. According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:15), quantitative purists (*positivists*) contend that social research should be objective, with hypotheses empirically tested and free from bias and emotional attachment whilst qualitative purist (*constructivists and interpretivists*) believe in the construction of multiple realities, with logic flowing from specific to general and links being formed between the researcher and subject, who is the source of reality. Although both purists view their paradigms as ideal, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, (2004:15) argue that the third research paradigm (mixed methods) is more advantageous in that “it draws on the strengths and minimises the weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative methods in single research studies or across studies.” Thus, in this study, the researcher used the mixed methodology to

evaluate the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls both inside and outside institutional care.

Mixed methods research are a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques, methods, approaches and concepts used in a single study (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:17). As cited by Schurink, Fouché and De Vos (2011:420), “data from different sources can be used to corroborate, elaborate and illuminate the research in question.” Qualitative research seeks to understand and interpret the meaning of situations or events from the perspectives of the people involved and as understood by them (Spratt, Walker & Robinson, 2004:11). Qualitative approaches are more sensitive to contexts, processes and lived experiences to bring an in-depth understanding of social life (Punch, 2005:238). Using qualitative research, this study sought to understand the transition phenomena through the experiences and views of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

As noted by Creswell (2009:133), quantitative research inquires about the relationships among variables that the researcher seeks to know. This paradigm places emphasis on measurement to establish objective knowledge that exists independently of the views and values of the people involved (Spratt et al., 2004:9). Quantitative data allows for objective comparisons to be made as well as the measurement of situations and phenomena under study (Punch, 2005:238). In the same vein, this study made comparisons of the following variables;

- The transition needs of adolescent girls in institutions A and B
- The livelihood strategies for adolescent girls in institutions A and B
- The transition programme needs for adolescent girls from Institutions A and B
- The gender outcomes of transition programmes provided by institutions A and B
- The livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls from institutions A and B

4.2.1. Type of research

Contemporary evaluation research advocates for increased participation of different populations in a study. As an advocate for participatory development, this study takes on the

advocacy and participatory philosophy. As postulated by Engel and Schutt (2009:9), this philosophy addresses social issues of the day such as empowerment and contains an agenda for reform aimed at improving the lives of participants. In line with that philosophy, the type of this study is participatory action research. Participatory action research, which is sometimes referred to as action research is also defined as collective, self-reflective enquiry and is undertaken by participants in social situations to improve processes and outcomes (Miller & Brewer, 2003:5). It is also regarded as “interactive social science research, pragmatic, utilitarian, or user-oriented approach to research” (Miller & Brewer, 2003:5). By engaging members of an organisation as active participants, participatory action research raises the voices of marginalised groups as well as their consciousness on issues affecting their lives (Engel & Schutt, 2009:9). As asserted by Holland (2013:2), participatory action research provides opportunities for empowerment through the use of bottom-up approaches where knowledge is generated and analysed by local people.

As cited by Berg (2004:197), the first goal of participatory action research is to produce knowledge that will be useful to a group of people and the second goal is to enlighten or empower research participants by motivating them to take up or use information gathered in the research. Participatory action research places the “learner or beneficiary of development at the centre of enquiry and action” (Cornwall, 2014:3). Therefore, individuals participating in a participatory action research are referred to as participants or contributors instead of subjects (Berg, 2004:196). Participatory action research produces tools that enhance lives of marginalised groups and uses methods and approaches that take into account people’s history, culture, activities and emotions (Berg, 2004:197). Similarly, this study positions adolescent girls and the researcher at the heart of scientific inquiry and action through its emphasis on research processes, outcomes as well as the development of policy and programme recommendations.

As noted by Berg (2004:196), participatory action research is a “highly rigorous, yet reflective or interpretive approach to empirical research.” Participatory action research is able to measure qualitative and quantitative changes in processes and relationships, thus, can

accommodate both the contextual and standardised (Holland, 2013:8). As stated by Holland (2013:3), participatory statistics can be generated through mapping, measuring, estimating, valuing, scoring and a combination of these (Holland, 2013:3). Valuing and scoring are increasingly being used to quantify the qualitative and measure qualitative changes (Holland, 2013:6). This study uses a combination of statistics to analyse and interpret quantitative research findings.

Methodological and ethical debates exist over the use of participatory action research. Although participatory action research provides an alternative ideology that empowers research participants unlike traditional research which views participants as subjects, the focus on specific cases or contexts has raised questions on the generalisation of participatory findings (Miller & Brewer, 2003:226). However, as argued by Kelly (2007:475), participatory research attempts to achieve a balance between developing valid generalisable knowledge and benefiting the research participants and to improve research procedures by taking into account the knowledge and expertise of community members. Against this background, “participatory approaches reposition ownership and control by asking *whose reality counts?*” (Holland, 2013:2). While, only two out of scores of institutions participated in this study, the findings can be generalised nationally through the analyses of legal, policy, programme and research documents as well as the participation of experienced and knowledgeable superintendents and the district social services officer who represented the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare.

4.2.2. Research design: Mixed methods design

As cited by Punch (2005:63), a research design positions a researcher in the empirical world and connects the research questions to data. According to Punch (2005:63), a research design consists of a strategy, conceptual framework, study population and tools as well as procedures for collecting and analysing empirical data. To understand the transition phenomena, the researcher used the mixed methods research design. This design combines hypotheses, strategies and specific methods of research enquiries (Creswell, 2009:233). The mixed research design also referred to as the *third wave research movement*, makes use of

“induction (or discovery of patterns), deduction (testing of theories and hypotheses), and abduction (uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one’s results)” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:17).

By combining quantitative and qualitative approaches in one study, the researcher is not confined to a single method or approach and is able to answer a broad range of research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:21). Accordingly, mixed methods allow for “both pre-determined and emerging methods, both open and closed-ended questions, multiple forms of data drawing on all possibilities, statistical and text analysis and across databases interpretation”(Creswell, 2009:15). Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in one study also provides the basis of triangulation, where the weakness of one approach is offset by the strength of the other (Spratt et al., 2004:5). As affirmed by Bloor and Wood (2006:148), the triangulation of data enhances the validity and reliability of a study.

The motive for conducting research helps the researcher in formulating and answering research questions. In this study, the motive of the researcher was to understand the transition phenomena through an assessment of transition programmes and to establish the link between transition programmes, livelihood and gender outcomes. Therefore, the researcher sought to answer the “who, what, how and why” questions. In view of that, the study used a combination of descriptive, explanatory, exploratory and evaluation motives. According to Engel and Schutt (2009:18), descriptive research is concerned about gathering of facts to define a social phenomenon. An explanatory research seeks to identify the causes and effects of a social phenomenon and involves deductive hypothesis-testing (Engel & Schutt, 2009:20). Exploratory research, which is inductive, investigates how people in a social setting view a social phenomenon and ascribes meaning to it (Engel & Schutt, 2009:19). Evaluation research seeks to assess whether a programme has worked and achieved its intended results (Engel & Schutt, 2009:387). The main research question which this study sought to address was evaluative, thus, an evaluation strategy was more dominant than the other three forms of research.

An evaluation study is one of the feminist strategies of research which assesses the effectiveness of different actions in meeting needs and solving problems (Punch, 2005:138). While basic research seeks to describe and explore a phenomenon to generate knowledge, evaluation research is undertaken to solve an identified problem (Kelly, 2007:475). Garbarino and Holland (2009:vi) define evaluation as an assessment of a completed or on-going activity or programme, its design, implementation and results to determine the relevance and fulfilment of objectives. Programme evaluations seek to understand the nature of a problem and its complexity as well as assess the effectiveness of interventions in preventing and managing it (Kelly, 2007:466). Likewise, this study sought to understand the challenges faced by adolescent girls in transitioning from institutional care and assess the effectiveness of transition programmes in preventing and managing the challenges.

There are four categories of programme evaluation research namely needs assessment, process evaluation, outcome evaluation and efficiency evaluation (Engel & Schutt 2009:404). As cited by Engel and Schutt (2009:382), evaluation research seeks to answer the following questions;

- *Is the programme needed?*
- *How does the programme operate?*
- *What is the programme's impact?*
- *How efficient is the programme?*

Needs assessment is required to understand the level of need and this can be done through the use of multiple social indicators or variables (Engel & Schutt, 2009:382). In this study, needs assessments were classified under different asset categories. Process evaluation identifies specific aspects of the service delivery process that lead to programme outcomes and explain why a programme has an effect and the conditions suitable for those effects (Engel & Schutt, 2009:385). In this study, process evaluation entailed document analyses, an assessment of services and support, strategies as well as the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in the transition process. According to Engel and Schutt (2009:387), outcome evaluation is also known as impact or summative evaluation. This study evaluated livelihood and gender outcomes to assess the impact of transition programmes being provided by

institutions and the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services. Finally, efficiency analysis compares programme effects to cost (Engel & Schutt, 2009:389). According to Engel and Schutt (2009:391), efficiency analysis goes beyond measuring services and their associated costs to making some estimation of how clients benefit from the programme. This can be done through a comparison of some indicators of client status before and after receiving programme services or between clients who received services and a comparable group that did not (Engel & Schutt, 2009:391). As defined by Engel and Schutt (2009:381), services are units of activities undertaken by programme staff and are described in terms of frequency, number, time, duration or tangible goods. In this study, comparisons of services and support were made between institutions A and B and adolescent girls in institutions and those discharged from the same institutions. Therefore, all four categories of evaluation research were applied in this study.

Engel and Schutt (2009:376) describe the process of evaluation research in terms of a simple systems model. This system consists of inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes as defined below;

- Inputs: Resources such as clients or consumers that reflect the target population, expertise or knowledge, money, supplies or equipment.
- Processes: Services, support or treatments provided to recipients or consumers such as counselling, living allowances, meals and life skills training.
- Outputs: Direct products of the programme service delivery process, for example; number of clients served, case files reviewed and number of meals served. Programme outputs may be desirable or not desirable.
- Outcomes: The impact of the programme on the recipients of the services and support. Examples include; improved social functioning, improved job-seeking skills, reduced child abuse reports. Programme outcomes may be positive or negative.

Finally, evaluation research can be equated to a black box. As suggested by Engel and Schutt (2009:405), “there is a good reason to open the black box and investigate the process by which the programme operates and produces, or fail to produce an effect.” Similarly, the

transition phenomena is the black box and this study sought to open it and investigate the processes by which transition programmes operate and produce or fail to produce successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls in the institutional context.

4.2.3. Study population and sampling

Punch (2005:293) defines a population as a target group, usually large of whom knowledge is to be developed while a sample is a smaller group which is drawn from a larger population to be studied. As asserted by Punch (2005:188), the sampling plan and parameters should be in tandem with the purpose and research questions of the study. Thus in this study, the researcher applied both the quantitative and qualitative techniques. In quantitative research, probability sampling seeks to measure variables taken from a sample for its representativeness whilst in qualitative research non-probability sampling seeks to reflect the diversity of samples (Barbour, 2008:83). The parameters for probability sampling are restrictive and allows for the researcher to make inferential hypothesis tests using some statistical techniques whilst non-probability samples can provide access to “otherwise highly sensitive and difficult-to-research populations” (Berg, 2004:34).

4.2.3.1. Superintendents

The study population comprised superintendents of the two institutions and the district social services officer. The two institutions represented different living arrangements with Institution A having a dormitory-type and Institution B a family-type set-up. The institutions’ heads or superintendents were engaged in the study on the basis of their seniority and experience of working with the respective institutions. Two superintendents representing Institutions A and B participated in the study. The superintendents are responsible for the provision of transition programmes to all children in their respective institutions and were able to provide critical data on transition policies and programmes. They are also aware of gender-specific challenges being faced in preparing adolescent girls for successful transitions post institutional care. In some cases, they maintain contact with adolescent girls that have left the institutions for post care support.

4.2.3.2. District social services officer

The district social services officer (DSSO) was engaged in the study to represent the department of Child Welfare and Probation Services under the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare. The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services maintains files of young people within institutions and those that have left institutional care. Each institution has a designated social worker or probation officer who manages cases of children of in the respective institution and those that have exited. The social workers are involved in implementing transition programmes and they report to the district services officer (DSSO). The DSSO over-see transition programmes, represents the government and helps in interpreting the child protection and care policies at the district level. Due to the reports produced and cases being handled by the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services, the DSSO is aware of the gender-specific challenges relating to transitions and the various kinds of services and support available to adolescent girls at district level and beyond.

4.2.3.3. Adolescent girls inside institutions

The population size of adolescents in the institutions and those who already exit is not known to the researcher. The researcher had to obtain information from the respective institutions. Initially, the researcher proposed to use the quota sampling technique to select the adolescents in the institutions. According to Neumann (1997:221), quota sampling is a non-random sampling for which the researcher first identifies general categories into which cases of people will be selected and then selects cases to reach a pre-determined number of cases in each category. The category the researcher sought to use was the ages of girls. However, following the pilot, it became apparent that the quota sampling method was not feasible. The researcher noted the age variances of children in the institutions with the largest population being children below the age of 15. Some adolescent girls were in institutions as a place of safety for shorter periods during which cases of alleged abuse were being investigated in the courts. Additionally, there were increased child movements from institutions due to a reunification programme currently being implemented by the Government of Zimbabwe in partnership with the Child Protection Society. Thus, some

adolescent girls aged from 16 to 19 had left the institution to be reunited with their families and relatives in the community.

To sample the adolescent girls in the two institutions, the researcher initially requested a list of names of girls aged 16 to 19, who had at least three years or less before leaving institutional care. Based on the age categories, 8 girls were to be selected per institution using the quota sampling method. In this study, where the sample is 16, the researcher had proposed to have the girls in four age categories of 16, 17, 18 and 19 and interview two girls per each age category. However, from the list of adolescent girls obtained from the institutional heads, the researcher realised that the available adolescent girls could not be equally assigned into age-based groups of two. To this end, the researcher made a decision to use availability or convenience sampling instead of the quota sampling technique. With the latter technique, participants of a study are selected because they are available or easy to find (Engel & Schutt 2009:132). As cited by Berg (2004:35), convenience sampling a less expensive way of obtaining information quickly. According to Engel and Schutt (2009:132), availability samples are common techniques used by many agencies to evaluate the success of their programmes. However, one of the weaknesses of this technique is that the sample is made up of whoever is available without considering the similarity to the population of interest (Engel & Schutt, 2009:132). Using this technique, names of all adolescent girls aged from 15 to 18 within the two institutions were identified. The researcher sought the girls' assent to ensure that the girls whose names were available were willing to participate in the interviews and focus group discussions

4.2.3.4. Adolescent girls discharged from institutions

For adolescent girls discharged from care, the researcher used the cluster sampling method. The sample was drawn from a population of females aged 18 to 21 who had left institutional over a period of three years. Neumann (1997:233) defines a cluster sample as a random sample in which the researcher uses multiple stages to cover wide geographic areas where units are selected and samples drawn from the clusters. Cluster sampling is less expensive on travel costs when a population is spread across a wide geographic area (Engel & Schutt

2009:130). Contact details of the adolescent girls who had left care were obtained from institutions' discharge files and the database of the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services and the Child Protection Society. The researcher was given cellphone numbers and home addresses. She phoned the guardians of the girls to seek for consent and then the girls to check their willingness to participate in the study. From those willing to participate, the researcher drew a sample of 16 girls. These were divided into clusters based on accessibility and proximity to each other, starting with those nearest and ending with those further apart. The researcher then visited their homes to conduct interviews as well as observations.

4.4. Data collection

Data collection is concerned about the instruments to be used and procedures for administering the instruments (Punch, 2005:267). In this study, quantitative and qualitative data were collected concurrently in one phase (Creswell, 2009: 213). To collect data from adolescent girls in institution, face to face interviews and focus group discussions methods were used. Data on transition programming were collected through face to face interviews with two superintendents and the DSSO. Documents on transition programming in the public domain were analysed. To assess the gender outcomes of transition programmes, two superintendents completed the self-administered questionnaires designed by the researcher. Data on adolescent girls discharged from the two institutions were collected through face to face interviews and direct observations. The researcher took notes and made audio recordings of interviews and focus group discussions. She also maintained a field diary which she used for her personal reflections. The diary was used as an audit trail as the researcher was able to record changes in observations, relationships and methodology. The researcher also recorded decisions made during the study, appointments and details of meetings held. The researcher also used the diary to monitor the progress of the study. The researcher was not able to find a tape recorder as originally intended but she make systematic audio recordings using a mobile phone. Using a mobile phone's audio recording function, the participants' as well as researcher's voices were recorded during interviews and focus group discussions.

The data collection process commenced with a pilot, which was conducted in two institutions in Harare (Institutions C and D) see bullet 4.6. The pilot was followed by four rounds of data collection for the main study. The first round entailed the compilation of documents relating to the transitions of young people in general and in the context of institutional care. In the second round, interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with adolescent girls in the participating institutions. The third round involved interviews and the administration of gender assessment questionnaires to institutional heads representing the participating institutions. In the final round, interviews were conducted and observations made on adolescent girls discharged from the two institutions. The district social services officer was also interviewed in this final round.

Next to be discussed are the data collection tools used.

4.4.1. Face to face interviews

Face to face interviews were conducted to establish livelihood assets, transition needs, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes for 16 adolescent girls in the two institutions and 16 who have left the institutions (see Appendices 1 and 2). Furthermore, two superintendents and the district social services officer were interviewed individually to assess the types of transition programmes being provided (see Appendices 3 and 4 respectively). The interviews were conducted using semi-structured interview schedules which include both quantitative and qualitative questions. According to Miller and Brewer (2003:167), semi-structured questions contain specific topics and questions that the interviewer decides in advance and the questions can be both open-ended and close-ended. In this study, open-ended questions were used allowing the researcher to probe further and get more in-depth information. Close-ended questions were used to collect quantitative data. Face to face interviews are popular among feminist researchers who are able to access “people’s perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of realities” (de Leeuw, 2009:317; Punch, 2005:168).

4.4.2. Documents Analyses

The availability of data on certain topics influence the direction of research, therefore the use of documents requires an analytic approach called content analysis (Hofferth, 2005:896). According to Creswell (2009:231), the researcher is able to select documents with the content that will best help in understanding the research problem and questions. As asserted by Prior (2009:490), documents consist of words, sentences and phrases, which can be counted, classified and/or compared. As a resource, the words or texts can be used as evidence or facts (Prior, 2009:491). According to Punch (2005:184), documents can be diaries, letters, institutional memoranda, reports, government pronouncements and proceedings. Punch (2005:58) gives three approaches of document analyses namely content analysis, interpretive and critical approach. Content analysis is whereby the content of a document is examined to establish the surface rather than hidden meanings, interpretive approach explores the meanings of a social phenomenon as assigned by authors or document users and the critical approach focuses on the relationship between documents and aspects of social structure. In this study, the researcher used all the three approaches to explore the meaning of the transition phenomena and establish the relationship between what is documented and the realities on the ground.

The researcher had no access to institutional reports on transition service delivery because they were not available in the public domain. However, government publications available in the public domain were used and these include the Children's Protection and Adoption Act, Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy, National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children, Institutional Capacity Assessment (Department of Social Services) and National Residential Child Care Standards among others. These official documents provided a basis for understanding transitions of vulnerable young people in the Zimbabwean context. They gave a rich source of administrative data as well as legislative, policy and programme guidelines in the provision of services and support to orphans and other vulnerable children. For example, the National Residential Child Care Standards was particularly useful as a benchmark for evaluating transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls transitioning from the two institutions in Highfield, Harare.

4.4.3. Focus Group Discussions

Two focus groups discussions were held with 16 adolescent girls (8 girls from each institution). A focus group is a group of 6-12 participants with an interviewer asking questions about a particular topic (Smithson, 2009:358). With focus groups, the researcher is able to develop ideas collectively, allowing participants to express their views and experiences freely (Smithson, 2009:359). According to Barbour (2008:134), focus groups encourage people to address an issue collectively where individuals may have devoted minimal attention. In focus groups, participants may be free to speak on sensitive issues rather than give personal details of their lives as individuals (Smithson, 2009:361).

For triangulation purposes, the same questions used for face to face were used for focus group discussions (see Appendix 1). The same 16 girls who participated as individuals in the face to face interviews were invited to participate in the focus group discussions. The groups met at a time convenient to both the girls and their care-givers. To enhance the effectiveness of the method, the researcher and girls agreed on a list of rules to be observed during and after the meetings (Smithson, 2009:361). The rules included the importance of maintaining confidentiality and anonymity as well as respecting each other's views.

4.4.4. Self-Administered questionnaires

In this study, gender assessment questionnaires were administered to two superintendents representing Institutions A and B. The tool sought to establish whether the transition programmes being provided by the two participating institutions were gender-sensitive and whether there was gender equality in the institutions. With self-administered questionnaires, “the interviewer remains at a respectful distance but also is available for instructions and assistance” (de Leeuw, 2009:323). According to de Leeuw (2009:323), self-administered questionnaires require the respondents to fill in the questionnaires on their own, thus the interviewer does not have any influence on the responses provided. They also allow for privacy and self-disclosure (de Leeuw, 2009:323).

The researcher ensured that the questionnaires were well-written, with information flowing to maintain the motivation of the respondents (de Leeuw, 2009:316). In this study, the researcher used a self-designed gender questionnaire. The questionnaire had pictures of girls and boys and provided responses classified in terms of levels of access to different kinds of assets and activities performed by gender type. The respondent was required to tick the box with the most appropriate response. The questionnaire was structured in line with the sustainable livelihood approach and categorised in terms of human, physical, financial, social and public assets (see Appendix 5).

4.4.5. Direct Observation

According to Clark, Holand, Katz and Peace (2009:348), direct observation gives an opportunity for the documentation of the life world of the individuals who may not be in a position to express their experiences verbally as well as the privilege to observe the activities and practices of everyday life. Observations can be categorised in three ways. As asserted by Agrosino (2005:730), participant observation is whereby a researcher stays with host communities for longer periods taking part in the daily life activities, reactive observation is whereby participants only associate with the researcher in a controlled setting and is aware that they are being observed and unobtrusive observation is conducted without the knowledge of people being observed. In this study, participants were informed about the observation process and did not mind being observed. For the observation to be successful, the researcher needs to develop strategies for entering the field, recording and analysing notes collected in the field (Engel & Schutt, 2009:340). The strategies employed in this study included a debriefing session which helped in establishing rapport and building trust. Secondly, the researcher used the semi-structured interview schedule to collect information relevant to the study. The researcher recorded some key points and notes observed and would ask questions to clarify some observations.

The researcher used direct observations as a triangulation strategy to ensure that the data collected through face to face interviews tallied with what was being observed on the ground. Data collected from direct observations helped in constructing the biographies of

participants as well as interpret their social and economic conditions. The researcher made observations on livelihood assets adolescent girls had access to, livelihood strategies employed, livelihood needs as well as livelihood outcomes. Additionally, the researcher observed some gender-based activities, relationships and roles being performed by respective participants such as caring for children and other domestic chores.

4.5. Data analysis

Data analysis is guided by evaluation objectives and helps to bring order and meaning to data collected in the study. Using sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical frameworks, this study evaluated adolescent girls' transitions and livelihood outcomes during and after institutional care. The sustainable livelihood framework as a tool for analysis assesses the underlying causes of poverty and factors that contribute to sustainable livelihood outcomes (Kranz 2001:4). As noted by Brock (1999:3), the sustainable livelihoods framework shows the kinds of livelihood assets being accessed, livelihood strategies being pursued and institutional factors that influence sustainable livelihood outcomes. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 4.1 below.

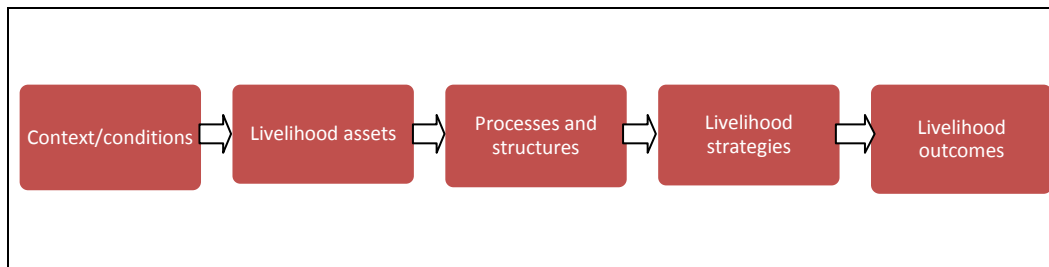


Figure 4.1: Sustainable livelihood approach domains for analysis

As asserted by Thomas (2006:239), “data analysis is guided by evaluation objectives, which identify domains and topics to be investigated.” Accordingly, this study evaluated adolescent girls' transitions and livelihood outcomes during and after care using the domains as illustrated by Figure 4.1 above. Through document reviews and observations, a contextual analysis was conducted to locate adolescent girls in the institutional context, their biographies as well as the legislative and policy framework guiding the provision of transition programmes. The researcher conducted a livelihood analysis where adolescent

girls identified human, social, financial, public and physical assets being accessed during and after institutional care. An institutional analysis which entailed the assessment of services being provided, stakeholder roles and capacity was carried out using semi-structured interview schedules and document analysis. The researcher also analysed livelihood strategies being adopted by adolescent girls in pursued by adolescent girls during and after care. The researcher then analysed the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls to assess the effectiveness of the transition programmes being provided by the two institutions.

As stated by Kranzt (2001:25), the DFID's sustainable livelihood approach pays special attention to vulnerable groups, such as women and girls. As a flexible analysis tool, the issues on gender are mainstreamed in the SLA through gender analysis. In line with the feminist theoretical approaches, the researcher conducted gender analysis using gender assessment questionnaires administered to superintendents and measured the level of access to transition programmes, participation in decision-making as well as activities inside and outside the institution by adolescent girls and boys. Gender-specific needs assessments were carried out to establish both the practical and strategic needs of adolescent girls inside and outside institutional care. The sustainable livelihood and feminist theories therefore provide a framework for data analysis and programme evaluation. Thus, as postulated by Creswell (2009:66), theories can be used deductively and inductively in mixed research studies.

As asserted by Thomas (2006:238), evaluation research uses both deductive and inductive analyses. Inductive analysis is whereby a researcher allows theory to emerge from data collected whilst deductive analysis tests whether data is consistent with previously held assumptions, theories or hypotheses (Thomas, 2006:238). In this study, both inductive and deductive analyses were used to evaluate the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context. This study, which used mixed-methods approaches analysed qualitative and quantitative data. As postulated by Holland (2013:88),

...the purpose of employing a mixed methods approach is to enable participants to engage with the data and contextualise it in several different ways to ensure rigorous evaluation and triangulation, eliciting multiple perspectives and aspects of the complex issues and questions that arise.

The ensuing discusses the steps followed in analysing qualitative and quantitative data.

4.5.1. Analysing qualitative data

To analyse qualitative data, the researcher used a hierarchical data analysis approach by Creswell (2009:185). Firstly, the researcher organised the raw data comprising field notes and diary as well as transcripts of interview and focus group discussions. As defined by Barbour (2008:193), transcription is a transformational process which converts a live conversation into a textual representation of text. Since, the interviews and focus group discussions were conducted systematically using semi-structured interview schedules (with pseudonyms), the researcher was able to identify individual and group voices during transcription. To ensure that there was a shared understanding of words and meanings, interviews and focus group discussions were conducted mostly in English as most of the girls were conversant with the language. However, some adolescent girls preferred to use the mother tongue (Shona) especially when they wanted to stress a point or express strong feelings. The researcher would at times use Shona to probe further or define new words/terms to participants. For example, the researcher on several occasions would explain terms such as sustainable livelihoods. To ensure that accurate information had been captured during the transcription process, the researcher shared the transcripts and recordings with an external auditor to verify.

Secondly, the researcher read and re-read the data to get a general sense of the information (Creswell 2009:185). After reading through data several times, the researcher captured data electronically using Microsoft Word package. The third stage entailed the coding of data. Creswell (2009:185) defines coding as “a process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning into information.” Coding of data involves categorising and labelling with a term to generate descriptions of themes. A theme is defined as a “pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon” (Boyatzis 1998:161). To demonstrate rigor, the researcher used *thematic analysis*, a hybrid approach which incorporates the data-driven inductive approach and the deductive template *a priori*

approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006:4). According to Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006:4), “this approach complements the research questions by allowing the tenets of social phenomenology to be integral to the process of deductive thematic analysis while allowing for themes to emerge direct from the data using inductive coding.” According to Fereday & Muir-Cochrane (2006:4-5), the stages of coding involve the development of a coding template with code names or labels, definition of the themes and description of themes. In this regard, two types of codes were developed namely (*in vivo* and *a priori*). *In vivo* codes are derived from participants’ words and concepts whilst *a priori* codes are based on the researcher’s categorisations (Barbour 2008:197). As the data analysis was largely manual, the researcher used numbers, letters and colours codes which were easier to use and follow. Examples of codes developed include context, participants’ views, process, strategy and relationship codes.

The second step involved the testing of codes to ensure reliability and applicability. The test was conducted by giving the external auditor the codes and field notes which were then compared against the researcher’s. The third stage entailed summarising data and identifying initial themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane 2006:5). This process entailed reading, listening and paraphrasing raw data. The next step involved the application of codes from the template to identify meaningful units to the text and the development of additional codes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane 2006:6). Inductive codes were assigned to transcripts with emerging themes and the codes from the code template were matched with segments of data representing the respective codes. The fifth stage involved connecting codes and identifying themes and this entailed discovering patterns of data relating to research questions (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane 2006:6). During this stage differences or similarities were identified between the responses provided by different groups, that is, adolescent girls inside and outside (Institutions A and B). The final stage of the coding process entailed corroborating and legitimating coded themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane 2006:7). During this stage, the researcher scrutinised data to ensure that the themes represented the initial data analysis and assigned codes. The researcher also checked to confirm if themes were in line with the

sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical approaches and also verified if they addressed the objectives of the evaluation study.

The fourth step in qualitative data analysis entailed the description of themes (Creswell, 2009:189). The researcher used the themes to create headings in the findings section of the study. According to Creswell (2009:189), during this stage, the researcher connects “themes into a story line (as in narratives) or develop them into a theoretical model (as in grounded theory).” In the ensuing stage, the themes are presented in qualitative narratives to convey findings of the analysis. This can be done through a detailed discussion of themes with sub-themes and researchers can also use visuals, figures or tables as adjuncts to the discussions (Creswell, 2009:189). In this study, the researcher discussed themes and sub-themes with specific illustrations (tables, figures) as well as quotations representing the voices of adolescent girls, superintendents and the district social services officer. The final step of qualitative data analysis involves making an interpretation of data (Creswell, 2009:189). At this stage, the meanings are derived from a comparison of findings based on literature or theories as well as the researcher’s experiences. In this study, the researcher used literature on youth transitions, sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical approaches as well as her experiences to interpret data as well as confirm research findings.

4.5.2. Analysing quantitative data

As cited by Holland (2013:2), “participatory statistics are generated within a paradigm of participatory research.” Participatory statistics are used for monitoring and evaluating programmes and they produce quantitative data in ways that empower local people to take action that transforms their relationships with service providers and officials. According to Garbarino and Holland (2009:8), participatory numbers can be generated in context but can also be scaled up through participatory surveys or group-based scoring and ranking activities. Therefore, statistical analysis from participatory research can contribute to evidence-based decision-making and policy implementation both at national and international levels (Holland, 2013:8).

The researcher was guided by the six steps of analysing and interpreting quantitative data proposed by Creswell (2009:151). The first step involved reporting of quantitative data collected from participants. In this study, quantitative data were collected using some sections of semi-structured interview schedules and gender assessment questionnaires. Accordingly, responses were received from 32 adolescent girls, 2 superintendents and the district social services officer. The second step included checking for non-response. Fortunately, the response rate was 100 percent; hence there were no response bias. The debriefing strategy used before conducting interviews and focus group discussions as well as the youth-friendly research instruments used in the study resulted in high response rates. The third step comprised the development of a plan for making descriptive analysis of independent and dependent variables and establishing a range of scores for the respective variables. The researcher decided on ways of generating statistics that measure different variables and these included counting, calculating, estimating, valuing, scoring and comparing. As noted by Holland (2013:6), the process of valuing is widely being used by development agencies to generate data that quantify the qualitative thus measuring changes in processes and relationships. The fourth step involved the development of statistical procedures and checking for reliability. The researcher developed statistical procedures to measure different variables for analysis such as allocating scores to variables representing every member of a sample (Punch, 2005:109). Using Microsoft Excel package, each individual score was tabulated in terms of numbers or percentages and results were displayed as frequency distribution tables or graphs (Punch, 2005:111). The fifth step identified statistics for testing research questions and hypotheses which relate to “variables or compare groups so that inferences can be drawn from the sample to a population” (Creswell, 2009:153). As cited by Creswell (2009:4), quantitative data provides a means for testing theories and examine relationships among variables. As a result, comparisons are widely used as way of testing theories or relationships (Holland, 2013:5). According to Punch (2005:113), the easiest form of comparing groups is when there is only one way of classifying people which is referred to as one-way analysis of variance or one way ANOVA. The researcher used the one-way analysis to test sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical approaches through comparing different variables between groups of adolescent

girls inside and outside Institutions A and B. The sixth step was about presenting and interpreting results. Using the Microsoft Excel computer, the researcher produced graphs and tables to represent the results. From these results, the researcher drew some conclusions from the research questions, hypothesis and theory. In this study, the results answered the research questions, supported the hypothesis as well as sustainable livelihoods and feminist theoretical approaches. As such, the researcher was able to discuss the implications of the results for practice and put forward some recommendations.

4.5.3. Validity, reliability and trustworthiness

According to Creswell (2009:19), validity means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of findings whilst reliability confirms that the findings are consistent across different researchers and projects. As noted by Schurink et al. (2011:420), the researcher should ask whether the “findings of the research can be transferred from a specific situation to another.” This is challenging and requires the researcher to “refer back to the original theoretical framework to show how data collection and analysis will be guided by concepts and models” (Schurink et al., 2011:420). In this study, validity was enhanced through triangulation of data sources and examining evidence from the sources for accuracy. The researcher also engaged an external auditor, who is an experienced researcher who reviewed the entire project. To ensure reliability, Creswell (2009:190) suggests checking the transcripts for mistakes, ensuring that the definition and meaning of codes are matching, communicating effectively during research meetings and sharing of analysis. The researcher checked the codes and their meanings for congruency, reviewed data to check for mistakes and shared analysis with the research promoter for cross-checking and comments.

Trustworthiness ensures dependability of the study, where the researcher asks whether the research process is logical, well-documented and audited (Schurink, et al., 2011:420). It is established when findings are able to mirror the meanings as described by the participants (Lietz, Langer & Furman, 2006:444). The researcher should be able to provide evidence that support the findings and interpretation using the audit trail and should be able to account for changing conditions in the observations (Thyer, 2010:356; Schurink et al., 2011:421). To

ensure trustworthiness in analysing and interpreting qualitative data, the researcher used an audit trail. An audit trail is a document which states how decisions in research design are made and how the methods and interpretations have evolved (Thyer, 2010:356). It reviews three areas namely; the raw data, analysis and interpretation as well as the findings (Thyer, 2010:360). In this study, the researcher made an account for any variations through an external auditor who cross-checked the field notes, interview schedules, code template, write-ups as well as the analysis and interpretations. The external auditor possesses a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Social Work and is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Social Work, Harare, Zimbabwe.

4.5.4. Reflexivity

Reflexivity harmonises theory and practice as the researcher is able to reflect and examine assumptions and methods made whilst on the other hand, the participant reflects and examines the value of knowledge generated (Miller and Brewer 2003:225). According to Creswell (2009:233), reflexivity means that “researchers reflect about how their biases, values and personal backgrounds, such as gender, history, culture, socio-economic status, shape their interpretations formed during the study.” As postulated by Miller and Brewer (2003:5), participatory action research is both a collective and reflective enquiry undertaken to improve the social conditions of participants and focuses on processes and outcomes, making it a means to an end and not an end in itself. As affirmed by Garbarino and Holland (2009:8),

...participatory research simply uses a suite of participatory methods to improve outsiders’ understanding of local context (while adhering to certain ethical principles relating to behaviour, transparency and ownership). At its most political, participatory research is a process in which reflection is internalised and promotes raised political consciousness. In this way, population involvement in research shifts from passive to active.

Based on the rich literature available on adolescent’ transitions in developed countries, the researcher was concerned about studies detailing negative social and economic livelihood outcomes associated with the transitions of youth involved in the child welfare system. Her argument was that if adolescents growing in well-resourced institutions and in countries that

have stronger social welfare systems are having challenging transitions, how much more those living in resource-constrained institutions and countries. The other issue was on gender-based constraints. Studies in recent years have shown how complicated adolescent girls' transitions are as a result of the effects of poverty, civil strife, HIV/Aids and gender-based violence. The assumption of the researcher was that if children with familial support are exposed to such risks, therefore adolescent girls in the institutional context are likely to be in great danger. Thirdly, the researcher grew up in a community characterised by poverty, social problems and lack of developmental opportunities, thus making her adolescent years difficult. However, through her faith and support from her late mother and mentors, she endeavoured to transform her life as well as make a difference in the lives of others. Finally, the researcher had the opportunity of volunteering for a community-based organisation where over a period of ten years, she was able to interact with vulnerable orphaned girls living with extended families in the community. Against this background, the researcher was able connect with the adolescent girls and understand the complex challenges they encountered in their transitions and empathised with them. However, beyond empathy the researcher envisaged adolescent girls as active development agents who had an important role in shaping their destinies. According to the researcher, the study was not only about collecting data to fulfil the requirements of her doctoral thesis, but was about producing knowledge that would stimulate action towards poverty eradication and development of gender-sensitive transition policies and programmes that promote sustainable livelihoods beyond care.

One of the agenda's of evaluation research is the empowerment of vulnerable groups through the research process. In this study, empowerment occurred during debriefing sessions, interviews and focus group discussions and informal feedback meetings held after the data collection process. Participation in the study gave amplified voices of adolescent girls as they were able to evaluate their current transition needs as well as strategise for better livelihood outcomes. Therefore, adolescent girls as key stakeholders in transition process, have some interests on the outcomes of the study. Although, the researcher had clarified the goal and objectives of the study beforehand and the participants had signed

assent forms, they still had greater expectations from both the researcher and knowledge generated from the study. The participants needed urgent solutions to the transition challenges being faced inside and outside institutional care. The participants also questioned whether the knowledge produced from the study was going to translate into tangible interventions that would help them achieve their livelihood goals. According to them, collecting data on their transitions alone was not enough if the evidence generated was not going to make a difference in their lives. After interviews, some adolescent girls outside care would ask the researcher for support in looking for domestic work, accessing small loans and paying school fees while other girls in institutions made requests to visit the researcher's home during school holidays or if the researcher would buy them some school shoes. In that regard, the researcher was saddened as she was not able to attend to the requests at the moment but was able to provide possible resources to contact.

4.6. Pilot study

Piloting is a “small scale replica and rehearsal of the main study and it gives an advance warning about where the main research could fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated” (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001:1). A pilot study is also undertaken in order to check the clarity of questions, relevancy and time needed to complete questions (de Leeuw, 2009:318; Engel & Schutt, 2009:273).

The researcher conducted a pilot study in two institutions in Harare, one governed by a religious body (Institution C) and the other privately-owned (Institution D). The living arrangements were dormitory and family-style respectively. These two institutions did not participate in the main study. To test the methods chosen and instruments designed, the research protocol was followed to ensure that the pilot was a replica of the main study. Firstly, the researcher described the nature of the study, the reason for conducting the pilot and the outputs from the process to the participants. Before, conducting the pilot, the researcher sought the consent and assent of superintendents and adolescent girls respectively.

The researcher then interviewed two adolescent girls from each institution and conducted group discussions with four girls, two from each institution. Two girls who had left the two institutions within a period of three years were interviewed and observed. The superintendents in each institution and a social worker were interviewed. A gender assessment tool was administered to the superintendents of both institutions. To maintain the objectivity of the pilot study, the researcher requested for honest feedback from the participants. The feedback received from the participants assisted the researcher in assessing the effectiveness of the sampling methods and research instruments and as a result some modifications were made. The modifications are discussed hereunder.

4.6.1. Review of sampling methods

To test the sampling methods to be used, the researcher requested for a list of adolescent girls within the institution. Since the pilot required fewer girls from a fairly larger population, two girls from the list were selected. However, as previously indicated), on analysing the demographic profile of adolescent girls in the two institutions, the researcher realised that it was going to be difficult to use the proposed quota sampling method in the main study because of age variances (see 4.3.2.3). The majority of the girls' ages ranged from 15 to 18 instead of 16 to 19 years initially proposed. However, for the girls who had left institutional care, the cluster sampling method was still relevant because a sizable number of girls had exited within the three year period. At this point, the decision was made to change the sampling method for adolescent girls within the two institutions.

4.6.2. Review of research tools

It was also necessary to get feedback on the instruments used to check whether the participants understood the flow, meanings, sensitivity and complexity of the questions. Therefore, before administering the tools to participants in the main study, the researcher used the feedback obtained from the pilot to review and revise the main research instruments. The following changes were made to the tools:

4.6.2.1. Semi-structured interview schedules

The semi-structured interview schedules were reviewed following the feedback from adolescent girls, heads of institutions and a social worker. Under the category of Social Assets, in order to get constructive responses, the question on marriage preparation was rephrased as follows: Do you have a romantic relationship?

Question 2.1 was rephrased to read: *What are the five immediate livelihood needs you have as an adolescent girl living in an institution?* The initial question was: *What are your transition needs within the institution?* The term “transition” was too complicated for the girls, thus they were unable to articulate their needs. The same was done for the questionnaire of adolescent girls outside institutional care. However, when simplified, it was easy to draw some meaningful responses. Question 2.1 from the semi-structured interview schedule for the institutional head was rephrased from: *What are the needs that the institution has in order to develop transition programmes for adolescent girls to:* What does the institution require in order to cater for adolescent girls’ livelihood needs in the institution?

Question 2.2 which read: *List the 5 transition programmes that you consider critical for sustainable livelihoods in the institution,* was changed to: *List the 5 transition programme needs that you consider critical to prepare you for a sustainable livelihood when you leave institutional care.* The decision to change or rephrase the question was that the researcher was getting the same responses she was getting from question 2.1, thus question 2.2 was not helpful in providing information on preparation for life post institutional care. The new question was well understood and enabled adolescent girls to reflect on the types of transition programmes and assistance they needed to prepare them for life post institutional care.

The major change on the tool was the removal of question 2.3: *Rank the 5 transition needs in order of importance?* This question proved to be complex to the adolescent girls both inside and out of institutional care who could not make up their minds on what they

considered to be of greater importance considering that all their transition needs were critical to their survival and success in life. The case was also the same for the interview schedules for the Head of Social Services and Heads of institutions. Although the latter respondents are experienced enough to articulate the programmatic needs of the institutions they represent, it was difficult for them to rank the needs, because all the transition needs identified were considered to be both urgent and important. Therefore, the original question 2.3 was removed from all the semi-structured interview schedules.

4.6.3. Focus group discussions and direct observations

The focus group discussions protocols did not require any improvements. However, feedback from the participants of the pilot gave the researcher some useful insights on how to get the most out of the discussions and what to consider for maximum participation, especially in establishing rapport. The interviews with adolescent girls outside care also provided hints on what to look out for in observing the living conditions of participants.

4.7. Ethical considerations

Although social work research is conducted to benefit the society, institutions and individuals, researchers should be aware of ethical issues in the research process and find measures to address the challenges that may arise (Creswell, 2009:88). Research ethics should inform the research process right from conception to the communication of the research findings (Cousins & Milner, 2007:448). Bloor and Wood (2006:64), define “ethics as guidelines or sets for good professional practice, which serve to advise and steer researchers as they conduct their work.” Research ethics help to manage the expectations by defining the rights and responsibilities of researchers and participants. Since researchers deal with people and issues affecting them, they need to “protect their participants; develop a trust with them; promote the integrity of the research; guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organizations or institutions and cope with new challenging problems” (Creswell, 2009:87). Therefore as asserted by Viviers and Lombard (2013:8), there should be an ethical framework that ensures that children’s “participation is facilitated in a manner consistent with children’s rights.” In that regard, the researcher

ensured that the research served the best interest of adolescent girls and that their right to participate without fear or intimidation and having their views and opinions respected was observed.

Creswell (2009:88-92) categorises the ethical issues of a research study in terms of the research problem, purpose and questions, data collection, analysis and interpretation, writing and disseminating of research which will next be discussed.

4.7.1. Ethical issues in the research problem

In identifying a research problem or issue to study, the researcher needs to identify a topic that will benefit the individuals participating in the study and not further marginalise or disempower them (Creswell, 2009:88). The researcher needs to ask whether the research will have a meaningful contribution to the participants and researcher (Punch, 2005:277). As cited by Punch (2005:138), the knowledge obtained from the research creates the potential for change because the lack of research on certain vulnerable populations can perpetuate powerlessness. In this study, the researcher's intention was to empower the participants through participation in the research and dissemination of the research findings.

4.7.2. Ethical issues in the purpose and questions

The researcher needs to convey the research's purpose, questions and sponsor of the study (Creswell, 2009:29). In this study, the researcher provided the required information by using the consent/assent forms and permission request letters to respective institutions' heads. Furthermore, the researcher was granted permission to conduct the research from the Ministry of Labour and Social Services and a letter was issued to that effect. Additionally, the researcher wrote request letters to the respective institutional heads, who signed the letters to signify acceptance. However, due to the confidential nature of this study, the three letters have not been attached since they bear the names of the respective institutions. These written requests outlined the research goal, purpose and contribution of the study. The researcher also attached a supporting cover letter from the University of Pretoria (Department of Social Work and Criminology).

4.7.3. Ethical issues in data collection

Research that involves children are sensitive, therefore researchers need to ensure that institutions understand the risks and benefits of studies requesting their participation. According to Viviers (2014:2), children have a right to share their views, opinions and ideas in an environment where they are safe, comfortable and free from harm. In collecting data, the researcher needs to respect the participants and the sites for research by assessing the potential risks such as physical, psychological, social, economic and legal harm (Creswell, 2009:89). The researcher needs to consider the special needs of vulnerable populations, particularly minors below the age of 18 (Viviers, 2014:3). To address these risks, the researcher developed informed consent and assent letters (see Appendices 6, 7, 8 and 9). These letters inform the participants of their choice to participate in the study (Berg, 2004:64). The researcher obtained informed consent and assent from superintendents and adolescent girls participating in the study respectively. According to Ryne (2007:219), signing informed consent/assent forms mean that the research participants are aware of the nature of the research and are informed of their rights. As guided by Creswell (2009:89), the consent/assent letters in this study contained information that identified the researcher, the name of university, purpose of research, benefits for participating, level and type of participation, notable risks, guarantee of confidentiality, assurance that participant can withdraw at any time and provision of names of persons to contact if questions arise.

Cousins and Milner (2007:448) argue that research with minors must carry an awareness of their vulnerability at the same time respecting their autonomy. According to Stalker, Carpenter, Connors and Phillips (2004:380), ethical considerations for data collection should promote children's right to speak and to be heard at the same time protecting them from physical and emotional harm. To avoid physical and emotional harm, the interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in a safe and child-friendly environment. The researcher should create rapport to promote openness and trust, whilst respecting cultural diversity (Cousins & Milner, 2007:453). According to Engel and Schutt (2009:338), the "researcher will identify negative feelings and help distressed children to cope through debriefing or referring them for professional help" In this study, the researcher had a

debriefing session with the girls and through her communication skills, was able to identify distressed girls (both in and outside institutions). The research participants were able to express their emotions in a healthy manner and did not require to be referred to the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services, Highfield, Harare for professional counselling.

4.7.4. Ethical issues in data analysis and interpretation

The researcher needs to consider ethical issues that emerge after the analysis and interpretation of data. According to Creswell (2009:90), the study should protect anonymity, privacy and confidentiality. As cited by Babbie (2011:65) protection of participants' interest, privacy and well-being calls for the protection of their identity and this requires anonymity and confidentiality by social researchers. According to Berg (2004:65), anonymity is guaranteed when neither the researcher nor the reader of the findings can identify the given response with a given respondent and confidentiality is the removal from the research records any elements that may point out the identity of subject. To achieve this, the researcher disassociated names from responses during the coding and recording process. Furthermore, the researcher ensured the girls' and institutions' responses were private, confidential and anonymous through the use of pseudonyms or aliases (Creswell, 2009:91). The researcher also observed the social and environmental context of the meetings to avoid intrusion or eavesdropping by non-participants.

4.7.5. Preservation and ownership of data

In line with the University of Pretoria research guidelines, the data to be collected from this study will be kept for 15 years and then be discarded to avoid landing in the wrong hands (Creswell, 2009:91). This was addressed in both the assent and consent letters. After archiving, data will only be used with informed consent of participants.

4.7.6. Interpretation of data

The researcher needs to present an accurate account of the data analysed. According to Miller and Brewer (2003:164), interpretation is the process by which meaning is attached to

data. Interpretation is generated by both researchers and participants. Qualitative researchers make reference of their interpretations on the understanding possessed by participants even if their findings and conclusions may be far reaching (Miller & Brewer, 2003:164). Thus, interpretation provides lessons learnt, comparison of findings with past literature and theory and is capable of raising questions or advancing an agenda for reform (Creswell, 2009:201). This according to Miller and Brewer (2003:164) require skill, imagination and creativity on the part of the researcher.

To ensure credibility on interpretation, member validation is critical to counter people's errors and inconsistencies (Miller & Brewer, 2003:165). Member validation as cited by Miller and Brewer (2003:165) can be done through checking the researcher's interpretation based on her prediction of future behaviour, trying out the interpretation through taking up a role as a member of the setting or asking someone to judge and comment on the adequacy of the researcher's interpretation through an evaluation of the final research report. In this study, a qualified external auditor was engaged to evaluate the final research report (thesis) and give comments on the interpretation.

4.7.7. The ethical issues in writing and disseminating the research

Following a research study, the researcher needs to disseminate research results as well as protect the research from being misused (Bloor & Wood, 2006:64). Researchers should also ensure that the research findings are made accessible to the relevant stakeholders (McLaughlin & Shardlow, 2009:8). According to Creswell (2009:93), the researcher has to be careful not to use words or languages that are biased against persons or institutions and should not suppress, falsify or invent findings to meet her needs and that of participants. To counter this, a researcher should give the initial "copy of any publication of the research to the relevant stakeholders and will release the details of the study's design so that readers may determine themselves the credibility of the study" (Creswell, 2009:92). In the format of this research report (thesis), the findings of this thesis were disseminated to the University of Pretoria. Additionally, research findings will be submitted for publication. In line with the participatory action research, the researcher will also share the results of the study with

Directors of the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and other non-governmental organisations.

4.8. Limitations of study

The study was conducted during the period when the reunification and community integration programme was underway. As such, there were increased movements of older adolescent girls from institutions to different communities. Additionally, some girls were transferred to other institutions outside the district for secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities. This resulted in limited numbers of the targeted population in both institutions. Therefore, using the quota sampling method to select equal numbers of adolescent girls of the same age between the two institutions was not possible. Since age is one critical issue in transition analysis, the researcher would have made some age-based comparisons to see if there were some emerging patterns or trends between the two institutions. Nevertheless, this variable was not so useful since the focus of the study was older adolescents and those who were available for the study were able to respond to the research questions satisfactorily.

The lack of an effective case management system also made it very difficult to trace adolescent girls who had left institutional care. Some of the contact details received from institutions, the Department of Child Welfare and Child Protection Society were no longer valid as the cellphones were not reachable and some girls had relocated from previously known addresses. Therefore, locating the sixteen adolescent girls who had left institutional care was more expensive and it took a longer period than expected. Although using a larger sample was going to be more appealing to a study of this nature, practically it was not possible due to the increased mobility of this population both inside and outside institutions. Nevertheless, the sample of thirty-two adolescent girls was adequate enough for the study.

Evaluative research that focuses on complex phenomena uses qualitative methods more than quantitative. Since, the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context are a complex phenomena, this study had limited quantitative focus. However, statistics generated

using some questions from semi-structured interview were adequate to make comparative analysis of key variables in line with sustainable livelihoods and feminists theoretical frameworks. The gender assessment tool could have added more value if it had been administered to a larger population. However, since most of the questions used during face to face interviews and focus group discussions were similar to those on the gender assessment tool, the latter was not only important in assessing whether there was equitable distribution of assets between boys and girls but also helped in validating the data collected from adolescent girls. Hence, data collected from the gender assessment tool administered to superintendents were valuable and representative of transition programmes being provided to both girls and boys in the two institutions.

Transition studies also require longitudinal studies which follow groups being studied (cohorts) over a longer period of time. Employing a longitudinal study would have produced information on transition trends useful to analyse change over time. Unfortunately, such studies are more expensive and time consuming. However, using evaluation research, the researcher was able to assess the effectiveness of institutions in providing transition programmes to adolescent girls during and after care.

4.9. Summary

This chapter on methodology highlighted the step by step process of conducting the study from research design to dissemination of research findings, taking into consideration the ethical issues involved in carrying out a social study that involves young people in the institutional context. Due to the complexity of the transition phenomena, mixed methods were used to collect, analyse and interpret data in this study. The chapter discussed the relevance of mixed methods in an evaluation study and discussed different types of evaluation research. This study, which was influenced by the advocacy and participation philosophy, sought to empower adolescent girls in the institutional context through their participation in the research process. As such, through participatory action research, data collected using structured interviews, focus group discussions, direct observations, questionnaires and document analyses represent the voices of adolescent girls inside and

outside the two participating institutions in Highfield, Harare. On the basis of data collected, the next chapter presents and discusses the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

Following the discussion on methodology in the previous chapter, this chapter presents and discusses empirical findings. As asserted by Miller and Brewer (2003:192), methodology is concerned about concepts, theories as well as methods used to collect and analyse data. As such, combinations of these were applied to meet the goal of the study. As highlighted in the first chapter (1.6), the goal of the study was to evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare. In line with the goal, this study sought to understand the transition experiences as well as the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context. In that regard, this evaluation study assessed the needs of adolescent girls, transition processes, efficiency and impact of transition programmes being provided by institutions and the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services.

This study used mixed methods where qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently and then integrated in the analysis and interpretation of results. As cited by Creswell (2009:215), the concurrent transformative model makes use of theoretical perspectives as well as the concurrent collection of qualitative and quantitative data. This strategy which is based on ideologies such as advocacy and participatory research provides a comprehensive analysis of a social problem (Creswell, 2009:215). In concurrent transformative strategies, qualitative data collected address questions on processes while quantitative data measures causal relationships between variables or indicators (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:10). Accordingly, qualitative data collected seek to address the “how” question and emphasise the socially constructed nature of reality and its meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:10). While qualitative data facilitate an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon with many features, quantitative data measure the specific aspect of a

phenomenon using indicators or variables (Miller & Brewer, 2003:192). In this study, qualitative data were collected using semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, direct observations and analyses of documents and quantitative data using semi-structured interviews and self-administered questionnaires.

To present qualitative findings, the researcher used the hierarchical process of data analysis (Creswell, 2009:185). According to Creswell (2009:185), the process entails reading through transcripts and field notes, sorting data and coding to describe themes. The researcher then describes interrelating themes, interprets and validates the accuracy of the information. In this study, data collected from semi-structured interviews held with thirty-two adolescent girls (sixteen in care and sixteen discharged from care), two focus group discussions with sixteen girls in care, observations of sixteen girls outside care, semi-structured interviews with two superintendents and one interview with the district social services officer and document analyses were organised, coded and categorised into themes and sub-themes.

In a participatory action research, participatory statistics are generated using open-ended questions accompanied by in-depth evaluative discussions (Holland, 2013:3). As asserted by Holland (2013:5), statistics are generated through counting, calculating, estimating, comparing, valuing and scoring. In this study, quantitative data collected using semi-structured interview schedules and gender assessment questionnaires were placed into asset categories, where each asset (variable) was allocated a value or score. Statistics were also used to analyse and compare livelihood assets, livelihood needs, strategies, programme needs, gender outcomes and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls inside and outside Institutions A and B. Using Microsoft Excel computer package, the scores were summed up/counted and calculated as a percentage of each asset category. These statistics were presented in tables and graphs, analysed and then interpreted.

The ensuing section presents the study’s findings. Both qualitative and quantitative findings are presented under key themes and sub-themes. Firstly, the biographical details of the adolescent girls are presented, followed by a discussion of themes and sub-themes.

5.2. Biographic profiles

Biographical details of adolescent girls describe their age, reason for placement, age at placement and other socio-economic conditions observed during the empirical study. These are presented below:

5.2.1. Age of participants

Figure 5.1 below presents the ages of adolescent girls who participated in the study.

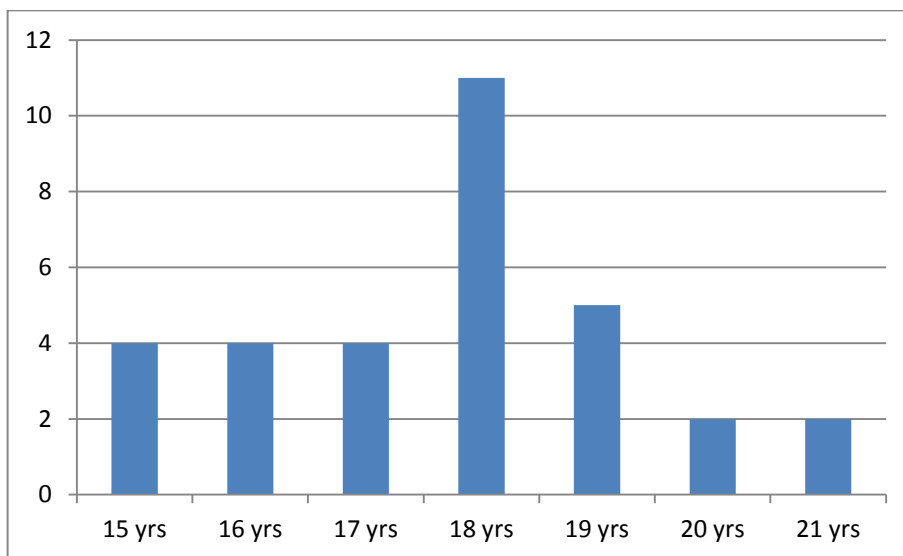


Figure 5.1: Age of participants

Thirty-two adolescent girls participated in the study, 16 girls inside (Institutions A and B) and 16 who exited from the same institutions. The ages from the girls in institutions ranged from 15 to 18, while those outside ranged from 18 to 21 years of age. Girls aged 18 constitute 34.38% of the total, followed by 19 year olds (15.62%), 15-17 year olds 12.5% and 20-21 year olds (2.25%).

5.2.2. Reasons for placement

Adolescent girls were placed on institutional care for reasons including poverty, orphanhood, abuse/neglect by family, abandonment on birth and ill-health of a surviving parent. The diagram below illustrates the different reasons for placement.

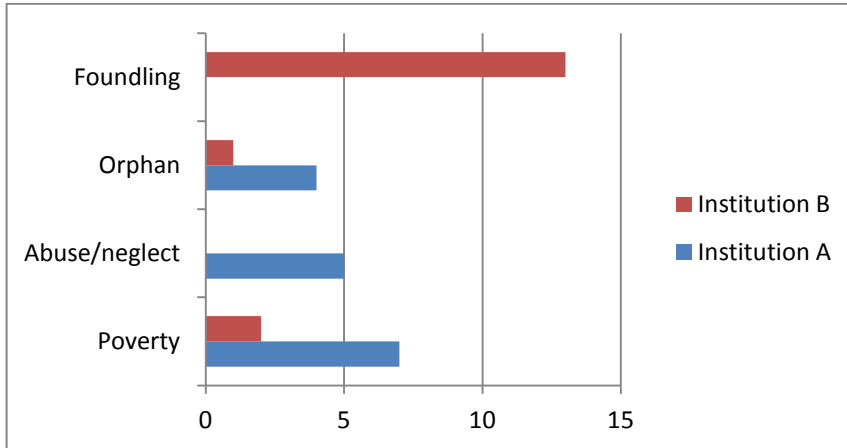


Figure 5.2: Reasons for placement in the institution

As illustrated by Figure 5.2 above, 40.63% of the total adolescent girls were foundlings. These girls were abandoned by their biological parents at birth and were placed in Institution B where they were raised by housemothers. In Institution B, 6.25% and 3.12% were placed as a result of destitution and orphanhood respectively. 43.75% of the total girls in Institution A were admitted as a result of poverty. The parents of these girls were either living in streets or squatter camps. Out of the total, 15.62% were removed from unsafe environments following some abuse from family members or relatives and 12.5% were orphans with no supportive relatives.

5.2.3. Age on admission

Figure 5.3 below shows the ages when the girls were admitted in both institutions.

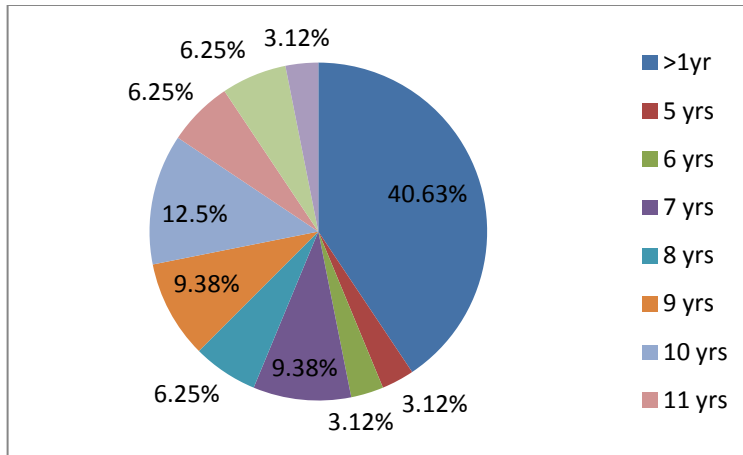


Figure 5.3: Age on admission

Out of the total, 40.63% who are foundlings were admitted in Institution B soon after birth. 12.50% were 10 years old and 18.76% were either seven or nine years old at the time of admission. Similarly, 18.75% were admitted in the institution at the age of 8, 11 and 12 respectively and 9.36% were 5, 6 and 13 years old when they were placed in institutional care.

5.2.4. Socio-economic profiles

Data on the socio-economic conditions of adolescent girls were drawn from semi-structured interview schedules and observation made on adolescent girls outside institutional care. These are presented using composite narratives and issues covered include friends, relatives, financial support and living conditions. The discussions are made under each respective participant category below.

Adolescent girls in Institution A: Out of the eight girls living in Institution A, three are orphans and five have parents. Although all the girls have relatives, five are not in touch with them. Due to social and financial problems, adolescent girls in Institution A were admitted at ages ranging from seven to ten years. Therefore, all participants have been living in the institution for a period exceeding six years. Girls in Institution A live in dormitories that accommodate four to sixteen girls and a female supervisor provides care to over twenty girls at a given time. Due to complex family backgrounds, the girls are behind in their

education and are concerned about completing secondary education and building relationships with their families who have not been supportive. All the girls have friends in the institution and at school ranging from two to five each.

Adolescent girls outside Institution A: The living conditions of adolescent girls outside Institution A vary considerably depending on the social and economic status of their current care-givers or guardians. Adolescent girls outside Institution A were admitted in the institution at ages ranging from seven to thirteen and left institutional care at the age of eighteen. Seven adolescent girls are living in urban and one in a rural community. 87.5% of the girls are not staying with relatives because of unresolved family problems. 50% are married, 25% live with foster parents and 25% live in an institution and relatives. One girl was transferred to another institution for educational opportunities. Three adolescent girls that stay with relatives and foster parents provide domestic labour, through performing household chores and caring for younger children. Two girls that returned to the same community of Highfield have maintained contact with their friends and other social networks. However, those in other communities are still building new relationships and have very little discretionary time to pursue their personal interests, thus have fewer friends and other social networks.

Adolescent girls in Institution B: Seven adolescent girls in Institution B were brought to the institution soon after birth and one was seven years old at the time of her placement. 50% of the girls know their relatives and of these only two of the girls are in touch with them. Due to the family-style living arrangement, adolescent girls in Institution B have acquired some key life skills from their care-givers (whom they fondly call housemothers). Adolescent girls in Institution B started schooling at an appropriate age, therefore they are able to complete secondary education before turning eighteen. Additionally, they have a regular sponsor that pays for their school fees. Most of the girls are concerned about family tracing and reunification. Although six of the girls have friends ranging from two to five, two girls have trust issues. As a result, one has chosen to have a friend of the opposite sex and the other to befriend everyone without forming close friendships.

Adolescent girls outside Institution B: Adolescent girls outside Institution B employ different livelihood strategies to achieve their livelihood goals. Four adolescent girls are being supported by relatives, three by institutions and one is married. Six adolescent girls were foundlings and two joined the institution at the age of five and six respectively. Due to the availability of consistent educational funding, two adolescent girls have accessed scholarships for post-secondary education. One girl has been placed in a rehabilitation facility that deals with young people with emotional and behavioural challenges. Two girls are at university. Three adolescent girls in Institution B were reunited with their families through the family reunification and community reintegration programme. Three girls left the institution before turning 18 and five left on their 18th birthday. Six girls live in urban areas and two with their relatives in rural areas. The latter have no access to clean water, electricity and their huts are made of pole and dagga (mud). These girls provide domestic labour to their host families both in the fields and at home. Adolescent girls who have access to cellphones have maintained contact with their previous housemothers and siblings in the institution. The girls also have friends, even though they are fewer compared to those they had whilst in care.

5.3. KEY THEMES

This section of the chapter discusses the themes and sub-themes that emerged during data analysis. These themes and sub-themes represent the day to day transition experiences, views, opinions and aspirations of adolescent girls in the institutional context as well as those of the key stakeholders (superintendents and the DSSO). Table 5.1 below outlines the themes and sub-themes discussed in this section.

Table 5.1: Themes and sub-themes

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Access to livelihood assets	1.1. Livelihood assets for adolescent girls in Institutions A and B 1.2. Comparative analysis of livelihood assets for adolescents in institutions A and B 1.3. Livelihood assets for adolescent girls outside Institution A 1.4. Livelihood assets for adolescent girls outside Institution B 1.5. Comparative analysis of livelihood assets (Institution A and B) 1.6. Comparative analysis of assets inside (A and B) and outside (A and B)

Themes	Sub-themes
2. Livelihood needs of adolescent girls	2.1. Livelihood needs for adolescent girls in Institution A. 2.2. Livelihood needs for adolescent girls in Institution B 2.3. Comparative analysis of livelihood needs (Institution A and B) 2.4. Livelihood needs for adolescent girls outside Institution A 2.5. Livelihood needs for adolescent girls outside Institution B 2.6. Comparative analysis of livelihood needs (Institution A and B) 2.7. Comparative analysis of needs inside (inside and outside A and B)
3. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls	3.1. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls in Institution A and B 3.2. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution A 3.3. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution B 3.4. Comparative analysis of strategies for girls outside A and B 3.5. Comparison of livelihood strategies for girls inside and outside
4. Transition programme for successful transitions	4.1. Contextualising successful transitions 4.2. Transition programme needs for adolescent girls inside and outside A 4.3. Transition programme needs for adolescent girls inside and outside B 4.4. Preparing for life beyond care: Head of Institution A 4.5. Preparing for life beyond care: Head of Institution B 4.6. Preparing for life beyond care: District Social Services Officer 4.7. Comparative analysis of transition programmes needs
5. Stakeholders in the transition process	5.1. Stakeholder analysis 5.2. The role of adolescent girls 5.3. The role of families and relatives 5.4. The role of schools 5.5. The role of social workers/Probation Officers 5.6. The role of community-based organisations 5.7. The role of institutions 5.8. The role of churches 5.9. The role of the government
6. Gender analysis in the institutional context	6.1. Gender analysis: Institution A 6.2. Gender analysis: Institution B 6.3. Comparative analysis of gender outcomes
7. The transition experiences of adolescent girls	7.1. Adolescents in Institutions A and B 7.2. Adolescents outside Institutions A and B 7.3. Transition experiences and sustainability: An evaluation
8. An evaluation of institutions' transition programmes	
9. An evaluation of livelihood outcomes	9.1. Livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in Institution A and B. 9.2. Livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls outside Institution A and B 9.3. Comparative analysis of livelihood outcomes
10. Contextualising and conceptualising adolescent girls' transitions	10.1. Theoretical issues 10.2. Methodological issues

5.3.1. THEME 1: ACCESS TO LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

Institutions provide different livelihood assets to adolescent girls in their care. During interviews and focus group discussions with adolescent girls, a list of assets that the girls have in each institution was drawn and organised into categories of human, physical, social, financial and public assets. To validate the findings, the researcher compared data collected from the girls with the data generated from interviews and questionnaires administered to superintendents to check for inconsistencies. Fortunately, no variations were noted as data collected from both sources tallied. To analyse the level of assets adolescents had, each asset type (variable) was given a single score. To establish the strength of assets that the girls have, total scores were counted under each category and expressed as a percentage. The data was presented in asset pentagons and analysed. Comparisons were drawn between Institutions A and B as well as between girls inside both institutions and those that exited the same institutions. Tables and bar graphs are used for the comparative analyses.

5.3.1.1. Livelihood assets for adolescent girls in Institutions A and B

The assets that adolescent girls in Institution A have access to are presented in the form of asset pentagons. The asset pentagon below (Figure 5.3) demonstrates the level of access to assets for adolescent girls in Institution A. As discussed under (bullet 3.2.1) asset pentagons are a visual presentation of people's assets and their various shapes show different levels of access to assets (DFID, 1999:2.3).

As illustrated by Figure 5.4, adolescent girls in Institution A have greatest access to social assets, that is 80%, followed by public assets 75%, physical assets 57.1%, human assets 50%, and 0% financial assets.

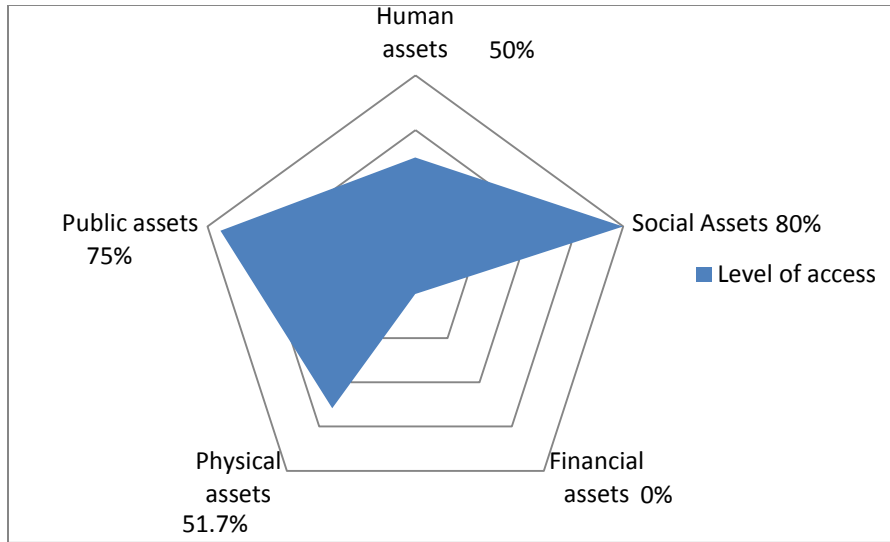


Figure 5.4: Asset pentagon for adolescent girls in Institution A

The following presents the biographies and analyses the assets being accessed by adolescent girls in Institution B.

The asset pentagon below demonstrates the assets that adolescent girls in Institution B have access to. The strongest assets that adolescent girls in Institution B have are human assets (81.3%), followed by social assets (80%), public assets (75%), physical assets 57.1% and financial assets (0%).

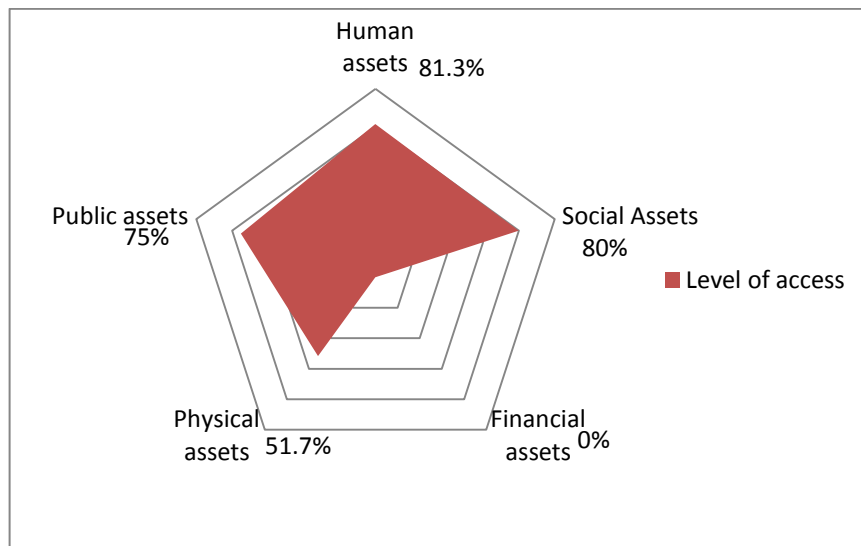


Figure 5.5: Asset pentagon for adolescent girls in Institution B

The following discussion elaborates the assets that adolescents in both institutions have access to.

Human Assets: Institution A provides assets such as food, clothing, medical cover, sanitary wear, warm blankets, primary school education and daily living skills such as personal care and house cleaning. In addition to these, Institution B provides secondary, post secondary education and other daily living skills such as meal preparation, shopping and caring for younger children. During focus group discussions, one girl in Institution A reflects the girls' views in the following comment:

We are given regular meals every day but the meals are not appetising at all. There is lack of variety and we are tired of beans and cabbages, which in most cases are not well-cooked. We crave for delicious foods such as fried chicken, roast beef, rice and other goodies which we normally get during festive seasons.

Adolescent girls in both institutions have no access to information on sex and reproductive health as well as contraceptives. During focus group discussions and interviews, the girls were not comfortable to talk about sex and contraceptives. They all denied sexual involvement and smiled bashfully to avoid further discussion on the subject. During focus group discussions, all the girls from Institution A agreed with the following:

We are not allowed to have intimate relationships with the opposite sex whilst in care. The institution encourages us to abstain from premarital sex and urges us to concentrate on our education. However, we know that some girls have boyfriends, even though we cannot mention their names. At this comment, the girls looked at each other and giggled.

On the issue of education, some adolescent girls in Institution A said:

- *The institution provides education up to primary level. To proceed to secondary and post secondary education, one needs a private sponsor since the institution does not have adequate funding.*
- *Getting a private sponsor is difficult especially if your performance in school is poor.*
- *There is only one donor who is sponsoring a few girls and boys to undertake short courses in cosmetology, hairdressing and plumbing. This is however for a limited period and funding is not guaranteed after this year.*
- *The other alternative is to be transferred to another institution which provides secondary education, that is, if you are still under the age of eighteen. We don't like this option because most of the children in that institution "vane misikanzwa" (a Shona phrase which means they are mischievous).*

Physical assets: Institutions A and B provide physical assets in the form of shelter, safe and clean water, electricity and transport. Both institutions do not provide cellphones, tools/equipment for production, computer and internet services. During an interview with one of the girls in Institution A she said:

I do not like living in a dormitory with many girls. I hate it when other girls peep into my belongings. I need accommodation where I can have some privacy and quiet time alone.

With regards to cellphones, computers and internet services, adolescent girls in both institutions had similar views as captured below:

- *We are not allowed to have cellphones in the institutions because our care-givers believe that they will expose us to negative external influences that will disturb our education. If we need to phone, we request the use of the institution's phone*

- *We also do not have access to internet facilities. Although we have computers in the institution, we do not use them because there are no qualified computer trainers.*

Financial assets: Adolescent girls in both institutions do not have access to financial resources. The institutions do not provide pocket money, allowances, savings, loan facilities, insurance policies and income generating projects. The poultry and horticultural projects being implemented by the institutions are not for income-generating purposes but are to enhance food security. The institutions do not provide training in financial literacy either. However, three girls in Institution B are involved in some petty trading and they sell cellphone air-time and samoosas to raise pocket money. During the interviews one of the girls said:

I borrowed \$10 from my housemother to start a small business of selling cellphone top-up cards. I sell the cards to institutional staff and members from our church on Sundays. I have since managed to repay the loan and I use the profit to buy some cosmetics.

Social assets: Adolescent girls in Institutions A and B have equal access to social assets. They have access to friends, relatives, churches and community-based organisations that provide different types of supports to the girls. During both focus group discussions and interviews, all adolescent girls denied being involved in romantic relationships. However, some of the girls from both Institution A and B said:

- *We would like information on building permanent relationships with the opposite sex. As we are maturing, we are looking forward to getting married in the near future and it is important to know what is expected of us in marriage.*
- *Some of us do not know our relatives and others are coming from abusive homes, hence we need to be taught how to build and manage marital relationships so that we can establish our own families.*

Public assets: Adolescents girls have access to libraries and participate in some recreational activities both inside the institution and at school. However, participation in community cultural activities is limited. The institutions in collaboration with the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services also facilitate the registration of births for adolescent girls under their care. Seven adolescent girls in Institution A have birth certificates compared to three in Institution B. During focus group discussions, all adolescent girls from Institution A shared the following views:

- *We need more time to participate in recreational activities in the community.*
- *Our movements outside the institution are restricted and this hinders us from joining social and cultural clubs in the community.*

During an interview with one participant living with HIV said:

I used to attend a support group for people living with HIV and AIDS in the community. This support group provided counselling which helped me to live positively, over-come stigma and suicidal thoughts. However, these days I am no longer able to attend the support group meetings and therefore miss the interaction I used to have with other people living with the virus.

5.3.1.2. Comparative analysis of assets for adolescents in institutions A and B

The fore-going has presented the livelihood assets that adolescent girls have access to in both institutions. Table 5.2 below compares livelihood assets between the two institutions.

Table 5.2: Access to livelihood assets inside Institutions A and B

Asset category	Institution A (%)	Institution B (%)	Variance (%)
Human Assets	50	81.3	(31.3)
Social Assets	80	80	0
Financial Assets	0	0	0
Physical Assets	57.1	57.1	0
Public Assets	75	75	0
All assets	52.4	58.6	(6.2)

An analysis of assets shows similarities in the level of access to social, financial, physical and public assets. Adolescent girls in Institution A have access to 52.4% and 58.6% for those in B. The difference (6.2%) relates to human assets where Institution B provides more assets compared to Institution A. The difference in living arrangements allows adolescent girls in Institution B to have more life skills compared to their counterparts who live in dormitories. Additionally, adolescent girls in Institution B have access to secondary and post secondary education compared to Institution A with limited educational funding. Nevertheless, all the adolescent girls who participated in the study have access to the same kinds of assets. Hence, Institutions A and B provide uniform services and programmes to adolescent girls under their care. This assertion is further validated by the shapes of the two asset pentagons that look similar. The ensuing section discusses assets that adolescent girls discharged from the same institutions have.

5.3.1.3. Livelihood assets for adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B

Figure 5.6 below shows the livelihood assets of adolescent girls who have exited Institution A.

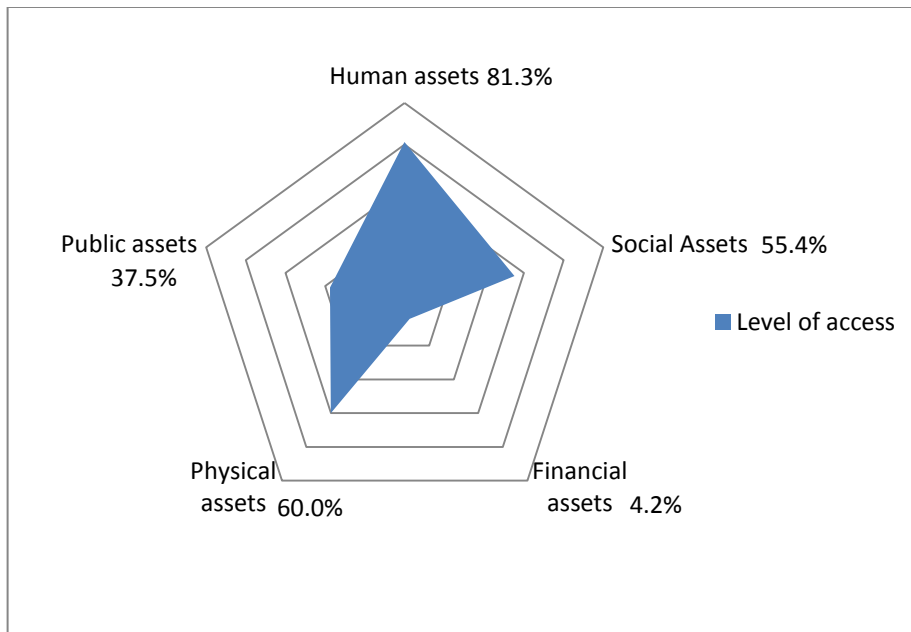


Figure 5.6: Asset pentagon for adolescent girls outside Institution A

As shown by Figure 5.5 above, adolescent girls outside Institution A have access to 55.4% social assets, public assets (37.5%), physical assets (60%), human assets (81.3%) and financial assets (4.2%). The following shows the livelihood assets for adolescent discharged from Institution B.

The asset pentagon below (Figure 5.6) demonstrates the level of assets that adolescent girls from Institution B have post institutional care. Access to human assets is 77.3%, social assets (62.5%), physical assets (60.7%), public assets (46.9%) and financial assets (6.3%).

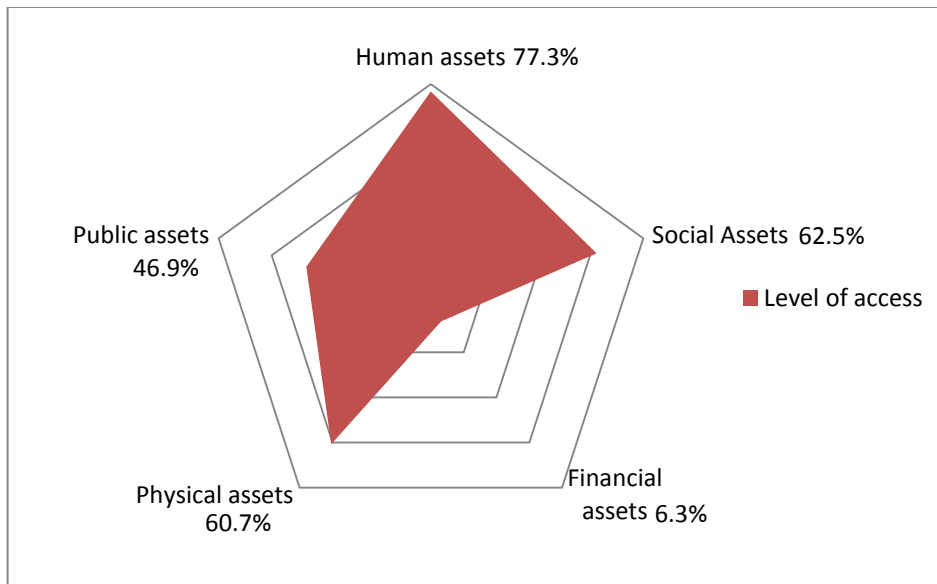


Figure 5.6: Asset pentagon for adolescent girls outside Institution B

Below is a discussion on the level of access of assets for 16 participants outside institutional care.

Human assets: Adolescent girls who have been discharged from Institutions A and B have access to food, health and medication, information on sex and reproduction health, sanitary wear, clothes, warm blankets, secondary and post secondary education, daily living skills such as meal preparation, shopping, bathing, cleaning the house, washing clothes and caring for younger children. However, the levels of access differ from one girl to the other. For example, 37.5% of the adolescent girls had no access to sanitary wear and therefore use old pieces of fabric. 43.8 % girls get 1 or 2 decent meals per day and 18.75% have access to post-secondary education through sponsorship from family and other well-wishers.

Adolescent girls who are not married are not free to discuss about using contraceptives. However, some of them acknowledged that they receive information on sexual and reproductive health from their care-givers as well as peers. All the girls do not have access to training for employment skills. During interviews, five adolescent girls shared the following sentiments:

I am struggling to have a decent meal every day. Life is very difficult out here. At least in the institution we were guaranteed of having regular meals even though they were not so delicious.

One adolescent girl had this to say:

I was particularly displeased with the way I was discharged from the institution. The probation officer literally hauled me out of the institution without adequate communication or preparation. I ended up staying with my step-mother who always scolded me and at times denied me food. In winter, I had no warm blankets and I had to put on a layer of clothes to keep me warm at night. As a result of these abuses, I decided to go and live with my boyfriend in another suburb.

A married participant from Institution B said:

I am happy with my life now. I am married to a loving and supportive husband and my life is better now. I can't complain because my husband has a good job and is able to provide healthy and nutritious food. Even my estranged relatives are now beginning to take interest in me. My only concern is how to please my husband for him to continue supporting me.

On education, one adolescent girl who is at university said:

I am grateful for the continued scholarship from the local non-governmental organisation. My study and boarding fees are fully paid for and I receive a living allowance once every semester. However, the allowances are not sufficient to meet some personal expenses and I have to rely on my cousin for pocket money.

Physical assets: Adolescent girls who were discharged from Institutions A and B have access to shelter, safe and clean water, electricity, transport, cellphones, tools/equipment for production, computer and internet services. However, level of access and quality of assets

differ from one girl to another. For example, 18.5% have no access to safe and clean water, electricity. 18.5% have access to computers and internet services. All girls have access to public transport. However, movement is limited to the availability of bus fare and increased household chores. Although, the adolescent girls are not homeless, 43.75% of the girls share beds with guardians and children of host families and 18.5% sleep on the floor. Only one who is married to a well-to-do husband has household appliances and a sewing machine. 25% of the adolescent girls have cellphones and 12.5% use the cellphones of their guardians. During an interview, one participant living in a rural community said:

I feel like I am stuck here because ever since I left the institution, I have never gone anywhere. I am either in the fields or at home most of the time. I also hate having to go and fetch water from the river twice every day. Life is really boring here and I am contemplating getting married or getting a job as a domestic worker to escape this miserable life.

Social assets: The adolescent girls in the community have access to social assets such as family/relatives, friends, love relationships, churches and community-based organisations. However, the level of contact differs. 25% have relatives but are not in touch with them, 12, 5% have no relatives and 62.5% are in touch with their families. 37.5% are involved in love relationships, 31.25% girls do not go to church and 81.25% have no access to community-based organisations. Although all adolescent girls have friends in their communities, the number has gone down with 68.75% having one or two friends and 31.25% having three friends. During an interview one adolescent girl said:

Although I have foster parents, I still need help to trace my family. I feel so lost and alone. Knowing my biological family will give me a sense of belonging and identity.

Another girl said:

Due to increased household chores and child-care responsibilities, I rarely have time to visit my newly found friend. It is also difficult to find a partner of the opposite sex because I am not able to attend social events.

Public assets: 43.75% of the young women outside institutional care have access to recreational facilities, 18.5% have access to legal representation, 93.75% have birth certificates and 12.5% have access to libraries. On access to public assets, one adolescent girl said:

Since the time of my discharge from the institution, I have never read a book. My grandmother is not literate and there is virtually no reading culture in this community and even a library nearby. Even if there was one, I doubt if I would be able to visit it because I have no free time to do my own things.

During interviews, some girls made the following comments:

- *We do not have recreational facilities here. We also lack the time and money to participate in some leisure activities or sports.*
- *The entertainment I get is television. However, the television programmes presented on Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) are so boring. I wish we had a decoder which gives access to a variety of entertaining and educational programmes.*
- *Whilst in the institution, we thought life was funnier outside and we were going to have time to pursue different hobbies and participate more in cultural activities. Unfortunately, life is not that simple. Outside care, it is work, work and more work!!! All you will ever think of after a hard day's work is to sleep and wake up again for more work.*

Financial assets: All 16 participants living outside institutional care have no access to credit facilities, insurance policies, cash transfers and savings accounts. The participants also do not have access to financial literacy, except for the basic accounting skills obtained from school. 31.25% of the adolescent girls have access to pocket money ranging from US\$10 to US\$20 per month which they receive from relatives and spouses. Most of this money is used to purchase sanitary wear and other toiletries. One young woman plaits hair and is able to get US\$120 in a good month and another girl is involved in a goat rearing project where she gets milk, meat and earns US\$30 to US\$35 whenever she sells a goat. One participant with hairdressing skills said:

My husband is not formally employed and does some piece jobs whenever he finds them. We have to rely on my hairdressing skills. However, clients are not that many because we live in a poor urban community where people prioritise food before their looks. The money I get helps to augment my husband's income which is erratic. However, it is not enough as most of it goes towards house rentals.

Four participants made the following remarks during one-on-one interviews:

- *I am not able to sustain myself financially. I have to depend on my care-giver for financial assistance.*
- *In as much as my care-giver may be willing to give me money, she is extremely poor and also needs financial assistance.*
- *Due to lack of collateral security, I do not qualify to apply for a loan from microfinance service institutions. I wish there were organisations in my community that can give start-up capital to operate a small income-generating project.*
- *You asked me if I had a savings account. How can I even think of saving the money that I do not have? Even if I am given money, I will not be comfortable to have a savings*

account. A few years ago, my uncle lost all of his life's savings when his bank was closed down and he has not recovered financially ever since.

The next sub section provides a comparative analysis of adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B.

5.3.1.4. Comparative analysis of livelihood assets (Institutions A and B)

Table 5.3 below shows variances in access across all assets. A comparative analysis of access to assets for adolescent girls that left Institutions A and B reveals that the latter have more access to all assets (50.7%) whilst the former have access to 47.3%. As indicated from the findings, adolescent girls from Institution A have greatest access to human assets (81.3%) and least access to financial assets (4.2%). Adolescent girls have most access to human assets (77.3%) and least access to financial assets (6.3%).

Table 5.3: Access to livelihood assets for girls outside Institutions A and B

Asset category	Institution A (%)	Institution B (%)	Variance (%)
Human Assets	81.3	77.3	3.91
Social Assets	55.4	60.7	-5.36
Financial Assets	4.2	6.3	-1.9
Physical Assets	60	62.5	-2.5
Public Assets	37.5	46.9	-9.38
All assets	47.7	50.7	-3

The analysis shows that adolescent girls outside institutional care have varying levels of access to different types of assets. The following compares access of assets for adolescents in institutions versus those outside institutional care.

5.3.1.5. Comparative analysis of assets inside (A and B) and outside (A and B)

Table 5.4 below reveals that adolescent girls inside institution A and B have access to more assets (55.55%) compared to those outside institutional care (49.2%). This analysis shows that adolescent girls outside the two institutions have lost 6.35% assets.

Table 5.4: Comparative analysis of assets inside and outside Institutions A and B

Asset category	Inside A and B (%)	Outside A and B (%)	Variance (%)
Human Assets	65.65	79.3	-13.65
Social Assets	80	58.1	21.95
Financial Assets	0	5.25	-5.25
Physical Assets	57.1	61.25	-4.15
Public Assets	75	37.5	37.50
All assets	55.55	49.2	6.35

As shown from the statistics above, adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B made some gains on the following assets: human assets 13.65%, financial assets 5.25% and physical assets 4.15%. Asset losses were made on public assets 37.5% and social assets 21.95%. This is illustrated in the diagram below.

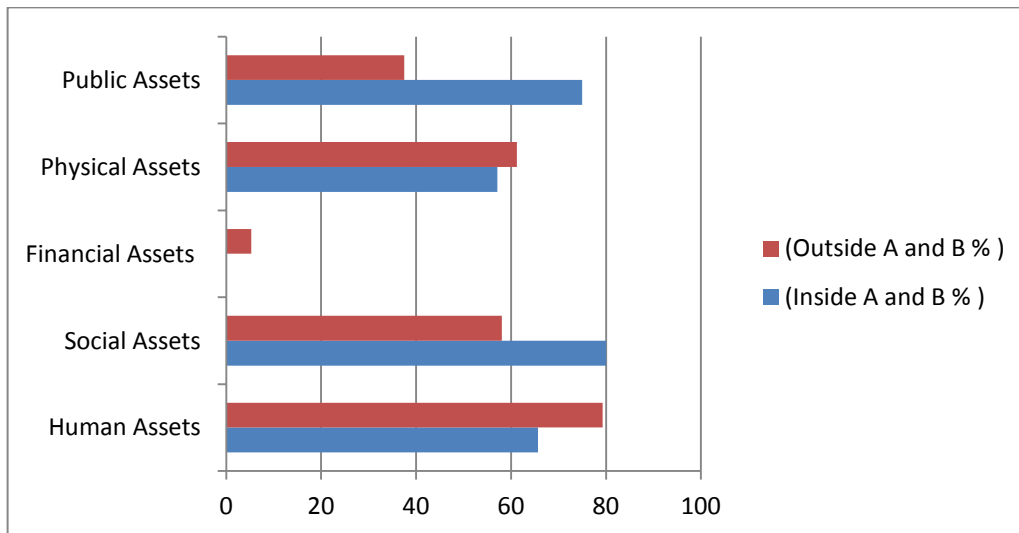


Figure 5.8: Livelihood assets for adolescent girls in and outside Institutions A and B

As demonstrated from the graph above, adolescent girls inside institutions A have 65.65% human, 80% social, 0% financial, 27.1% physical and 75% public assets. Adolescent girls outside the same institutions have 79.3% human, 58.1% social, 5.25% financial, 61.25% physical and 37.5% public assets. Therefore adolescent girls inside Institutions A and B have more assets (55.55%) compared to participants discharged from the same institutions who have access to 49.2% of total assets. The loss of 6.3% implies that adolescent girls who have left institutional care are poorer than their counterparts in care.

The upcoming section discusses the livelihood needs of adolescent girls inside and outside institutional care.

5.3.2. THEME 2: ADOLESCENT GIRLS' LIVELIHOOD NEEDS

Adolescent girls within the institutional context have livelihood needs that are specific to their gender. Thus, as a subset of vulnerable young women, an assessment of needs is critical in the development of transition programmes that create livelihood opportunities needed to foster sustainable livelihoods. According to Inter-agency Standing Committee (2006:viii), both humanitarian and developmental programmes should be sensitive to the different needs of women, girls, boys and men. Using semi-structure interview schedules, this study sought to establish the livelihood needs of 32 participants, 16 inside and 16 outside Institutions A and B.

Adolescent girls (inside and outside care) listed five livelihood needs. The livelihood needs were reflective of immediate needs required for the achievement of short-term survival goals. The researcher classified the needs into categories of human, physical, social, financial and public assets. To analyse the livelihood needs, each response was given a single score. Therefore, a total of 40 responses were given by 8 participants. The scores under each asset category were summed up and expressed as a percentage. The livelihood needs of adolescent girls in Institution A are presented in the ensuing section.

5.3.2.1. Livelihood needs for adolescent girls in Institution A

Figure 5.8 shows the livelihood needs of eight adolescent girls in Institution A. An analysis of the chart above shows that adolescent girls in Institution A required human assets the most. Of all the livelihood needs, human assets constitute 43%, social assets (35%), financial assets (12%), public assets (5%) and physical assets (5%). These livelihood needs are further explored below.

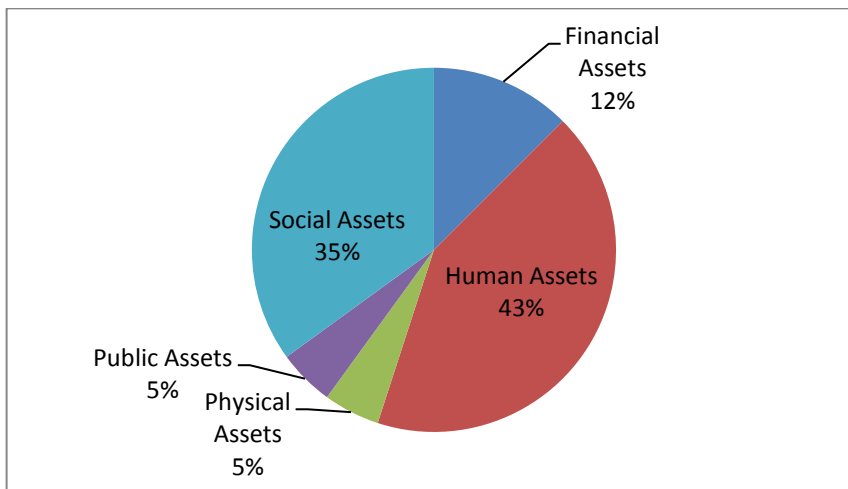


Figure 5.9: Livelihood needs for adolescent girls in Institution A

According to the analysis, the greatest need that adolescent girls in Institution A have is good food, 75%. Although the girls are receiving 3 or 4 meals a day, their problem is not of access but of the quality of food provided. 62.5% of the girls need pocket money, school fees, social interaction and the love and support of family and relatives. 37.5% need new clothes and shoes and 25% need career exploration, employment skills and talent development training. Finally, 12.5% adolescent girls need a passport, birth certificate, private living space and health cover respectively. The following analyses the livelihood needs of adolescent girls in Institution B.

5.3.2.2. Livelihood needs of adolescent girls in Institution B

The chart below demonstrates the livelihood needs of adolescent girls in Institution B. Adolescent girls in Institution B need human assets the most. The needs are ranked as

follows: human assets (38%), public and social assets (30%), financial assets (2%) physical assets (0%). Accordingly, the girls have no need for physical assets.

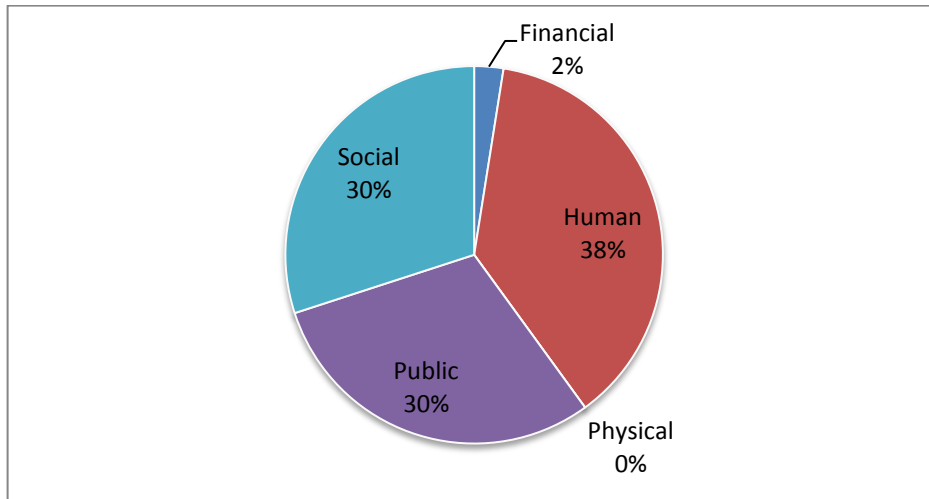


Figure 5.10: Livelihood needs of adolescent girls in Institution B

Adolescent girls in Institution B who need career exploration experiences, employment skills and talent development programmes constitute (87.5%) of all participants. Seventy-five percent need love and support of family and relatives. Passing of examination is very important for continued funding from the local non-governmental organisation, thus 62.5% of the girls need text books and remedial classes. Fifty percent of the girls need family tracing services and birth certificates. Girls who need the birthday parties constitute 37.5% of the total. Twenty-five percent of adolescent girls need to visit places of interest, training in confidence and relationship building as well as cellphones. Lastly, 12.5% needs new clothes and shoes, pocket money, passport, a mentor/role model and a male/father figure. The discussion below compares the livelihood needs of adolescent girls in the two institutions.

5.3.2.3. Comparative analysis of livelihood needs (Inside Institutions A and B)

Table 5.5 below illustrates the different livelihood needs that the girls within the two institutions have. It shows their different priorities. The analysis therefore focuses on needs that are more prominent to adolescent girls in both institutions.

Table 5.5: Comparison of livelihood needs between Institution A and B

Type of need	Institution A (n/8)	Institution B (n/ 8)	Variance
Pocket money	5	1	4
Good food	6	-	6
Educational support (school fees)	5	-	5
Educational support (tuition, text books, school shoes)	-	5	-5
New clothes	3	1	2
Medical support	1	-	1
Career exploration, employment skills, talent development	2	7	-5
Private living space	1	-	1
Cellphone	1	1	-
Passport	1	2	-1
Birth certificate	1	4	-3
Visiting places of interest	1	2	-1
Social interaction /community exposure visits	4	-	4
Love and support of family/relatives	5	6	-1
Relationship of trust (mentor, foster parent, role model, care-giver)	4	1	-3
Family tracing	-	4	-4
Confidence and relationship building training	-	2	-2
Birthday (party, cakes)	-	3	-3
Male/father figure	-	1	-1
Total responses	40	40	

Good food is needed most by adolescent girls in Institution A whilst adolescent girls in Institution B are satisfied with the quality of food being provided. More adolescent girls in Institution A need pocket money than those in Institution B. During focus group discussions, some adolescent girls in Institution A shared the following views on pocket money:

- *We need pocket money to buy delicious food that our age mates eat such as chicken, chips, pizza and burgers. The meals that are prepared in this institution do not taste good at all and we are tired of eating the same type of food over and over again.*
- *As girls we always need money for personal use. Looking good and presentable is important to us because it boosts our confidence and with money we are able to fix our skin and hair.*

Due to inconsistent educational funding, adolescent girls in Institution A need scholarships for secondary education. On the other hand, adolescent girls in Institution B are more concerned about passing their examinations and require support to improve their grades.

The lack of birth certificates affects girls in Institution A who also want birthday celebrations. Birth registration for adolescent girls in Institution B is problematic because most of them are foundlings who do not know their biological families. During interviews with the superintendent highlighted the following concerns:

The process of birth registration is delayed by Probation Officers who have huge caseloads and are not able to prepare the paperwork in time. Hospitals also charge us inhibitive fees to conduct the age estimation process. We are doing the best we can to follow up with the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services as well as seek for financial support to expedite the birth registration process.

On birth certificates and birthday celebrations, three girls said:

- *I envy girls who have birth certificates and whose birth days are commemorated. I feel out of place if someone asks me when I was born. It also makes me sad not to have birthday celebrations year after year.*
- *It would mean a lot to me to have a small party or even a cake for my birthday. To have someone remembering me on my birthday makes me feel special and loved.*

➤ *I wish my probation officer and superintendent will facilitate our birth registration before end of year. Next year I will be sitting for a national examination and my birth certificate is needed for the registration process.*

As a measure to protect the girls, movements outside the institution's premises are restricted. Written consent is required whenever a girl wishes to visit relatives or non-relatives in the community. Although this practice seeks to ensure the safety of girls, some of them feel that they are being deprived of social interaction. Hence, 50% of adolescent girls in Institution A need to go out of the institution for community exposure visits and social interaction.

Adolescent girls in Institution B need family tracing services while all adolescent girls in Institution A know their relatives. This question of family tracing and support evoked a lot of emotions from the girls.

One adolescent girl from Institution B made the following remarks:

I need to know my biological parents or relatives. I however do not know how I will feel to after meeting them for the first time because I have many questions I need to ask them. Firstly, I need to know why they abandoned me as a baby. Secondly, I need to know where they were all these years or why they did not make an effort to look for me.

Another girl from Institution A said:

Knowing my relatives has not made a positive difference in my life because they have not been there for me when I need them. I am just like one who has no relatives at all. I feel my relatives do not love or care for me, otherwise they would visit me or invite me to their homes during school holidays.

The following comments were made by one girl in Institution A.

I am not interested in being reunited to my relatives because of the physical and emotional abuse they inflicted on me following the death of my parents. They grabbed all our parents' property leaving my brother and I destitute and with no inheritance. We were also denied food and told to go and fetch it kuchuru (from the grave where our parents were buried).

Girls in Institution B need training programmes for career exploration, employment skills, talent development, confidence and relationship building to prepare and qualify them for developmental opportunities in the community. During focus group discussions, some girls made the following remarks:

- *We need training programmes that empower us economically and socially.*
- *Some of us do not have families and others with families do not receive support from them.*
- *If we are empowered we will be self sufficient and we will be able to make important decisions on our own.*

Adolescents in Institution B have more life skills and are therefore more resourceful and self-motivated compared to girls in Institution A. The researcher observed that adolescent girls in Institution B are more emotionally stable and confident compared to their counterparts in Institution A. This may be attributed to more time spent with their housemothers unlike girls in Institution A who have one care-giver supervising over 20 girls at a given time. Adolescent girls in Institution A therefore need more contact and one-on-one time with adults such as care-givers, mentors or foster parents.

The next section analyses the livelihood needs of adolescent girls that have left Institutions A and B.

5.3.2.4. Livelihood needs for adolescent girls outside Institution A

An analysis of livelihood needs of adolescent girls discharged from care sought to establish the 5 livelihood needs they had before leaving institutional care. The following presents an analysis for girls outside Institution A.

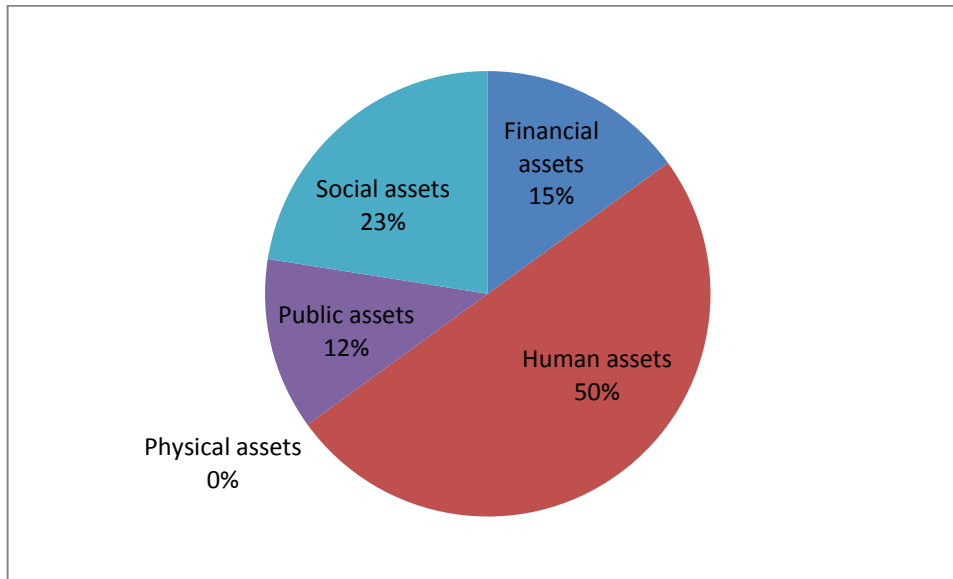


Figure 5.11: Livelihood needs of adolescent girls outside Institution A

Figure 5.10 above reveals that adolescent girls outside Institution A needed human assets (50%) the most. This was followed by social assets (23%), financial assets (15%) and public assets (12%). Adolescent girls outside Institution B had no need for physical assets. The foregoing is elaborated more below.

Seventy-five percent of the adolescent girls from Institution A needed good food and pocket money more than other needs. Secondly, the adolescent girls needed school fees (62.5%). Half of the girls needed life skills and training to build their confidence. The next level of needs (37.5%), were for social interaction activities and cellphones. These were followed by family tracing services, relationship building and career exploration experiences (25%). Adolescent girls from Institution A, who needed new clothes, passport and a birth certificate constitute 12.5%.

5.3.2.5. Livelihood needs of adolescent girls outside Institution B

Figure 5.11 outlines the livelihood needs of adolescent girls who were discharged from Institution B. According to Figure 5.8, adolescent girls outside Institution B needed human assets most (35%), followed by social assets (30%), public assets (28%) and financial assets (7%). The girls had no need for physical assets (0%). An analysis of these assets is presented below.

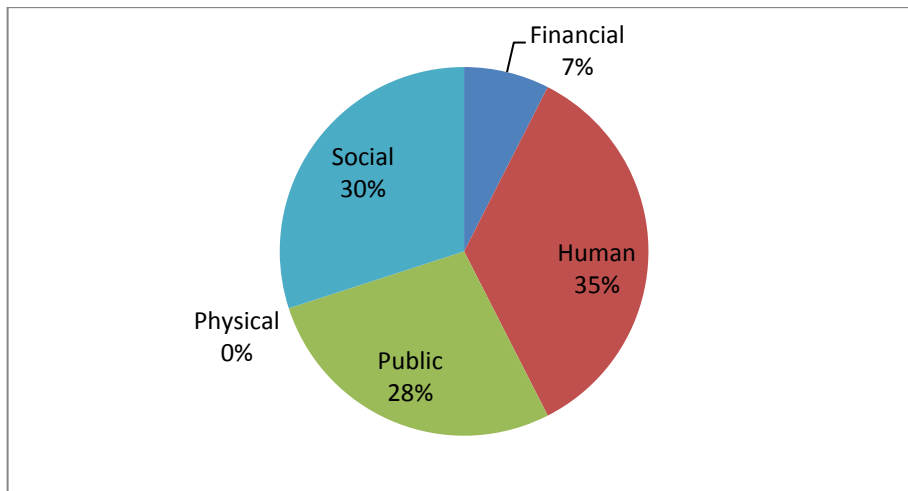


Figure 5.12: Livelihood needs of adolescent girls outside Institution B

Adolescent girls outside Institution B needed educational support the most (75%). Secondly, they needed assistance to get birth certificates (62.5%). Fifty percent needed to visit places of interest. The fourth need comprised birthday parties, love and support of family and relatives, confidence and relationship training, pocket money, new clothes and shoes (37.5%). A quarter of the girls needed cellphones, career exploration and employment skills. Those who needed a passport, a mentor and a male/father figure constitute 12.5%.

5.3.2.6. Comparative analysis of livelihood needs (Institution A and B)

Table 5.7 below shows the different needs that adolescent girls outside Institution A and B had whilst in care.

Table 5.6: Comparison of livelihood needs of girls outside Institution A and B

Type of need	Institution A (n/8)	Institution B (n/8)	Variance
Pocket money	6	3	3
Good food	6	0	6
Educational support (school fees)	5	0	5
Educational support (tuition, text books, school shoes)	0	6	-6
New clothes	1	3	-2
Career exploration, employment skills, talent development	2	2	0
Cellphone	3	2	1
Passport	1	1	0
Birth certificate	1	5	-4
Visiting places of interest	0	4	-4
Social interaction activities	3	0	3
Love and support of family/relatives	4	3	1
Relationship of trust (mentor, foster parent, role model, care-giver)	2	1	1
Family tracing	2	3	-1
Training in confidence and relationship building	4	3	1
Birthday (party, cakes)	0	3	-3
Male/father figure	0	1	0
Total responses	40	40	

The analysis focuses on the priority or unmet needs of adolescent girls discharged from the two institutions.

Firstly, adolescent girls outside Institution A needed good food and pocket money. Adolescent girls in Institution B were satisfied with the food provided. One of the young women from Institution B said:

To augment her income, my housemother provided catering services to social functions such as weddings and birthday parties during weekends. She was a great cook and we learnt how to prepare a variety of dishes as well as bake cakes and other pastries. Because of her skills, we were guaranteed of tasty meals every day and we were also taught how to cook.

The greatest need for adolescent girls outside Institution B was for educational support to pass examinations. The need for school fees payment was equally important for adolescent girls outside Institution A.

Five out of eight girls outside Institution B needed birth certificates before leaving institutional care. Fortunately, all the girls got their birth certificates before exiting care. One adolescent girl in Institution A without a birth certificate left care before accessing one.

While adolescent girls outside Institution B needed the opportunity to visit places of interest, adolescent girls needed community visits for exposure and social interaction. During the interviews, one adolescent girl from Institution A said:

I needed more community exposure to prepare me for life outside institutional care. I wanted to learn how people in a normal family interact because I lacked that experience before and during my placement in the institution.

Adolescent girls outside Institution B needed birthday parties and cakes on their birthdays. Half of adolescent girls outside Institution B had need for the love and support of family/relatives and confidence and relationship building training compared to three girls from Institution B. Three girls in Institution B required new clothes and family tracing programmes while three girls in Institution A needed cellphones. One of the girls from Institution B made the following remarks:

I needed new clothes because all we ever received in the institution were old clothes that had been donated by individuals and bales received from the government. I also wanted the opportunity to go to town on my own and choose clothes that fitted me.

The forthcoming section which compares the livelihood needs of adolescent girls inside and outside institutions A and B concludes the discussion on livelihood needs.

5.3.2.7. Comparative analysis of livelihood needs inside and outside A and B

This section provides a comparative analysis of the needs that adolescent girls inside Institutions A and B have versus those outside the same institutions. Table 5.7 demonstrates the number of responses from the girls for each livelihood need.

Table 5.7: Comparative analysis: Livelihood needs in and outside Institutions A and B

Type of need	Inside A and B (n/16)	Outside A and B (n/16)	Variance
Pocket money	6	6	0
Good food	6	6	0
Educational support (school fees)	5	5	0
Educational support (tuition, text books, school shoes)	5	6	-1
New clothes	4	4	0
Medical support	1	0	1
Career exploration, employment skills, talent development	9	4	5
Private living space	1	0	1
Cellphone	2	4	-2
Passport	3	3	0
Birth certificate	5	6	-1
Visiting places of interest	3	4	-1
Social interaction activities	4	3	1

Type of need	Inside A and B (n/16)	Outside A and B (n/16)	Variance
Love and support of family/relatives	11	7	4
Relationship of trust (mentor, foster parent, role model, care-giver)	5	3	2
Family tracing	4	5	-1
Training to build confidence and relationship building	2	7	-5
Birthday (party, cakes)	3	6	-3
Male/father figure	1	1	0
Total responses	80	80	

A total of 160 responses (80 inside and 80 outside care) were given by 32 adolescent girls who participated in the study. An analysis of the table reveals some similarities as well as variances in livelihoods needs. The following shared needs comprised pocket money, good food, educational fees, new clothes, passports and male/father figure and this constituted 31.25% of the total livelihood needs. Variations were noted on career exploration, employment skills, talent development and confidence, relationship building training, love and support of family/relatives, educational support, private living space, cellphones, visiting places of interest, social networking, relationships of trust, family tracing and birthday parties which constituted 68.75% of all the girls.

As shown from the analysis, the higher the number of responses, the greater the need and vice-versa. Thus, in programming, such livelihood needs need to be given the highest priority. The analysis reveals that although some livelihood needs are static over time, others are constantly changing. Therefore, periodic need assessments should be conducted to capture the changing needs of young people in the institutional context. Capturing these changes is instrumental in the developing livelihood strategies that are responsive to both the shared and individual needs of adolescent girls. The subsequent section discusses the livelihood strategies of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

5.3.3. THEME 3: LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES FOR ADOLESCENT GIRLS

According to DFID (1999:2.5), livelihood strategies consist of activities and choices that people pursue to achieve their livelihood goals. The strategies used are contextual and they differ from one sector of the society to another (DFID, 1999:2.5). As noted by Rakodi (2002:16), positive livelihood strategies should reduce social and economic vulnerability, thus increasing incomes, food security and well-being. In order for adolescent girls to achieve positive livelihood outcomes, they need to adopt positive livelihood strategies. To analyse the livelihood strategies, data collected from semi-structured interview schedules and focus group discussions were consolidated to assess the various livelihood options or activities being adopted by adolescent girls in the institutional context. The analysis is presented below, starting with adolescent girls inside Institutions A and B.

5.3.3.1. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls in Institutions A and B

Adolescent girls in institutions need the support of a variety of stakeholders to sustain their livelihoods. This is because as a vulnerable population, they are not yet in a position to attain certain livelihood assets on their own. Most of the girls are in the institution as a result of poverty and they have no inheritance, land, property neither do they receive any remittances from relatives. Other girls are in the institution because they were abandoned by their biological parents. Hence, their livelihoods are being supported through services and supports provided by institutions. Institutions are mandated to provide the livelihood assets that adolescent girls need to survive in the institution as well as thrive after care. However, due to the level of resources institutions have, institutions may not be in a position to provide certain types of assets. This affects the quality of life of adolescent girls in care.

An analysis of livelihood strategies used by adolescent girls in this study show that institutions A and B are the key providers of livelihood assets. Although other stakeholders are involved directly or indirectly, institutions act as intermediaries that link adolescent girls to different agents through their resource mobilisation efforts. The foregoing analysis indicates that all the 16 adolescent girls who participated in the study are dependent on institutional care as their livelihood strategy.

5.3.3.2. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution A

Adolescent girls discharged from Institution A employ different livelihood strategies to achieve their livelihood goals. An analysis of the strategies used is illustrated in Figure 5.12 below: As reflected by the diagram below four different social networks support the livelihoods of adolescent girls outside Institution A. Data collected through semi-structured interviews and observations indicate that fifty percent of the adolescent girls are married, twenty-five percent live with foster parents, 12.5% is supported by relatives and another 12.5% by an institution.

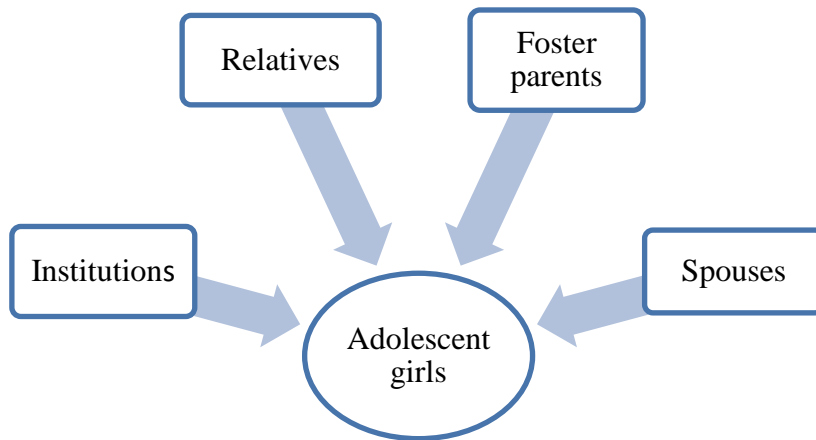


Figure 5.13: Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution A

As revealed from the analysis above, adolescent girls depend mostly on their social capital to sustain their livelihoods. According to this analysis, those who have no supportive families tend to resort to marriage as a livelihood strategy, thus half of the young women outside Institution A are married.

The ensuing analysis highlights the livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution B.

5.3.3.3. Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution B

The livelihood strategies employed by adolescent girls outside Institution B are diverse as shown in Figure 5.13 below. An analysis of the strategies shows that adolescent girls discharged from Institution B achieve their livelihood goals through three strategies namely support from institutions, family/relatives and marriage (spouse).

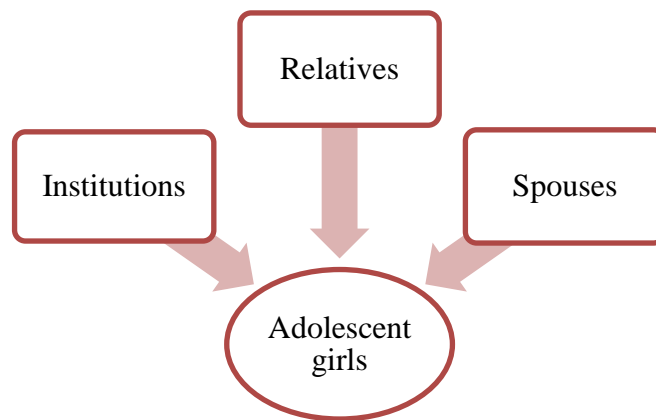


Figure 5.14: Livelihood strategies for adolescent girls outside Institution B

An analysis of livelihood strategies as revealed from the interviews and observations shows that 37.5% of adolescent girls outside Institution B are in institutions, 50% are staying with families and relatives and 12.5% is married.

5.3.3.4. Comparative analysis of strategies for girls outside Institutions A and B

Adolescent girls from both institutions achieve their livelihood goals through support from relatives, institutions and spouses. The only difference is on one strategy where an adolescent girl from Institution A is being supported by foster parents. Of all the sixteen girls interviewed, none has achieved self-sufficiency yet.

5.3.3.5. Comparison of livelihood strategies for adolescent girls inside and outside care

Whilst adolescent girls inside Institutions A and B meet their livelihood goals through the support of institutions, adolescent girls outside the same institutions have diverse strategies namely: institutions, foster parents, marriage (husband) and relatives. This is reflected in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8: Livelihood strategies outside Institutions A and B

Livelihood strategy outside care	Institution A	Institution B	Totals
Foster parents	2	0	2
Family/relatives	1	4	5
Marriage/spouse	4	1	5
Institution	1	3	4

An analysis of livelihood strategies employed by girls post institutional care shows that 31.25% of the sixteen adolescent girls are married. Due to unsupportive, unstable or abusive family backgrounds, adolescent girls find it difficult to stay with families/relatives, thus marriage becomes a strategy for social and financial security.

As confirmed by Lukas (2008:2), girls who lack secondary education have choices limited to early marriage and child bearing and those without parents seek protection in their relationship with older men. Twenty-five percent of the girls whose families or relatives were not located on discharge as well as those continuing with secondary education ended up in other institutions. Out of the sixteen girls, 31.25% were reunified with their biological families or relatives and 12.5% live with foster parents. As noted from this analysis, fostering is not a common livelihood strategy. As postulated by Jackson (2002:284), this finding resonates with the local cultural beliefs that discourage the practice of formal fostering and adoption.

The foregoing has discussed the livelihood strategies being used by adolescents in the institutional context. This study also explored the transition programmes that adolescent girls require to achieve positive livelihood outcomes during and after institutional care. These interventions are discussed hereunder.

5.3.4. THEME 4: TRANSITION PROGRAMMES FOR SUCCESSFUL TRANSITIONS

Adolescents are considered as the next generation of actors in the social and economic stage. Thus as cited by UNICEF (2011:15), they are “worthy of care and protection as children and worthy of consideration and participation as adults.” However, they are not only worthy now because they are the future but they have rights as children and human dignity to be protected now. As a crucial development stage in the life course, adolescent girls need to make decisions about their education, career, living arrangements and building of permanent relationships. As noted from this study, adolescents need to seriously think about their future after leaving care. When institutional support ceases, they need to know how they will be sustaining themselves. During interviews and focus group discussions, the topic on leaving care was one of the most sensitive ones, particularly among girls aged seventeen and eighteen who were nearing the age of discharge. However, before asking the question on preparation for transitions, the researcher emphasised the importance of this subject and how it would help to stimulate positive reflection on possible livelihood options. As the discussions progressed, the girls were more comfortable and were willing to share their thoughts and feelings about leaving care. The discussions turned into a strategy session where the girls gave serious thought on their transitions, articulated the kinds of interventions they considered critical in preparing for successful transitions and defended their proposals. The process was empowering as the girls felt that their voices were important in the transition process. This is affirmed by Sen (1999:189), who believes that women are not passive recipients of welfare-enhancing projects but are active agents of change in the development process.

5.3.4.1. Contextualising successful transitions

Before embarking on the subject of successful transitions, the researcher wanted to know what successful transitions meant to adolescent girls. During focus group discussions with the girls from both institutions, the following responses were given:

- *Successful transition means growing up to become a self-reliant adult who is able to access the basic needs of life.*
- *For me, successful transition means being able to leave the institution and not having to come back because of destitution.*
- *Successful transitions to me mean the ability to have a lot of money so that my relatives who deserted me will know that I am not a loser.*
- *To me, successful transitions means having the ability to live comfortably and not having to beg, steal or sell my body to make a living.*
- *Having good health, education, a career and a loving husband is my definition for successful transitions.*
- *Breaking the cycle of poverty and having a better life than my parents is my definition of successful transitions.*
- *Successful transitions mean having supportive relationships to fall back on in times of trouble.*

An analysis of the responses above shows that adolescent girls perceive successful transitions differently. However, what is common among the responses is the need for increased access to different forms of assets to avert poverty and social isolation. Adolescent girls view successful transitions as either having economic stability or supportive relationships. Having this understanding, the following responses highlight transition programmes that adolescent girls consider critical for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes beyond care.

5.3.4.2. Transition programme needs for adolescent girls in and outside Institution A

Data collected during interviews and focus group discussions held with adolescent girls in Institution A and interviews with those discharged from care outlined five key transition programmes considered critical for sustainable livelihoods post institutional care. As such, the girls described the kind of interventions they need to prepare for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes during and after care. In that regard, the girls articulated the gender-specific transition needs they have as well as prioritise for their if they are to have positive social and economic outcomes.

School fees payment for secondary and post secondary education: To prepare for successful transitions, adolescent girls from Institution A needed transition programmes that provide school fees for secondary and post secondary education. During focus group discussion, one girl reflected the views of all the girls as follows:

The institution does not provide secondary education and post secondary training. We have access up to primary level education. Our secondary education and other vocational training are being provided through private sponsorship which is erratic and dependent on availability of a sponsor. So if we turn 18, there is no guarantee of continued support to complete secondary education or enrolment for post secondary education or training. If we do not get a sponsor for us to go to local schools within the district, there is a possibility of going to rehabilitation facilities outside the province where there is access to either secondary education or vocational training. However, we are afraid to go there because these facilities cater mostly for children in conflict with the law.

Building permanent relationships: According to the girls, building permanent relationships of trust are important to overcome social isolation. Relationships bring social protection and provide them with the safety nets that will cushion them in times of need. Since the participants are not yet socially and financially secure, they need help to build and maintain relationships with responsible adults who are able to provide them with meaningful livelihood opportunities. Some of the girls made the following comments:

- *Most of us are not in touch with our families or relatives in the communities. We also do not have quality one-on-one time with care-givers who have to attend to many children in the institution. We need programmes that help us to build relationships with caring adults.*
- *Family support and community integration programmes are important to us because they help us bond with our estranged relatives and facilitate smooth integration in communities.*
- *Some of us coming from abusive families or with relatives that cannot be traced need alternative care such as foster parenting or adoption. Building permanent relationships will also guarantee us safe and secure accommodation in communities until we are able to live independently or get married.*

Self-advocacy skills: Adolescent girls need programmes that provide training in self-advocacy. Such training programmes will help them to be more confident, creative and assertive as well as enable them to make informed decisions and solve problems. The training should also provide practical skills that promote independent thinking and living. One girl representing the views of all the girls had this to say:

- *Programmes that enhance self-advocacy will enhance our social competences and enable us to participate fully in developmental activities in the community.*
- *We need programmes that build our self-confidence and resiliency to overcome stress as well as the stigma of institutionalisation.*
- *We feel embarrassed to say that we live in institutions because some people in the community think that there is something wrong with us. Institutionalisation is associated with deviancy and dysfunctional family backgrounds, as a result getting support from the community on our own is difficult.*

- *Life in the institution is highly regimented with minimal autonomy. Therefore self-advocacy programmes will give us decision-making and problems-solving skills necessary to overcome social isolation and the dependency syndrome.*

Employment skills and talent development: Adolescent girls need programmes that help them to know available career opportunities and the requisite skills needed. Career exploratory experiences will provide a range of livelihood options necessary to sustain livelihoods post institutional care. Some of the girls made the following comments:

- *Career exploration, employment skills and talent development programmes will enable us to explore interests, talents and possible job opportunities in the communities.*
- *We need programmes that offer alternative livelihood pathways such as those that take us to different industries to learn about jobs and required skills, volunteer opportunities, internships, professional coaches for sports music and dance, computer training, holiday part-time jobs and paid employment.*

Financial support or living allowances: The participants propose transition programmes that provide regular and predictable financial support. According to them, such programmes should also be extended to their guardians living in poverty. Since, life in the urban areas is monetised, the girls are afraid of falling into deeper poverty without financial support. Some of the girls expressed the following views:

- *The sudden discontinuation of support and services when we turn 18 years will expose us to increased financial vulnerability.*
- *Transition programmes that provide living allowances will help us to support our livelihoods outside care.*

- *Financial support is also important for some of our families because they are poor and are not able to provide for themselves, let alone take on the additional burden of supporting us.*

- *Money gives us the assurance of accessing all the critical livelihood needs such as food, health care, safe and clean water, clothes and shelter.*

The next part discusses transition programmes that adolescent girls inside and outside Institution B consider critical in preparing for successful transitions.

5.3.4.3. Transition programme needs for adolescent girls inside and outside Institution B

During focus group discussions, the adolescent girls mentioned the importance of having well-structured transition programmes that allow them to participate fully in transition planning. The girls proposed the engagement of qualified personnel who are able to provide specialised training and services that enhance their social and economic well-being. According to them, transition planning should commence during early adolescence and continue up to at least three years after leaving care. The girls proposed life-enhancing activities such as holiday youth camps, learning visits and cultural exchange programmes. They also recommended the availability of safe spaces where adolescent girls can meet with their mentors and counsellors to discuss sensitive issues freely as well as girl-friendly health facilities where they can access services without being judged by service providers or society. This is in line with proposals made by Lukas (2008:2) who believes that adolescents need safe places to meet with peers and mentors as well as resources for alternative livelihoods.

For successful transitions beyond care, the adolescent girls in and outside Institution B proposed the following programmes:

Educational support: Programmes that offer educational support for improved school performance are important for girls in Institution B. On the issue of education, some of the girls said:

- *School fees payment for secondary and post secondary education training is guaranteed by a local non-governmental organisation.*
- *The organisation is funded by a successful private sector company that supports the education of orphans and other vulnerable children in Zimbabwe. However, continued educational support is conditional and depends on one's ability to pass national examinations.*
- *Full sponsorship is guaranteed up to university level depending on one's performance. In that regard remedial classes, homework assistance and other study materials are required to support our education both during and after leaving institutional care.*

Accommodation, transition or half-way homes: Adolescent girls consider accommodation as one of the critical transition interventions. To avoid homelessness, adolescents need programmes that provide free accommodation in communities that are free from crime, violence and have access to economic opportunities. On the subject of accommodation, two girls representing the views of the other girls said:

- *Since it is mandatory for us to leave the institution at the age of 18, programmes that offer free accommodation are of great importance to us because we don't want to end up living in the streets. We have no source of income and hence are not able to pay rent. Even if we were able to pay for our accommodation, some of us are afraid of staying on our own. We are too young to be living by ourselves. For example, if you live on your own, who will take you to hospital when you fall sick and who will protect you from abusive and violent men?*

- *Some of us without families in the community need safe and secure accommodation such as transition or half-way homes. Alternatively, we need to be linked to foster families who are able to provide us with accommodation until we are old enough and financially stable to live on our own.*

Family tracing and follow-up services: Family tracing and reunification programmes are essential to girls who have no contact with their biological families. The adolescent girls also need continued contact with care-givers and their siblings in the institution. On this subject, two adolescent girls said:

- *Most of us came into this institution when we were babies and we grew up in family units under the care of our housemothers. We have grown attached to them as they are the only parents we know. Should we marry, some of us would like our roora (bride price) paid to our housemothers because they took good care of us.*
- *We need to be reunified with our biological families. This is despite the fact that some of us are still angry at them for abandoning us. We are keen to know our family of origin and totems, therefore, programmes that trace and reunify us with our biological families are important to us. If our families are found and they accept us, we will be guaranteed of safety and security in the community. However, if they are bad people, we will not be happy living with them.*

Employment skills and talent development: Adolescent girls need programmes that provide employment skills and develop their talents. According to the girls, the programmes should provide information on opportunities available in communities and remove barriers for accessing them. During focus group discussions all the adolescent girls shared the sentiments below:

Due to lack of adequate social networks in the community, programmes that provide exposure to employment and entrepreneurial opportunities are critical to us. We need

employment and talent development skills as well as start-up capital to implement income-generating projects. These will provide us with alternative livelihood options considering that the rate of unemployment is very high in this country.

Financial support or living allowances: Financial support is one of the transition programme needs that adolescent girls considers critical to sustain their livelihoods. All the girls agreed on the following:

Financial support will help us to start a new life in the community and protect us from negative coping mechanisms such as prostitution, crime and early marriages and reduces vulnerability to sexual and labour exploitation.

Having captured the adolescent girls' views on transition programmes, it is also important to understand the perceptions of superintendents and the district social services officer on these. Their views are critical since they are the key transition service providers. The next sub-theme represents the views of the superintendents of Institutions A and B as well as the district social services officer.

5.3.4.4. Preparing for life beyond care: Superintendent of Institution A

According to the superintendent of Institution A, comprehensive and well-structured programmes should be developed and implemented for young people within the institution. The researcher asked the institutional head to explain what comprehensive and well-structured transition programmes are and got the following responses:

Comprehensive and well-structured transition programmes are age-appropriate and gender-sensitive programmes that are able to meet the individual needs and circumstances of the girls. They should empower the girls socially and economically through linking them to livelihood opportunities. The programmes should be delivered by well-trained staff with requisite skills in transition planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Highlighted below are the five key programmes proposed by the superintendent and the rationale for the programme choice:

Self- advocacy programmes for adolescent girls: *Self-advocacy is critical for adolescent girls to break the cycle of poverty and kill the dependency syndrome. The girls have developed a culture of expecting to receive and having things done for them all the time. Programmes that provide self-advocacy skills will enable them to be responsible, assertive and confident as well as the motivation to make a positive change.*

Educational support: *Adolescent girls need educational support to proceed to secondary and post secondary education. The institution offers education up to primary level and children who proceed to secondary education are sponsored through the institutional budget and individual sponsors. However, delays in the release of funds and lack of consistent funders affect the timely payment of school fees. Some adolescent girls who start school late and turn 18 before completing their secondary education need assistance to continue with their education when they leave institutional care.*

Relationship building, family and community support programmes: *Relationship building, family and community support programmes are important to the transitions of girls. Most of the girls that are in the institution are coming from environments where they were abused, neglected and exploited. These girls find it difficult to form trusting relationships with adults. Therefore, the girls need programmes that will help amend the broken relationships with their families and relatives. Such programmes include mentoring which helps to instil confidence and rebuild the broken trust. Programmes that provide parenting skills should be availed to facilitate healing and reconciliation of families. Communities should be educated on how to be supportive to children from institutions. They should work with institutions in creating conducive environments for the care and safety of adolescent girls. Some responsible and caring members of the community can also become foster parents to children lacking parental love and support.*

Family tracing and clear policies on reunification: *More resources need to be allocated for family tracing programmes to foster increased reunification of adolescent girls with their families. These programmes should support regular visitation for relationship building and assessment of living conditions. Policies on reunification should be clear and should be in the best interests of the girl. They should focus on the short and long-term developmental needs of the girl, ensuring that the receiving families are empowered to address those needs.*

Employment skills and talent development: *Girls need employment and talent development skills. They need economic empowerment programmes that link them to either formal or informal employment to guarantee their access to resources necessary to sustain their livelihoods. They need programmes that help them identify, nurture and promote their talents for them to have alternative livelihood options.*

The next section discusses the views expressed by the Superintendent of Institution B.

5.3.4.5. Preparing for life beyond care: Superintendent of Institution B

According to the superintendent of Institution B, transition programmes should promote adolescent girls' resilience and self-sufficiency. Thus, effective transition programmes should be able to identify the individual girl's strengths, interests and preferences and help her to achieve her full potential. To prepare adolescent girls for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes, the superintendent proposes the following:

Counselling and guidance: *Most of the girls were brought into the institution when they were babies and do not have knowledge of their families. The only life they know is institutional life and lack exposure to community and real life experiences. Adolescent girls therefore need programmes that provide counselling and guidance, for example psychosocial camps outside the institutional environment.*

Networking to create opportunities for girls: *Due to lack of social networks, adolescent girls need to be connected to organisations and individuals that are able to offer them*

developmental opportunities. These can be created through mentoring programmes, learning and cultural exchange visits. Through corporate social responsibility programmes, some organisations can facilitate career experimentation programmes, volunteer opportunities and holiday jobs.

Community education to support girls in institutions: *Communities need to be educated on how to support girls in the institution. The communities should be a safe place for the girls. Therefore, communities should work with the institution to provide community integration programmes where adolescent girls can participate in community activities freely without the fear of stigma.*

Family tracing and reunification: *Family tracing and reunification programmes are important as most of the children in the institution are foundlings. Family tracing should be done soon after placement to allow for bonding with the family and building of a permanent relationship.*

Employment skills and talent development: *Girls need programmes that prepare them for economic self-sufficiency, thus, reducing the risk of negative coping strategies. These programmes should provide employment skills (formal and informal), link them to job opportunities as well as provide start-up capital for small businesses.*

The responses from the district social services officer are discussed next.

5.3.4.6. Preparing for life beyond care: District social services officer

According to the district social services officer, successful transition programmes should fulfil the adolescent girls' right to education, food, shelter, clothing, identification and protection from all forms of abuse. The programmes should enable the adolescent girl to be self-sufficient, thus avoiding dependency on the government. To achieve this, various stakeholders must have the capacity to provide quality transition services for adolescent girls during and after institutional care. Hence, supportive structures from household to national

level should be strengthened to facilitate effective case management. The district social services officer considers the following transition programmes critical for promoting sustainable livelihoods for adolescent girls in institutions and post institutional care.

School fees: *Education is the right of every child. Programmes that provide school fees will enable vulnerable girls to access education.*

Health care and medication: *Young people need to be healthy for them to participate fully in development programmes.*

Vocational training skills: *Vocational training skills will help the adolescent girls to be self-sufficient and provide alternative livelihood options in the absence of formal employment.*

Protection from all forms of abuse: *It is the mandate of the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services to protect children from abuse and promote child-friendly environments where young people will survive and thrive. Therefore, programmes that educate families and communities on children's rights and protection from gender-based violence are protective interventions that foster positive transition outcomes for adolescent girls.*

Training on sexual and reproductive health: *Training on sexual and reproductive health will reduce unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases among adolescent girls.*

5.3.4.7. Comparative analysis of transition programmes needs for successful transitions

The foregoing has discussed the transition programmes proposed by adolescent girls in and outside Institutions A and B. The preceding analysis shows that all research participants need transition programmes that provide educational support, family tracing and reunification, relationship building, employment skills and talent development and financial

support. These programmes are able to reduce social and economic vulnerabilities associated with transitioning to adulthood and independent living. As active agents of development, adolescent girls were able to articulate the transition programmes interventions they considered critical for successful transitions. As affirmed by DFID (1999:1.3), the sustainable livelihoods approach put people at the centre of development. Thus, in developing transition policies and programmes, the views of adolescent girls in the institutional context need to be respected by policy-makers and development practitioners.

As the transition programme implementers, the views and opinions of the superintendents and the district social services officer are of paramount importance in transition programming. Their views on adolescent girls' transitions are important as their actions as leaders and managers of institutions affect livelihoods positively and negatively. As key transition service providers, they are also aware of the day to day challenges that adolescent girls grapple with in their transitions. During the interviews, the researcher sought their honest opinion on what they considered as critical success factors for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes. From the discussions, it became apparent that these participants (superintendents and the district social services officer) were personally concerned about the livelihood outcomes of girls during and after care. Below are some of the sentiments aired during interviews.

One superintendent said:

It hurts me to see these girls having poor livelihood outcomes post institutional care. However, some of the reasons for failed transitions are beyond our control. We are operating in a harsh economic environment where it is difficult to get adequate resources to implement well-structured programmes for young people. Some families and communities are not doing enough to provide social and moral support during and after care. On the other hand, some of the adolescent girls are not serious about their lives. They forget that life in the institution is temporary.

The other superintendent made the following comments:

I have served this institution for over twenty years and have watched these girls transitioning from early childhood to adolescence. For me, caring for these children goes beyond just a profession but is a lifetime investment in which I expect to see a positive return. As a caring adult, I take pride in the successful transitions of my girls. For example, one of my girls who left the institution three years ago wedded in church last year. All children and staff from the institution were invited and as the head of the institution, I was the guest of honour. During speeches, I commented the bride on how she grew up as a hard working and well-mannered girl and encouraged other girls to follow her footsteps. Like any good parent, it also grieves my heart if any of these girls do not complete their education, get pregnant, marry early or become homeless. For example, one of my girls got influenced negatively and was involved in crime. We had no option but to send her to a rehabilitation facility for character reformation. As an institution, we do the best we can to support the girls to achieve better livelihood outcomes. However, we need funding to implement sustainable livelihood projects and also support from the private sector to secure employment opportunities for our girls.

An analysis of transition programmes proposed by institutional heads seeks to empower the adolescent girls socially and economically. Empowerment of adolescent girls in the institutional context will facilitate independent living, thereby ending the dependency syndrome. The superintendents and district social services officer also proposed some protective transition programmes such as training on sexual and reproduction health and community support programmes. The former protects young women from unwanted pregnancies, early marriages and contraction of sexually transmitted diseases while the latter safeguards their lives from gender-based violence. Due to the diverse transition programmes needed by adolescent girls in the institutional context, establishing the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders is one important factor that promotes successful transitions. The forthcoming section discusses the roles of different stakeholders in the transition process.

5.3.5. THEME 5: STAKEHOLDERS IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS

As noted by DFID (1999:1.3), sustainable livelihood approaches improve development effectiveness through recognising the constraints that people in poverty face and the opportunities they have in securing their livelihoods. In that regard, this study has analysed how livelihood assets, needs, strategies and programmes influence the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context. Sustainable livelihoods approaches also recognise the role of multiple actors in the development process and how their actions affect livelihood strategies and outcomes of individuals (DFID 1999:1.3). According to this study, an analysis of livelihood assets, needs and strategies has identified the involvement of multiple stakeholders in the provision of different services and supports (see sub-themes 5.3.1.5, 5.3.2.3 and 5.3.3.5). Due to the multi-faceted and complex nature of adolescent girls' transitions, a collaborative approach is required to coordinate a variety services and supports that meet the individual as well as the shared livelihood needs. As recommended by Wehman (2011:106), the transition process should be collaborative, with different agents working together in assisting young people to accomplish their livelihood goals. To achieve this, the engagement and capacity of each stakeholder should be assessed since they have a bearing on the adolescent girls' livelihood outcomes. An analysis of stakeholders helps in establishing the roles and responsibilities of each actor in the transition process.

5.3.5.1. Roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in the transition process

Following the interviews conducted with thirty-two adolescents, two superintendents as well as the district social services officer, a list of stakeholders was drawn outlining all stakeholders and their contribution to the transition process. These were further analysed to establish the capacity of each stakeholder in delivering services and supports to adolescent girls during and after institutional care.

Table 5:9 below outlines the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders in the transition process. Accordingly, these stakeholders avail a variety of assets or resources needed by girls to sustain their livelihoods during and after care.

Table 5.9: Roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in the transition process

Name of stakeholder	Roles/responsibilities
Yourself	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-determination, discipline and hard work • Personal care and hygiene (bath, wash clothes, make bed) • Participate in institutional and school activities • Perform allocated duties in the institution (cleaning of institutional premises) • Provision of domestic labour in the home and field • Child care services for relatives and other guardians
Family/relatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide love and moral support during care • Provide shelter, food, clothes after care • Provide social protection after care
Schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide curriculum-based learning and other extracurricular activities such as after-school programs, psychosocial support • A socialisation agent that provides social skills to foster good citizenships
Social workers/probation officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide the following services: development of placement and discharge plans, assists with home and school placement, family tracing and reunification, after-care/follow-up services, birth registration, counselling and guidance, fostering and adoption services, writing of court orders and other referral services
Community-based organisations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide volunteering services at institutions such as cleaning, gardening, training and coordinating of psychosocial activities
Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides day to day care and protection of adolescents within facility • Provides basic needs of young people such as food, clothing, education, health care, shelter • Mobilise resources to support institutional activities and links children to resources • Provide informal counselling and guidance
Churches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community integration activities that links children to church members • Spiritual and moral guidance through Bible teachings • Material support such as provision of clothes and stationery • Counselling and guidance through youth and women groups • Fostering and mentoring programmes
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develops child protection laws and policies and enforces them through different government agencies • Provide material, human and financial resources for the support and care of orphans and other vulnerable children in institutions

The next section analyses the roles as well as the capacities of each identified stakeholder in the transition process. The stakeholder analysis is presented starting with adolescent girls, family/relatives, schools, social workers/probation officers, community-based organisations, institutions, churches and finally the government.

5.3.5.2. The role of adolescent girls in the transition process

Adolescent girls are key players in the transition process. Their active participation is crucial for the success or failure of their transitions both during and after institutional care.

According to Viviers (2014:2), participation is an “on-going process of children’s expression and active involvement in decision-making at all levels of society, duly taking into consideration their capacity at different ages to ensure meaningful and authentic participation.” Although the participation of children is encouraged at national, regional and international levels, this study reveals that adolescent girls are not participating fully in the transition process. This is affirmed by the remarks made by some adolescent girls during interviews:

- *It has been a long time since I met the probation officer to discuss about my care plans. It must be over 5 years now from our last meeting and so much has happened in my life since then. I wonder if my file is being updated at all.*
- *There is no review of the discharge plans and we rarely get feedback on developmental action that need follow-up either by the institution or probation officers.*
- *There is no counselling or deliberate discussion on the transition process. No one bothers to ask what my transition needs are. All I know is that one day when I turn eighteen I will be sacked from this institution.*
- *I am not sure if anyone cares about my well-being after care. If somebody cared, by now there should be meetings to plan on where I will be staying, what I will be eating and who will be paying for my school fees.*
- *I was treated like a criminal the day I was discharged from the institution. On that sad day, I was told to pack all my belongings because the Probation Officer had come to take me home. If I had been informed a week earlier, I would have at least said goodbye to my friends in the community. Psychologically, I was not prepared for the exit since I had not received any prior counselling. My relative was also not ready emotionally and financially, hence the transition experience was traumatic for me.*

- *The transition process for those exiting institutional care is not fair. Unoita kunge chikorobho charaswa (You feel like an old garment that has been discarded). No-one made a follow-up on me or cared to check how I was faring. Life outside the institution is so hard and to make matters worse, I lost contact with all the people that used to assist me during my stay in the institution.*

Although participating in the transition process is important, adolescent girls are also responsible for the development of character, skills and competences that promote resilience. However, some of the girls have negative attitudes. One of the superintendents made the following complaint:

Some of these girls are lazy. They do not want to work as they have gotten used to having the institution providing for them and receiving gifts from well-wishers. They lack the initiative and motivation to work and make something of their lives yet, they aspire for good things in life. We tell them to participate in gardening and poultry projects and some of them decline on the basis of child rights. Just a little manual work is perceived as child labour and a violation of their rights. This issue of child rights is being misconstrued by some girls who think that rights absolve them from being responsible. Some of us grew up under very difficult conditions, yet through hard work and self-determination, we have improved our lot.

Contrary to the views expressed by the superintendent, other girls are determined to change their lives for the better. Although the girls have a good attitude towards life, this study revealed that adolescent girls lack leadership skills that foster self-determination and advocacy. Such skills foster increased participation in the transition process as they will enhance the capacity of the girls to set realistic livelihood goals and objectives, implement them and monitor their own progress.

One of the girls said:

I enjoy participating in sporting activities and keeping fit. I also am a hard-working and well-disciplined girl both in school and at the institution. However, I need a coach so that I will become a professional basketball player. I also need assistance in joining the armed forces after leaving care.

5.3.5.3. The role of families and relatives in the transition process

In line with the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy, biological nuclear family should care and protect every child. However, in the event of both parents dying, the extended family is expected to resume the responsibility of care and protection (Ministry of Social Services, 2010a:13). Therefore, families should be on the forefront of the continuum of care, providing a safety net system for orphans and other vulnerable children. However, the failure of family structures due to the harsh economic environment and complex social challenges in Zimbabwe has resulted in some children being placed in institutional care. Due to the extreme poverty levels, families are struggling to sustain themselves, let alone carry additional responsibilities for the care and support of more dependents. As noted from this study, some adolescent girls are in the institution as a result of socio-economic problems. They know their families or relatives, but reunification has been difficult because their families are financially constrained. Hence, the provision of financial assistance to families that will be providing care to adolescent girls post institutional care is one of their transitional needs. Some adolescent girls cannot be reunified with relatives due to previous social problems such as abuse and denial of inheritance. These findings are supported by an analysis of livelihood strategies being employed by adolescent girls post institutional care which showed that 68.75% participants are staying with non-relatives namely; spouses, foster parents and institutions. Only, 31.25% were reunified with their families. Regarding the engagement of families/relatives in the transition process, this is what girls from Institution A said during interviews:

➤ *My relatives are not playing any role in my life at the moment.*

- *My grandmother provides moral support only. She does not contribute financially or materially because of economic hardships.*
- *My family and relatives do not offer me any support*
- *Although I have an aunt and a brother, I am not in touch with them.*
- *I am not receiving any support from relatives. I am in touch with my siblings who live in another institution and I do not expect any material support from them since they are still young and in primary school.*

Adolescent girls from Institution B made the following comments:

- *My brother visits me to the institution once every three months. He gives me \$1 or \$2 because he is not employed. He is planning to go to South Africa to look for a job.*
- *My sister bought me some shoes once and her visits make me happy because I have someone to share with my innermost thoughts.*
- *My newly found brothers and sisters have visited me once and I am happy to have found my family.*
- *My aunt visits me once in a while and I am always happy to see her.*

Four girls without families and relatives said:

- *We do not know our families and relatives, so we not getting any help from them.*

The following comments were made by adolescent girls outside institutions:

- *I have started my own family with my husband and I look forward to having support from my in-laws and my other estranged relatives.*
- *My brother who lives in the institution visits me during holidays and I am not in touch with my other relatives because they are waiting for my husband to pay lobola (bride price).*
- *I am in the institution because my family and relatives have not been located.*
- *I am currently not in touch with my step-mother and sister since I moved in with my boyfriend.*
- *My aunt maintains my upkeep and I am also in touch with my sister who still lives in the institution.*
- *My in-laws are kind and supportive. My uncles who were not there for me whilst I was in the institution are now forthcoming because my husband is taking good care of me.*
- *Although my brother is poor, I am staying with him in the village. From the time I left the institution, he is the one providing me with food, shelter and protection.*

To enhance the capacity of families to provide effective care and protection, the girls highlighted the importance of family support programmes and proposed the provision of parenting skills to enhance the social security of children. To improve financial security, adolescent girls and superintendents proposed financial strengthening initiatives such as cash transfers, microfinance or other income generating projects.

5.3.5.4. The role of schools in the transition process

Schools provide formal education, tuition and extra curriculum activities such as sport and games that enhance physical fitness and after-school clubs providing counselling and guidance. They are socialising agents that teach good morals and instil discipline that promote pro-social behaviours. The following comments were made by some girls during focus group discussions and interviews:

- *Schools enhance our academic, interpersonal and social competences. Through education, we develop responsible behaviours and are motivated to achieve. Education increases our access to development opportunities that will take us out of poverty and make us respectable members of society. We are also sure that when we are educated, our families who abandoned us will love and accept us.*
- *I receive education which prepares me for my future. The school has recently started a counselling and guidance club. I joined the club this term and have so far have benefited from lessons entitled “growing pains” which teach about challenges and opportunities of adolescence.*
- *In addition to getting an education, the school teaches me good morals and help me to become a good and responsible citizen.*
- *The college is contributing to my development by giving me entrepreneurial skills. The college authorities are also supportive and understanding. For example, in cases where the sponsor delays to pay fees, I am not expelled from classes.*
- *At school, we do not get preferential treatment from other children as we all get the same education. However, some teachers often display empathy through provision of counselling and extra lessons for free. However, some kids are mean to us and they call us names such as “vana vekuhome” (meaning kids from the institution). This label stigmatises us since institutionalisation is still being associated with bad behaviours.*

To enhance the capacity of schools in providing transition programmes for adolescent girls in the institution, the girls proposed the establishment of functional girl empowerment clubs. According to the findings, adolescent girls need girl-friendly spaces in schools and communities where they are able to meet with mentors and other role models. They need responsible community members who are role models whom they can learn from and form constructive relationships with which will help them as they traverse to adulthood and independent living. According to the girls, the schools should also provide free holiday lessons and revision classes to assist some of the girls who are struggling with Mathematics and other Science subjects.

5.3.5.5. The role of social workers/probation officers in the transition process

Social workers or Probation Officers are key service providers in the transition process. Their role starts from the removal of children living in unsafe environments to places of safety as well as ensuring that they have access to the basic needs of life whilst in care. They are responsible for the leaving care process which seeks to ensure that young people are able to acquire skills and competences that improve their life chances beyond institutional care. In explaining his roles and responsibility, the district social services officer said:

I am involved in the implementation of child welfare and protection services. I am also responsible for the coordination of other social protection programmes in line with the department's statutory mandate.

The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services has the statutory mandate of providing welfare and protection services to vulnerable members of the society. However, findings from this study revealed that the department has not been able to provide some key services. According to the study, the capacity of social workers to provide quality transition programmes has been affected by lack of funding. The huge case loads coupled with responsibilities from other social protection programmes being implemented by the department affect the quality of service delivery, particularly the assessment of individual case files and follow-up on key action points from care and discharge plans. These findings

are congruent with results from the institutional capacity assessment of the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services which was conducted in 2010 (Wyatt, et al., 2010:iii). According to the assessment, the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services is under-resourced with huge case loads. The department also lacks funding to procure essential equipment, making it difficult for officers to perform statutory duties such as reunification of children with families (Wyatt, et al., 2010:iii). With regards to the roles and capacity of social workers, the following responses were received from some girls who participated in the study:

- *Social workers provide services on behalf of the government. I am expecting their assistance in acquiring a birth certificate.*
- *Social workers help us to find our families and relatives in the community and deal with disciplinary cases. We rarely speak with them and when they visit the institution, they only meet with our supervisors in the office.*
- *The probation officer brings children to the institution. They also write reports for children in conflict with the law.*
- *The social workers visited me twice to check on my welfare soon after reunification. Since then, I have not received a visit.*
- *A probation officer linked me to a non-governmental organisation supporting my university studies.*
- *A social worker provided group counselling once when there were allegations of child abuse.*
- *We have no contact with social workers.*

To enhance its capacity to deliver meaningful transition programmes, the department requires financial, technical, human and material resources to provide services that foster increased access to education, shelter, food security, health and protection of young people from all forms of abuse.

5.3.5.6. The role of community-based organisations' (CBOs) in the transition process

Community-based organisations interact with institutions and children through the provision of psychosocial activities. Various teams from CBOs provide voluntary services such as cleaning up of the institution's premises, repair and maintain buildings and furniture as well as offer assistance with poultry and gardening projects. They sometimes donate second hand clothes and stationery.

According to this study, the engagement of CBOs has declined in recent years. Their engagement in recent years is limited to volunteering services that do not involve monetary or material contributions. Community-based organisations are finding it difficult to access funds for implementing welfare and developmental programmes at community level. This change is associated with funding mechanisms (Programme of Support and Child Protection Fund), established to coordinate and scale up international donor support for NAP I and II respectively (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:5). Under these mechanisms, international donors pool their funds which are managed by UNICEF in collaboration with the Government of Zimbabwe. As cited by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011c:5), under the Programme of Support, the government and UNICEF partnered with 33 NGOs who sub-contracted 150 local organisations. Consequently, these funding mechanisms have excluded many community-based organisations which lack the capacity to compete for limited funding opportunities and are also not able to apply directly to international donors. According to the study, the lack of funding has resulted in the closure of some CBOs or change of strategy involving the use of volunteers, provision of non-financial services and mobilising of locally available resources. The following comments were made by some adolescent girls during focus group discussions:

- *Community-based organisations used to bring a lot of foodstuffs and other gifts before.*
- *In recent years community-based organisations come to spent some time with us and assist with cleaning up of the premises, help with gardening and play social soccer at the institution.*

However, according to this study, some community-based organisations are implementing sustainable livelihood projects in rural areas. These CBOs are implementing partners of some International NGOs. One of the girls discharged from Institution B and living in a rural community said:

The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services linked me to a community-based organisation involved in sustainable livelihood projects. This CBO is involved in goats rearing projects, where we were given five goats per household. Since then, my family has been able to get milk and meat from the goats as well as cash in case of a family crisis.

According to the study, community-based organisations working with children need access to sustainable sources of funding for them to be operational and continue to provide psychosocial support, training on sexual and reproductive health, gender-based violence, HIV prevention and awareness as well as other income-generating projects for adolescent girls in institutions.

5.3.5.7. The role of institutions in the transition process

Although institutions are regarded as the last resort in the child care continuum, they are responsible for the provision of holistic services that promote positive livelihood outcomes during and after care. However, the study noted the challenges being faced by institutions in providing meaningful and consistent services to adolescent girls in their care. For example, both institutions mentioned the lack of adequate and consistent funding as well as supportive policies for the development and implementation of well-structured transition programmes. Both institutions also lack adequate human resources, hence, care-givers are over-worked

and are not capable of providing other key services. The following discusses the challenges being faced by Institution A.

Institution A: The interview held with the superintendent of Institution A revealed the challenges being faced by the institution in providing programmes that meet the individual as well as the shared needs of adolescent girls. The institution lacks the following:

- *Adequate food varieties.*
- *Sufficient institutional funding, timely and consistent release of budgetary allocations.*
- *Skills and talent development programmes for adolescent girls.*
- *Capacity development programmes for care-givers.*
- *Policies to effectively implement comprehensive transition programmes for young people.*

The researcher asked about the role and responsibilities of the superintendent of Institution A and received the following response:

I am responsible for the strategic leadership of the institution, resource mobilisation, human resources management, planning, organising and coordination of institution's projects and activities. I am also responsible for partnership development to promote mutual relationships with communities, NGOs and private sector.

Institution B: According to the superintendent of Institution B, there has been minimal funding from donors in recent years and the few donors available are reluctant to finance salaries and other administration costs. This results in difficulties in the payment of salaries for institutional staff as well as the maintenance of infrastructure. To enhance the capacity of Institution B, the following interventions are needed:

- *Career guidance and talent development training programmes.*
- *Recruitment of more staff to reduce work over-load.*

- Increased funding to cater for staff salaries and other administration costs.
- Renovation and repair as well as general maintenance of structures (plumbing, roof leaks and faulty electricity) which endanger the safety of children.
- Income-generating projects to support the running costs of the organisations.

However, the institution tends to benefit from the many years of experience possessed by the superintendent. In describing the role and responsibility, the superintendent said:

I am actively involved in resource mobilisation to ensure the upkeep of the children and smooth running of the institution. I ensure that the family units within the institution get their monthly provisions and they are optimally used for the benefit of the children. I provide leadership and guidance to the institution, ensuring that child protection policies are adhered to, whilst at the same time motivating staff. I manage relationships with donors, government departments and other stakeholders working with children.

As noted from this study, institutions lack the capacity to deliver quality transition services for adolescent girls. Additionally, the care-givers are over-whelmed with the numbers of children they deal with in resource-constrained environments.

5.3.5.8. The role of churches in the transition process

Community churches in Highfield play a significant role in supporting the livelihoods of adolescent girls living in institutions. They respond to spiritual, moral and emotional needs of the children as well as provide material support through donated goods. Churches also help in the social integration of children in the community. The following comments were noted from adolescent girls during interviews and focus group discussions:

- *I go to a local church which provides us with transport from the institution to church and back every Sunday. I look forward to going to church because it gives me the opportunity to mingle with different people in the community. I receive teachings from the Bible that give me hope and help me to think positively. I also participate in church*

activities which are both entertaining and educative. I sometimes receive gifts from some church members.

- *I have experienced some changes in my character ever since I started attending church services. Going to church has helped me in controlling my temper. I used to be angry all the time but through the teachings I get from church, I am now able to communicate and interact well with others.*
- *I go to a church and I am in the choir. The choir practice has helped develop my talent of singing. Singing and dancing in church is therapeutic and helps me release some tensions. Being in church also makes me feel loved and accepted and the teachings give me hope, confidence and help me in making better life choices. I also enjoy the afternoon snacks we are given after church service.*
- *The local church provides counselling during visits at the institution. Their prayers and counselling sessions help to shape the behaviour of some naughty children thereby reducing some bullying, especially from boys. Going to church also gives me a sense of belonging and makes me feel accepted in God's family. I however wish the church members would invite me in their homes so that I will have somewhere to go to during school holidays.*
- *The church members make me feel loved and accepted. I look forward to getting married in church when I get a suitable partner.*
- *I met my husband at church and got marriage counselling from the church elders. The women's group meetings teach us on good housekeeping, becoming a virtuous wife and information on sexual and reproductive health.*
- *Even though church services last for three to four hours a week, it helps in breaking the monotony of institutional life. Participating in church activities gives me a sense of self-*

discovery and fulfilment. However, some of us would appreciate if families in the church would welcome us in their homes or become our foster parents so that so that we will experiences more of the community life.

- *Through various church meetings we have been taught to forgive people that have hurt us, love ourselves, live peacefully and build constructive relationships. The church encourages us to be good citizens who shun anti-social behaviours such as theft, prostitution and abuse of drugs.*

As noted from the fore-going, the churches in the community play an active role in the spiritual and moral well-being of young people. However, according to the girls, the church should step up its good works and provide other services such as fostering and adoption. The churches should also open their families so that the girls will have community life and family experiences.

5.3.5.9. The role of the government in the transition process

According to this study, the government provides shelter, food, clothing, primary education and health care to children living in institutions. The government also develops policies and laws for the care and protection of all children. The superintendent of Institution A described the role of the government as follows:

The government provides material and financial resources for the upkeep of the children, payment of institutional bills as well as staff salaries.

During focus group discussions, some adolescent girls in Institution A made the following comments:

- *The government provides food, clothing, warm blankets and education up to primary level.*

- *The government protects us through different agencies, for example the police who are responsible for maintaining law and order.*
- *The government provides me with accommodation and medical cover. However, getting medical attention or getting admitted using AMTOs is problematic, as some hospitals do not accept them.*
- *The government employs care-givers who supervise us in the institution and social workers who help us to get birth certificates and other referral services.*

Some adolescent girls in Institution B said:

- *I am not aware on the specific help that the government is providing because we are always getting our provisions from our Superintendent who gives monthly allocations to each family unit.*
- *I was told that the government provides some support to the institution for us to have access to protection and medical cover.*
- *The probation officers who assist us with the tracing of our families and birth registration are employed by the government.*
- *The institution gets bales of second hand clothes and blankets from the government which are distributed to us by our housemothers.*

Some adolescent girls who exited both institutions and are staying with relatives, foster parents and spouses agreed on the following:

We are not receiving any assistance from the government.

Adolescent girls who were transferred to other institutions agreed on the following:

The government provides material and financial resources to the institution for our upkeep.

According to the findings, the children in privately-run are not quite clear about the contribution being made by the government because most of the resources received by the institution come from donors in the private sector. There is therefore minimal interaction of government officials with children in those institutions. As noted from this study, adolescent girls who have left institutional care are not getting any support from the government. Therefore, for the children to fully benefit, the government needs to support the development of gender-responsive transition policies and programmes for all children during and after care.

In summary, since stakeholders have the power to control access to assets, their engagement is key for positive livelihood outcomes. The lower the level of engagement, the fewer the assets adolescent girls have access to and vice versa. As noted from the study, there is a higher level of stakeholder engagement before adolescent girls exit care but once they are in the community, the level of engagement declines. This disengagement is despite the fact that adolescent girls will still be in need of the services and support from the same stakeholders. As noted by DFID (1999:1.3), “sustainable poverty reduction will be achieved if only external support works with people in a way that is congruent with their current livelihood strategies, social environments and ability to adapt.” However, this is not the case with adolescent girls who are discharged from child care residential facilities. Leaving care thus becomes a shock to adolescent girls who lose the services and support of key stakeholders.

According to this study, stakeholders lack resources to support the transitions of adolescent girls before and after care, even though they may be willing to do so. Without transition programmes adolescent girls’ vulnerability to poor livelihood outcomes increases. Therefore, investments should be channelled towards the transitions of adolescents,

particularly those in the institutional context. Confronting the transition challenges that adolescent girls face in their transitions requires urgent attention current the lack thereof has economic, social and political implications in the future (UNICEF, 2011:4). As affirmed by UNICEF (2011:4), the empowerment and protection of adolescent girls is the “soundest way of breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty.”

The next section analyses gender in the institutional context.

5.3.6. THEME 6: GENDER ANALYSIS IN THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

The gender assessment tool was designed to analyse the gender-responsiveness of transition programmes being provided by institutions. The tool which also measures the level of access to assets by boys, seeks to assess whether institutions are gender-sensitive to the unique needs of girls and boys. As noted by Inter-agency Standing Committee (2006:3), women, girls, men and boys have practical needs which relate to their survival such as food, water, shelter and safety. They also have strategic needs which concern their relative position in relation to each other. These needs include property rights, political participation and protection from domestic violence. According to Inter-agency Standing Committee (2006:3), while practical needs seek to address the immediate conditions of women and men, strategic needs seek to address the inequalities between sexes. Therefore, gender analysis, responds to a series of questions that investigates whether programmes are designed and implemented with sensitivity to the different needs of women and girls, men and boys (Inter-agency Standing Committee, 2006:viii).

To assess the responsiveness of transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls in the institutional context, two questionnaires were administered to the superintendents of Institutions A and B. The questionnaires assessed the assets that boys and girls had access to and the various activities performed by each sex. The sustainable livelihoods framework was used to classify questions into human, social, physical, financial and public assets. To analyse and interpret quantitative data, the researcher read through the information collected from the two respondents to check for non-response. Fortunately, there were none. Thirdly,

the researcher devised a plan for descriptive analysis which entailed allocating a score for each variable under each asset category. In order to assess gender outcomes, the scores were then summed up and presented under each asset category. These statistics are presented in Tables 5.10 and 5.11 presented below, followed by interpretations and a comparative analysis of the two institutions.

5.3.6.1. Gender Analysis: Institution A

The tables below summarises the responses from the gender assessment tool administered to the head of Institution A. The responses are calculated as a percentage of total scores.

Table 5.10: Gender outcomes: Institution A

Asset category	All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls and boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None	Total scores
Human Assets	1	1	8			2	12
Social Assets			5	1		3	9
Financial Assets			0			9	9
Physical Assets			4			4	8
Public Assets			5			1	6
Totals	1	1	22	1		19	44

An analysis of Institution A indicates that boys and girls have equal access to 50% transition programmes being provided by the institution. Where the institution lacks resources, 43.18% representing both sexes had no access. For instance, the institution does not provide pocket money and contraceptives to girls and boys, hence both have no access. The institution also provides gender-specific needs such as sanitary wear to all girls. Adolescent girls (2.27%) have better personal hygiene compared to boys. However, more boys (2.27%), than girls get more opportunities of participating in events outside the institution than girls. Accordingly, this practice places gender-based constraints as the girls' movements outside the institution are restricted. The next section analyses gender outcomes for Institution B.

5.3.6.2. Gender analysis: Institution B

Table 5.12 below gives an analysis of the programmes. Adolescent girls and boys in Institution B have equal access to 47.72% of the assets. All girls have access to gender-specific needs such as sanitary wear for adolescent girls. However, due to the living arrangements where female care-givers act as heads of family units, girls tend to have access to more human and social assets (11.36%) than boys

Table 5.11: Gender analysis: Institution B

Asset category	All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls and boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None	Total scores
Human Assets	1	2	7			2	12
Social Assets		3	4	1		1	9
Financial Assets						9	9
Physical Assets			4			4	8
Public Assets			6			0	9
Totals	1	5	21	1		16	44

Findings reveal that, girls have more access to informal counselling on sexual and reproduction health as well as sanitation. Girls receive more visitors, visit families or relatives in the community and participate more in organising social activities than boys. However, more boys than girls are involved in recreational activities outside the institution (2.27%). Both boys and girls have access to 47.73% of all assets and 36.36% of the assets are not provided. Therefore, the transition programmes provided by Institution B are more responsive to the needs of adolescent girls than boys.

5.3.6.3. Comparative analysis of gender outcomes

Since institutions are mandated to provide uniform services/programmes to girls and boys in their care, they are expected to be gender equal. However, the differences in policies and practices affect their responsiveness to critical gender issues. Findings show that children in both institutions have no access to contraceptives and structured programmes providing

information on sex and reproductive health. The lack of such programmes has created a culture of silence where girls are not able to speak freely on sexuality and get critical information that affects their livelihood outcomes now and in the future. In this regard, both institutions are not gender-responsive as they fail to recognise how this culture can negatively impact on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care.

The living arrangements of adolescent girls in institutions also result in different gender outcomes. As noted from this study, there are increased life skills transfers to adolescent girls in Institution B than those in Institution A. Adolescent girls in Institution B stay in smaller family units and maintain closer contact to their housemothers who impart different life skills to them through participation and observation. However, the dormitory-styled living arrangement does not provide the adolescent girls with the opportunity of bonding with their care-givers and transfer of critical life skills. Additionally, adolescent girls in Institution A lack community exposure due to restricted movements outside the institution. Consequently, the programmes being offered by institutions as well as their practices affect the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls before and after care. In this regard, establishing the different livelihood needs that both girls and boys have is pivotal to the development of gender-responsive policies and programmes. Nevertheless, gender equality does not mean that girls and boys are the same but it means that both can enjoy rights, opportunities and life chances without being limited by their sexes (Inter-agency Standing Committee, 2006:1). In response to that, institutions need to take deliberate action to mainstream gender in transition policy-making and programming. The following discusses the transition experiences of adolescent girls.

5.3.7. THEME 7: TRANSITION EXPERIENCES OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS

Following document analyses, interviews, focus group discussions, observations and questionnaires, this section discusses the transition experiences of adolescent girls in the institutional context. Using the sustainable livelihood approaches, this study analysed the assets adolescent girls have access to, livelihood needs (practical needs), livelihood strategies being used, proposed transition programmes (strategic needs), the roles and

responsibilities of different stakeholders in the transition process as well as the gender outcomes of transition programming. From these analyses, this study has revealed the different experiences of adolescent girls living in two institutions in the urban community of Highfield district, Harare as well as adolescent girls discharged from the same institutions. The subsequent sub-themes interpret the transition experiences of adolescent girls inside and outside institutional care.

5.3.7.1. Adolescent girls inside Institutions A and B

An analysis of adolescent girls in the two institutions has shown some uniformity in terms of the kinds of access to assets and livelihood strategies being used to secure livelihoods. For adolescent girls in both institutions, access to assets is dependent on the institution's ability to mobilise resources as well as governance structures (whether government-run or privately-run). These two factors also affect the quality of service provision or programming by the respective institutions. For example, adolescent girls in Institution A are not happy about the quality of food provided by the institution whilst adolescent girls in Institution B are satisfied with the meals supplied. The support of stakeholders such as relatives, churches and community-based organisation also affords adolescent girls from both institutions with different transition experiences. For example, churches provide spiritual and moral support as well as community integration activities.

As noted from this study, Institution A, which is state-owned, employs care-givers who are responsible for the supervision of all the children in the institution. The care-giving roles of these supervisors are disaggregated by gender. This means that male supervisors are responsible for the boys and female for girls. Due to the large numbers of children in the institution, the few supervisors find it very difficult to provide individualised service, for example, one-on-one counselling. In contrast, adolescent girls in Institution B form close relationships with their housemothers and siblings who live under the same family unit. The girls therefore have the opportunity to bond as a family and learn some critical life skills.

Adolescent girls in Institution A are coming from diverse and complex family backgrounds and were admitted on grounds of poverty, abuse, neglect and exploitation. Due to their different socio-economic backgrounds, adolescents in Institution A have varied perceptions and transition experiences which have a bearing on their emotional and behavioural dispositions. Conversely, most of the adolescent girls in Institution B are foundlings who were admitted in the institutions soon after birth. Hence, the experiences of adolescent girls in Institution B are almost similar since they were admitted due to the same circumstances. In addition, they live in a set-up that resembles a normal family unit, with the housemother taking the place of the biological parent. However, some girls would like the experience of a father figure in their units. Therefore, according to this study, the transition experiences of adolescent girls in Institution A and B are affected and shaped by the following:

- The institution's ability to mobilise resources (adequate or inadequate funding)
- The engagement of other stakeholders such as families, churches, CBOs government
- The governance structure (management of institution, institutional policies and practices)
- The living arrangements (dormitory or family-based structures)
- The reason for admittance in the institution

5.3.7.2. Adolescent girls outside institutional care

The livelihood pathways of adolescent girls vary considerably, one from the other. As soon as they leave institutional care, their livelihood strategy cease to be uniform but each girl begins to have unique experiences. As noted from the findings, their experiences differ depending on the levels of services and support or the assets they have access to. The key source of support that adolescent girls outside institutions have comes from their social networks (relatives or non-relatives). Due to financial and social insecurity, adolescent girls outside care rely on the support of families, foster parents, spouses and other institutions to meet their basic needs. These social networks rarely provide strategic or long-term developmental needs. The socio-economic conditions of these support systems also affect their livelihood outcomes. For example, if one is married to a poor husband, she

automatically becomes poor. After-care support received from the institution and Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services also affects the level of access to resources in the community. Accordingly, after-care programmes provide linkages and services that promote increased access to resources, thus offering different experiences for girls post institutional care.

What is unique about young people exiting care is the sudden loss of services that facilitate access to assets. Although some adolescent girls are in a position to acquire certain types of assets they did not have access to information on sex and reproduction health, cellphones or pocket money, access is mostly through the generosity and economic conditions of their relationships. While some benefit from the skills they received from institutions, others have to learn by experience or observation, thus exercising personal agency. Adolescent girls who have left institutional care and are living in communities have to quickly adjust to their new environments for them to fit in. This is because, when they were discharged from institutions, most of them had not attained critical life skills needed for them to participate fully in the communities' activities or access the community resources. Therefore, the transition experiences and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls outside institutions are shaped by the following:

- Social support systems (families, relatives, foster parents, institutions, spouses)
- The economic and social circumstances of the new care-givers/guardians
- The living environments (rural/urban)
- Personal agency (self-determination and advocacy)
- Skills and material resources obtained from institutions
- After-care services and support received from the institution and Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services.

The foregoing discussion of transition experiences show that adolescent girls in the institutional context are socially and economic vulnerable. Due to these factors, the

adolescent girls' transitions are hard and their livelihoods are not sustainable. The forthcoming section evaluates transition experiences and sustainability.

5.3.7.3. Transition experiences and sustainability: An evaluation

As noted by DFID (1999:1.4), livelihoods are said to be sustainable if people are resilient in the face of external shocks and stresses. Sustainability also means that people are not dependent on external support and if they are, the support should be economically and institutionally sustainable. It is also defined as maintenance of the long-term productivity of natural resources. Nevertheless, one adolescent girl needed land to secure her livelihood. According to DFID (1999:1.4) another definition of sustainability is where livelihoods do not compromise the livelihood options of others. Sustainability can be conceptualised in terms of environmental, economic, social and institutional sustainability. Again, this study does not focus on environmental sustainability. As defined by DFID (1999:1.4),

economic sustainability is achieved when a given level of expenditure can be maintained over time, social sustainability is achieved when social exclusion is minimised and social equity maximised and institutional sustainability is achieved when prevailing structures and processes have the capacity to continue to perform their functions over the long term.''

The next part explores the transition experiences of adolescent girls in relation to social and economic sustainability.

Social sustainability: Adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B lose about 21.95% of social assets (see Table 5.4 above). One would assume that when adolescent girls are back in the community, they would have increased access to social assets. However, findings have disapproved this assumption. Findings have revealed that adolescent girls outside institutional care experience social isolation with most of them losing contact with their peers and other social networks such as churches and community-based organisations. Establishing and maintaining new social relationships is difficult considering that adolescent girls have limited mobility and discretionary time to pursue their personal interests as a result of increased domestic work and child care responsibilities. These findings resonate with observations made by Lukas (2008:3), that girls have fewer friend networks than boys

and fewer safe and supportive spaces to meet friends. In this study, this is supported by the reduced participation by adolescent girls in recreational activities as well as the decrease in the number of friends they have compared to those in institutions (see findings presented under sub-theme 5.2.4).

As presented under sub-theme 5.3.4.2, adolescent girls with no social skills lack the confidence required to develop new social relationships. Life in institutions is isolated and offers minimum social interaction necessary for the development and maintenance of social relations. This isolation denies the girls the practical knowledge essential for accessing community resources that eases the transition process. As observed from the needs analysis, adolescent girls desired social networking programmes, community exposure visits, participation in cultural and community activities and training in life skills. However, due to the lack of structured programmes that increases social competences and link adolescent girls to social resources (relationships and skills), adolescent girls exiting care experienced challenges in adopting new social roles and meeting the expectations of the society.

As observed by Lukas (2008:2), some paternalistic societies restrict the movement of girls in public in order to “preserve them as a commodity value for marriage.” This observation is true for adolescent girls outside institutional care. For adolescent girls in institutions, mobility is restricted to protect them from early marriages and pregnancies. However, as a result of limited mobility, adolescent girls lack access to services and information that provide livelihood opportunities. As a consequence, they suffer social isolation and are excluded from relationships and activities that provide access to financial, physical, public and human assets. Thus, the demands and restrictions placed on adolescent girls by virtue of their gender and gender roles affect their livelihood outcomes negatively during and after institutional care. As noted by Eguavoen (2010:269), “the social space for young people in Africa is socially defined thus constraining social and economic activities. Youth may be the most mobile part of the population because they are not yet bound by property and family obligations. Paradoxically, not having opportunities to start independent life may lead to a state of social and geographic immobility.”

An evaluation of transition experiences shows that adolescent girls lack adequate social capital to foster successful transitions before and after leaving care. As a result, they are vulnerable to poor social outcomes as they lack the necessary support they need to cope with the shocks and stresses of institutionalisation and leaving institutional care. As observed from this study, the transition experiences of adolescent girls during care are difficult. The transition experiences after care are even harder and more painful. Thus, adolescent girls in the institutional context are socially vulnerable and need support to achieve social sustainability.

Economic sustainability: Adolescent girls in Institution A and B have no access to financial resources compared to their counterparts outside care. However, the slight increase of financial assets by 5.25% is not significant because the amounts adolescent girls outside care have are less than a dollar per day. Thus, the amounts are too low to sustain their livelihoods. The study has shown that adolescent girls outside institutional care have access to economic assets only through their relationships with other people (see findings under sub-theme 5.3.3.2). According to Lukas (2008:4), some adolescent girls enter into relationships with older men to improve their security or status or gain material possession. Adolescent girls in this study get pocket money from relatives, foster parents and spouses. As revealed by this study, adolescent girls resort to early marriages as an economic strategy. Adolescent girls that have exited the two institutions cannot afford food, clothing, shelter, sanitary wear, school fees and shelter on their own. They do not feel safe and secure living on their own, so they need adults to provide social security. However, this creates power relations where girls will have no direct access or control of assets. Due to these power relations, adolescent girls cannot make independent decisions on their lives. As observed by Lukas (2008:4), adolescent girls who enter into relationships with older men fail to negotiate safer sex because of their culturally and economically inferior positions). As a result, some adolescent girls outside institutions find themselves in exploitative and abusive relationships. However, due to economic vulnerability, adolescent girls endure such relationships to avoid destitution since these relationships help them to meet their livelihood

goals. Consequently, gender relations that govern access to economic assets affect livelihood outcomes negatively post institutional care.

As noted from this study, adolescent girls leave institutional care without employment skills and capital to start some income-generating projects. They also lack other financial resources such as access to credit, financial literacy, insurance and other cash entitlements. As affirmed by Lukas (2008:7), adolescent girls are excluded from participating in microcredit schemes because they have little enterprise experience, and frequently migrate for school, employment or marriage. According to this study, adolescent girls inside and outside Institutions A and B required transition programmes that would provide career exploration experiences, employment skills, talent development and access to pocket money. Unfortunately, such programmes are not being provided by the respective institutions. Findings from this study also revealed that adolescent girls discharged from Institutions A and B have no access to remunerated employment. They earn their upkeep through provision of domestic labour. Those in the rural areas have to work both at home and in the fields without pay. Adolescent girls outside institutional care also have poor educational outcomes. According to this study, only 19% of adolescent girls outside institutional care have access to post-secondary education. 81% have neither passed nor completed their secondary education (see sub-theme 5.2.4 above). With high levels of unemployment in the country, opportunities for formal employment are bleak for adolescent girls without post secondary education and employment skills. Therefore due to the lack of employment skills and financial resources, adolescent girls have not achieved financial sustainability, hence they are vulnerable economically.

In summary, an evaluation of the adolescent girls' transitions has revealed that adolescence is an important period for the development of assets such as human and social assets. Therefore adolescent girls need experiences that provide living and working skills as well as building and maintaining meaningful and lasting relationships with peers and adults. These relationships provide the support needed to facilitate smooth transitions to adulthood and life after institutional care. Relationships provide social safety nets which form the basis for

accessing other types of assets such as financial, social and physical to secure livelihoods. However, according to this study, the lack of social and economic capital both inside and outside institutions has resulted in poor transitions and negative livelihood outcomes beyond institutional care.

Findings from this study show that the livelihoods of adolescent girls from Institutions A and B are not sustainable since they have to depend on people and other institutions to meet their livelihood goals. However, most of the people providing care to adolescent girls are poor and also need social and financial support. According to this study, adolescent girls have not developed the resilience to deal with the shocks and stresses of institutional and community life., Furthermore, adolescent girls in the institutional context are vulnerable socially and economically and therefore need transition programmes that reduce these risks. However, as asserted by DFID (1999:1.4), very few livelihoods are fully sustainable and sustainability is difficult to achieve. Nonetheless, sustainability as a developmental goal helps to measure the progress being made towards poverty reduction. In other words, this study seeks to assess whether the transition programmes being provided by the two institutions are helping to reduce poverty among adolescent girls in the institutional context.

The following evaluation assesses the effectiveness of institutions in delivering transition programmes that meet the livelihood and strategic needs of adolescent girls.

5.3.8.THEME 8: AN EVALUATION OF INSTITUTIONS' TRANSITION PROGRAMMES

This evaluation is based on the review of the National Residential Child Care Standards (2010), standard six and compares what is documented to the actual realities on the ground based on research findings. The National Residential Child Care Standard (2010) is a key document detailing the transition process for young people leaving care (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:20). The leaving care process or discharge plan outlines the process through which a child becomes independent, returns to family of origin or moves into another placement (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:20). Table 5.12

evaluates the transition programmes being provided by institutions versus the National Residential Child Care Standards (2010).

Table 5.12: Transition programmes: An evaluation of key transition standard

National Residential Child Care Standards: Key transition issues	Study findings (Reality on the ground)
Continuing education, training or work	Both institutions do not provide training or facilitate access to formal employment. While, Institution B receives consistent funding for school fees payment through donor support, Institution B does not have regular and adequate funding for continuing education.
Support and follow-up for children living with disabilities, medical, educational, occupational and psychosocial	There is minimal support and follow-up due to lack of human and financial resources.
Providing on available social services and other specialist services for future use	Adolescent girls are not aware of the services and supports available in the community. No programmes are being undertaken to map community assets or resources.
Creating and maintaining networks of advice and information in order to support the child in decision making during the discharge process	There are no structured teams coordinating and supporting the transition process. If the networks and information are available, adolescent girls have no access to them due to the lack of safe spaces for information sharing, consistent counselling and mentorship programmes.
Development of realistic plans for family and community care and that follow-up arrangements are in place	Family and community care plans may be in place, but there is lack of feedback sessions, updating, monitoring and follow-up of key action points.
Develop and maintain relationships with others	Almost all girls have friends and are able to maintain relationships whilst in care. However, the girls lose their friends once they leave institutions.
Understand their sexuality and establish positive and caring relationships	Institutions do not have comprehensive programmes on sexual and reproductive health and the training on establishment of relationships. Romantic relationships are discouraged and the topic on sex is a taboo. There is a culture of silence on the issue of sexuality and the use of contraceptives. The institutions do not provide training that prepares girls for permanent relationships such as marriage.

National Residential Child Care Standards: Key transition issues	Study findings (Reality on the ground)
Overcome trauma and establish self-esteem and resilience	Institutions are not providing mentorship programmes, counselling, self-advocacy as well as leadership developmental programmes. This is noted from the transition programmes needs proposed by adolescent girls.
Prepare for the world of work and/or for further education	The institutions are not providing career exploration experiences, employment and talent development skills.
Develop practical and independent life skills	Institutions are not implementing programmes that promote resilience, personal effectiveness and positive social integration.
Follow-ups, continuous support and opportunity for contact are ensured so as to make the child's adjustment to the new situation smoothly.	There is minimal or no follow-up visits after discharge from institutions. Continuous support is minimal considering that adolescent girls have to travel far to reach the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services offices. However, some housemothers from Institution B are trying their best to maintain contact with the girls through phone calls.

In order to promote positive livelihood outcomes for young people during and after institutional care, all institutions are supposed to comply with standard six of the National Residential Child Care Standards. However, as noted from the preceding analysis, the institutions that participated in the study are not in compliance. According to this study, the transition programmes being offered do not make provision for continued education or access to employment. They do not provide adequate life skills to facilitate independent living neither do they offer services that provide safe and secure accommodation. The programmes are not effective in preparing adolescent girls for life outside institutions because they do not provide information on sexuality and establishment and maintenance of permanent relationships. They do not provide training that builds self-esteem and do not offer opportunities for social networking programmes needed to link adolescent girls to social resources. To this end, adolescent girls are experiencing difficult transitions and poor livelihood outcomes during and after care.

According to this study, institutions that participated in the study are unable to fulfil their mandate which requires them to implement transition programmes that meet the holistic

needs of young people in care. As a consequence, the transition programmes being provided have not been effective in preparing adolescent girls for sustainable livelihoods beyond care. Due to this ineffectiveness, adolescent girls in the institutional context have difficult transition experiences as well as negative livelihood outcomes beyond care.

The following section evaluates the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls during and after institutional care.

5.3.9. THEME 9: AN EVALUATION OF THE LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES

The transition programmes being provided by institutions should foster increased access to different kinds of assets. As cited by Toner and Franks (2006:82), the interaction of assets with constraints and opportunities through policies, institutions and practices is expressed as livelihood strategies, which in turn produce livelihood outcomes. Therefore, livelihood outcomes are outputs of livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999:2.6). According to DFID (1999:2.3), those with more assets have a greater variety of livelihood options and are able to use multiple strategies to secure their livelihoods. The following discussion evaluates the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls inside and outside care.

According to Wehman (2011:17), outcome evaluation is achieved through on-going data collection and tracking of transition goals. To evaluate the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context, data collected from an interview conducted with the district social services officer, representing programmes being provided or not provided by respective institutions and the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services is analysed. In this study, the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls are a product of assets being provided or not provided by institutions and DSS. In that regard, access to assets produces positive while lack of access results in negative livelihood outcomes.

5.3.9.1. Livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls in Institutions A and B

To determine the impact of transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls inside Institutions A and B, the livelihood outcomes are expressed as a percentage of total assets

per asset category. If there are more positive livelihood outcomes than negative it means that the programme has produced positive impact and more negative than positive outcomes imply negative impact. According to the research findings, Table 5.13 below displays the types of programme provided/not provided and the resultant livelihood outcomes.

Table 5.13: Livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls in Institutions A and B

Asset category	Type of programme	Programme Provided	Livelihood Outcomes
Human assets	Good food	Provided	Improved food security
	Health care	Provided	Improved health
	Clothes	Provided	Improved self-esteem
	Educational support (school fees)	Provided	Improved access to education
	Life skills training	Not provided	Reduced life skills
	Relationship building training	Not provided	Reduced social resources
	Career exploration experiences	Not provided	Reduced employment opportunities
	Talent development	Not provided	Reduced employment opportunities
	Employment/entrepreneurship skills	Not provided	Reduced employment opportunities
	Counselling and guidance	Not provided	Improved psychological well-being
Social assets	Mentoring	Not provided	Reduced social skills
	Family tracing	Provided (DSS)	Increased social resources
	Foster parenting	Provided (DSS)	Increased social security
	Adoption	Provided (DSS)	Increased social security
Financial assets	Start-up capital	Not provided	Reduced financial security
	Income-generating projects	Not provided	Reduced financial security
	Employment/job placement	Not provided	Reduced financial security
	Family financial support	Not provided	Reduced financial security

Asset category	Type of programme	Programme Provided	Livelihood Outcomes
Physical assets	Land/ stand	Not provided	Reduced financial security
	Shelter/accommodation	Provided	Increased access to shelter
	Hairdressing, sewing, catering equipment	Not provided	Reduced financial security
Public assets	Birth certificates/passport	Provided (DSS)	Improved self-identity and social protection
	Participation in cultural activities	Not provided	Increased social functioning

The analysis above indicates the transition programmes being provided in Institutions A and B and the corresponding programmes being provided to meet those needs. According to the analysis, institutions provide 40% human assets, 75% social assets, 0% financial assets, 33.33% physical assets and 50% public assets. Therefore, out of all transition programmes needed for positive livelihood outcomes, institutions provide 39.66% assets to adolescent girls inside institutions. An evaluation of livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls in institutions therefore reveals that very little progress is being made towards poverty reduction. Hence, the transition programmes being provided have a negative impact on the livelihoods of adolescent girls in institutions. These findings are elaborated below.

Human Assets: Out of the transition programmes needed by adolescent girls living in institutions, only 40% are being provided. These programmes meet only the basic needs of adolescent girls such as food, health care, clothing, education and counselling and guidance. Adolescent girls inside institutions have no access to programmes that provide knowledge and skills critical for achieving positive livelihood outcomes. The lack of such human assets affects the ability to work, thus affecting the livelihood strategies of adolescent girls during and after institutional care. Both institutions are not providing training programmes that empower adolescent girls socially and economically. In that respect, the transition programmes being provided are not effective in building the capacity of adolescent girls to

achieve self-sufficiency. As a result, adolescent girls in the two institutions have poor livelihoods.

Social Assets: Adolescent girls need programmes that link them to social resources. An analysis of social assets reveal that 75% of the transition programmes adolescent girls have access to are supported by the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services in collaboration with institutions. Twenty-five percent relates to mentorship programmes that adolescents need but are not being provided. Adolescent girls need to establish relationships with caring adults who provide support, encouragement and guidance. Mentoring programmes promote character development and promote resilience. Unfortunately, Institution A and B do not have such programmes but provide family tracing, fostering and adoption services. Although these are availed, the quality of service provision has been compromised due to the lack of financial, technical and human resources. As a result, some adolescent girls in the institutions have not been able to trace their relatives before leaving institutional care. Fostering and adoption services have not been effective due to cultural barriers and complex application processes. Instead of having positive livelihood outcomes, the lack of support from the available social safety nets has produced negative results for adolescent girls. In this regard, access to social services has not translated to positive livelihood outcomes in reality. However, if the capacity of social safety-nets systems is enhanced, adolescent girls in institutions may be able to derive enough social benefits from them. For example, some girls believe that knowing one's relatives is in itself not enough, if those relatives do not make any meaningful contributions in their lives.

Financial assets: The transition programmes that Institutions A and B provide do not offer financial assets. Financial assets are resources that have a cash value such as cash transfers, stocks, savings, pensions and access to loans. This type of asset is important because it can be converted into other types of assets or can be used directly to achieve some livelihood outcomes. For example, financial assets can be used for healthcare thus improving health and well-being. Unfortunately, adolescent girls in these two institutions are not entitled to any of these assets. Institutions B however is making an effort by imparting some

entrepreneurship skills (though not formal or structured) whereby older adolescent girls are involved in petty trading and get some income for pocket money. Thus, the two institutions do not have programmes that promote access to financial assets. Consequently, adolescent girls have negative livelihood outcomes.

Physical assets: To support their livelihoods, adolescent girls need physical assets. Physical assets consist of infrastructure, tools equipment and information needed for production. The most important type of physical asset they need is shelter/accommodation. This is the only resource being provided to adolescent girls in Institutions A and B. Although living arrangements differ between Institutions A and B, adolescent girls in both institutions are not at risk of homelessness. The institutions do not provide 75% of the other physical assets that adolescents need such as sewing machines, catering equipment, household appliances and land. The afore-mentioned resources help girls to engage in some income generating projects that foster financial security. Institutions' transition programmes are thus not effective in promoting access to physical assets.

Public assets: Adolescent girls need access to public resources to enable them to participate fully in communities' activities. Participation helps adolescent girls to develop physical, social, emotional and cultural competences. Public assets also help adolescent girls to have access to services and resources from communities. The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services in collaboration with institutions assist adolescent girls in institutions to acquire birth certificates. Although most of the adolescent girls in Institution A have birth certificates, half of the adolescent girls in Institution B do not have. Therefore, more effort is needed to expedite the process so that by the time adolescent girls leave institutional care, they will be having birth certificates. One of the public assets adolescent girls need are cultural exchange programmes. Adolescent girls would like opportunities that expose them to other cultures and be able to visit and be visited so that they learn new ways of living and doing things.

From the analysis above, adolescent girls have positive livelihood outcomes in terms of access to resources that meet their immediate and short-term needs necessary for survival. However, adolescent girls have negative outcomes due to lack of capacity building programmes that facilitate social and economic empowerment. The lack of the requisite knowledge and skills results in social and economic vulnerability. Thus, in overall terms, the transition programmes have a negative impact on the livelihoods of adolescent girls in care.

The next sub-theme evaluates the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls outside institutional care.

5.3.9.2. Livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B

Table 5.14 below illustrates the transition programmes provided to adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B to secure their livelihoods.

Table 5.14: Transition programmes for adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B

Asset category	Type of programme	Programmes Provided	Livelihood outcomes
Human assets	Food	Not provided	Reduced food security
	Health care	Provided AMTOS	Improved health
	Clothing	Not provided	Reduced self-esteem
	Educational support (school fees)	Not provided	Poor educational outcomes
	Life skills training	Not provided	Reduced life skills
	Career exploration experiences	Not provided	Reduced employment opportunities
	Training in talent development	Not provided	Reduced employment opportunities
	Employment/entrepreneurship skills	Not provided	Reduced employment opportunities
	Counselling and guidance	Provided DSS	Improved psychological well-being
	Relationship building training	Not provided	Reduced social resources

Asset category	Type of programme	Programmes Provided	Livelihood outcomes
Social assets	Social Networking	Not provided	Reduced social resources
	Family tracing	Provided DSS	Improved social resources
	Mentorship	Not provided	Reduced social resources
	After-care support	Provided DSS	Improved access to social services
	Foster parenting	Provided DSS	Improved social resources
Financial assets	Income-generating projects	Not provided	Reduced economic security
	Employment/job placement	Not provided	Reduced economic security
	Start-up capital	Not provided	Reduced economic security
	Family financial support	Not provided	Reduced economic security
Physical assets	Shelter/accommodation	Not provided	Increased homelessness
	Land/house stand	Not provided	Reduced economic security
	Household furniture	Not provided	Reduced economic security
	Hair-dressing, sewing machines, catering equipment	Not provided	Reduced economic security
Public assets	Cultural and exchange visits	Not provided	Reduced social functioning
	Birth certificates/passport	DSS provides	Improved self-identity

An analysis of transition programmes provided, show that adolescent girls have access to 20% human assets, 40% social assets, 0% financial assets, 0% physical assets and 50% public assets. Therefore, out of all assets required by adolescent girls to secure their livelihoods, institutions provide only 22%. An evaluation of livelihood outcomes shows more negative livelihood outcomes than positive, implying increased poverty for adolescent girls outside care. These findings are further discussed below.

Human assets: Adolescent girls outside institutional care are entitled to health care through Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTOS). However, accessing medical services using AMTOS is difficult since some hospitals do not accept them. DSS provide counselling and guidance, however, due to large case loads the provision of structured counselling and guidance programmes has been inconsistent. Adolescent girls can only access services when

they visit Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services offices. Accessing the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services offices is problematic due to mobility challenges as adolescents who are outside care often lack transport to visit the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services offices which are far from their homes as well as time due to domestic work and child care. Since the department provides only 20% of the human needs required by adolescent girls outside Institutions A and B, the transition programmes are therefore not effective in promoting increased access.

Social assets: The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services provide family tracing and reunification services. These services are vital for adolescent girls who need the support of family and relatives in order for them to have social protection in the community. Although these services are available, the quality of service delivery is affected by lack of funding and human resources. This is also the case with after-care/follow-up, fostering and adoption programmes. The institutions do not provide social networking and mentoring programmes. These are important to the girls because they facilitate increased access to community resources and other livelihood opportunities. In that regard, the transition programmes become ineffective and do not facilitate increased access to social assets.

Financial assets: Due to the sudden discontinuation of services, adolescent girls outside institutions need financial support for their upkeep and that of their new care-givers. This is because most adolescents are coming from poor family backgrounds, which are food and financially insecure. The programmes offered by institutions or DSS do not link adolescent girls to financial resources such as grants, remittances and living allowances neither do they provide financial literacy. Therefore, both institutions' programmes are ineffective in promoting access to financial assets.

Physical assets: Institutions used to provide shelter to adolescent girls before leaving care. However, adolescent girls outside institutional care are at risk of homelessness. DSS and institutions have no structured programmes that provide adolescent girls outside institutions with free accommodation. However, they may provide referral services and link them to

other individuals or institutions that can assist. Other physical assets that adolescents outside institutional care need are dependent on the ability of the institution to mobilise resources and create linkages. Unfortunately adolescent girls outside institutional care have no access to tools of production for use to sustain their livelihoods.

Public assets: The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services continue to facilitate birth registrations even for adolescent girls that are outside institutions. However, adolescent girls need transport for them to access the department's offices. Adolescent girls outside institutional care have to access other public assets on their own.

The preceding analysis of transition programmes provided by institutions show that adolescent girls outside institutions have decreased access to meet the basic needs of life. They are therefore at risk of food insecurity, homelessness, low educational performance and attainment as well as reduced access to clothing. The lack of knowledge and skills (employment and life skills) affect access to resources thereby increasing social and economic vulnerability. However, according to the study, adolescent girls use relationships as a livelihood strategy for the acquisition of resources. This strategy is however not sustainable because access is not predictable and consistent and may also be conditional. Some of the conditions may result in abuse or exploitation, thus affecting the livelihoods of girls negatively. Therefore, the loss of services from the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services and institutions results in negative livelihood outcomes for girls outside institutional care. The following compares the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls during and after care.

5.3.9.1. Comparative analysis of livelihood outcomes

Table 5.15 below shows the percentage transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls inside and outside institutional care.

Table 5.15: Comparative analysis of livelihood outcomes

Asset categories	Outcomes (in A and B%)	Outcomes (out A and B %)
Human assets	40	20
Social Assets	75	40
Financial assets	0	0
Physical assets	33.33	0
Public assets	50	50
All assets	39.66	22

Adolescent girls receive more programmes resulting in better livelihood outcomes (39.66%) compared to those outside care (22%). An analysis of the livelihood outcomes reveal that the transitions being provided are producing a negative impact on the livelihoods of adolescent girls in the institutional context, with adolescent girls outside care being worse off than those in care.

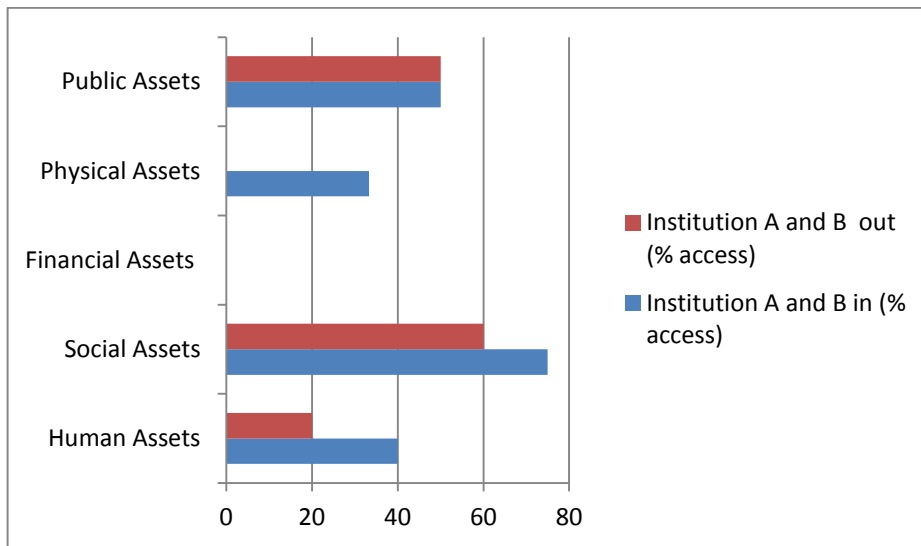


Figure 5.15: Livelihood outcomes inside and outside care

Figure 5.14 above presents the livelihood outcomes of girls inside and outside institutional care. According to the diagram above, adolescent girls in care have access to more livelihood assets (17.66%) than their counterparts outside care.

The subsequent analysis shows that the ability of institutions and the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services to provide different kinds of transition programmes affect the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context. Access to more assets gives rise to positive livelihood outcomes. Paradoxically, the lack of access to assets results in poor transitions. As such, there is a link between transition programmes and livelihood outcomes. According to the analysis above, transition programmes being provided by institutions have not been able to promote increased access to human, social, financial, physical and public assets for adolescent inside institutions and more so for those that have exited care. Therefore, the programmes have resulted in poor livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls in the institutional context. The next theme discusses theories used in this study and tests the hypothesis.

5.3.10. THEME 10: CONTEXTUALISING AND CONCEPTUALISING TRANSITIONS

One of the objectives of this study was to contextualise and conceptualise transition programmes for livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls within a sustainable livelihood approach and feminist theoretical framework. In this regard, this section discusses how the theories used were able to conceptualise the transition phenomena. Additionally, the researcher discusses how hypotheses were tested in this study.

5.3.10.1. Sustainable livelihood and feminist theoretical approaches

This study has been able to evaluate the livelihood outcomes of adolescent using development and social theories (sustainable livelihood and feminist approaches respectively). It has been able to describe the economic and social conditions of adolescent girls within the institutional context. The various components of the sustainable livelihood framework namely: the vulnerability context, livelihood assets, structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes have been analysed through various themes presented in the fore-going discussions.

The sustainable livelihood framework as a tool for analysing the livelihoods of people living in poverty is flexible and adaptable, allowing for the assessment of adolescent girls' experiences and livelihood outcomes. As a participatory tool, the framework is empowering because it gave the adolescent girls the opportunity to assess the different kinds of assets they have access to as well as their current and future transition needs. Although, the subject on transitions evoked some emotional responses, particularly the question on the engagement of family/relatives in the transition process, adolescent girls were to articulate the various services and supports they needed to achieve their livelihood goals. Although the framework is able to provide a holistic view which incorporates the roles of different stakeholders, institutions and processes, it is person-centred and was able to elicit individual as well as group experiences of adolescent girls. Therefore, as a tool for analysing poverty, it was able to assess the risks of transitions and the possible interventions.

However, like all theories, the sustainable livelihood approach has both strengths and weaknesses. The framework was able to show the different categories of assets adolescent girls inside and outside institutions have. In that regard, it was possible to determine which category of assets the girls have most and which ones they have least. In this regard, it is possible to make policy and programmatic decisions on which asset category to invest in to get the desired outcomes. Nevertheless, the sustainable livelihood framework does not provide a way of quantifying the different kinds of assets or establishing the weight of each asset. Hence, it is difficult to compare the value of each asset against the other.

Part of the quantitative data collected in this study measured the gender outcomes of the transition programmes being provided by the two institutions. The gender assessment tool provided data disaggregated by gender (girls and boys) showing different assets, resources or activities provided through transition programmes. The tool provided some questions which examined whether programmes being provided were sensitive to the unique needs of adolescent girls and boys. The use of this tool addresses the feminists concern for gender equality and equity in institutions. Thus, the tool established the roles of girls and boys as well as access and control of assets within the institutional context. An assessment of gender

showed that girls and boys had equal access to transition programmes. However, there were some isolated cases of gender-insensitivity in some aspects of programming. For example, the lack of provision of information on sexual and reproductive health ignores the serious consequences of unwanted pregnancies, early marriages and STI and HIV infections that produce negative livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls.

Feminist principles have been applied in this study through the use of participatory approaches to analyse gender-specific needs and priorities of adolescent girls during and after institutional care. Additionally, observations made also highlighted some gender concerns that affect the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls. As a Black feminist, the researcher was particularly interested in generating knowledge on the livelihoods of adolescents within the institutional context, knowledge that would stimulate further debate and action. The researcher also sought to understand the transition experiences of adolescent girls (constraints and opportunities), gender roles and the power relations governing access to assets. The researcher assumes that the life experiences and chances of girls are different from boys and because of structures and processes that are more responsive to the needs of males than females, there is need for gender-focused research that gives a voice to adolescent girls in different contexts.

Accordingly, the study established the risks associated with adolescent girls' transitions from institutional care as well as interventions to address transition-related challenges. Putting the gender lenses to this study has been instrumental in unravelling the experiences of adolescent girls within the institutional context. More importantly, the study elucidated the different transition needs that adolescent girls have and this knowledge provides the basis for gender-responsive policy and programming. The ensuing section discusses some methodological issues of relevance to the study.

5.3.10.2. Hypothesis testing

Having read about transitions and the resultant negative livelihood outcomes of vulnerable young people in different contexts, the researcher developed hypothesis on the transitions of

adolescent girls in the institutions in the two institutions in Zimbabwe. The researcher predicted that if young people in the social welfare system in developed countries were having negative livelihood outcomes when they age out, it follows then that adolescent girls in the institutional context in developing countries are more likely to have poor transitions and negative livelihood outcomes.

As already discussed in the first chapter (bullet 1.4), the hypothesis were that transition programmes being provided by institutions in Highfield, Harare were not adequately preparing adolescent girls for sustainable livelihoods post institutional care and were not gender-sensitive. Accordingly, findings from this study have supported this hypothesis (see themes 5.3.6 and 5.3.8). As noted from this study, adolescent girls from the two institutions are vulnerable to negative social and economic outcomes due to the lack of transition programmes that foster increased access to assets. Findings of the study have shown how the transition programmes being provided by institutions are not gender-sensitive. Although, there is equitable distribution of available resources between girls and boys in both institutions, the lack of gender-based planning and programming, result in gender-insensitivity where the unique needs of girls and boys are not identified and addressed.

5.3.10.3. Summary

This chapter has presented data collected from the empirical study, analysed it and discussed various themes and sub-themes in line with the research question. Having evaluated the livelihood outcomes, this study has revealed the social and economic risks associated with adolescent girls' transitions. As stated by Lombard et al., (2012:180), social development is committed to social justice, human rights and eradication of poverty and inequality. Therefore developmental social work, "calls for more innovative strategies to address poverty with the aim of creating more sustainable livelihoods, while not rejecting all past practices" (Lombard et al., 2012:180). In that regard, it is the hope of the researcher that findings from this study will provoke action that results in the empowerment of adolescent girls in the institutional context. In the following chapter, the researcher discusses key findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on key findings, conclusions and recommendations. It sets out to test the hypothesis as well as demonstrate how the goal and objectives of the study have been achieved. The first section of the chapter discusses key findings of the study. Conclusions are discussed in the second section followed by recommendations. The key findings are drawn from the themes discussed in the previous chapter and are validated using relevant literature on OVC legislation, policies, programming and studies in Zimbabwe. Based on key findings, conclusions are made and these are linked to recommendations.

6.2. KEY FINDINGS

Ten key findings emerged from the core themes of the study. These findings are listed under the core themes and then discussed and compared with findings from literature review.

6.2.1. Key findings 1: Access to livelihood assets

- While adolescent girls in Institutions A and B have access to similar assets, access to assets for adolescent girls outside institutional care varies from one girl to the other.
- Adolescent girls in both institutions have more access to assets compared to those discharged from care who lose assets when they leave institutional care.

As prescribed by the Minimum Standards for OVC Programming barriers such as geographic, economic, social, cultural, organisational or linguistic should be removed for OVC to have access to services and resources they need to sustain their livelihoods (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:6). However, findings from the study show that adolescent girls in institutions access 55.55% (52.4% Institution A and 58.6% Institution B) of the total assets whilst adolescent girls discharged from care have

access to 49.2% (Institution A, 47.7% and Institution B, 50.7%). Hence, adolescent girls discharged from care lost 6.3% assets.

6.2.2. Key findings 2: Livelihood needs

- Adolescent girls inside and outside institutional care have unmet individual as well as common livelihood needs.
- Adolescent girls are not participating in regular case reviews where their developmental goals are tracked.

In line with the Minimum Quality Standards for OVC Programming in Zimbabwe, OVC programmes should cater for the following needs; protection from abuse, education, food and nutrition, health, shelter, birth registration, participation, economic strengthening and coordination (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:7-23). However, findings from this study show that adolescent girls in the institutional context have some unmet needs. As revealed by the study, adolescent girls inside and outside institutions have the following unmet livelihood needs; human assets (41.5%), social (29.5%), public (18.75%), physical (1.25%) and financial assets (9%).

Findings from the study also show that adolescent girls are not participating in reviewing development plans, neither are they being consulted on issues that affect their livelihoods. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010b:19), a development plan indicating the individual needs of the child, life situation, origin and social environment should be drawn by the probation officer and care-giver in consultation with the child. This plan should be reviewed regularly after every six months. However, findings from this study reveal that adolescent girls are not having regular or frequent meetings with care-givers and probation officers to review their plans, as a consequence no action has been taken or follow-up made on outstanding developmental issues.

6.2.3. Key findings 3: Livelihood strategies

- Adolescent girls in both institutions use the same strategies to meet their livelihood goals but the quality of life differs depending on the institution's ability to mobilise resources.
- The livelihood strategies used by adolescent girls outside institutional care are varied and their quality of life is dependent on the social and economic well-being of their social networks (relatives and non-relatives).

One of the objectives of the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy is to mobilise, motivate and sensitise all communities in Zimbabwe to develop orphan support strategies and interventions (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:10). Accordingly, the National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children has adopted strategies to identify, mobilise and coordinate resources towards the support of OVC (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:20). This is despite the fact that institutions are mandated to provide programmes that develop practical and independent living skills and prepare young people for work or continued education (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:21). However, findings from this study have revealed the lack of adequate resources to support adolescent girls in the institutional context.

During care, the livelihoods of adolescent girls are sustained by institutions through their resource mobilisation activities. Although other stakeholders provide resources directly or indirectly, access is limited through a relationship with the institution. While the livelihood strategies for adolescent girls in both institutions are similar, the girls discharged from care have multiple livelihood strategies which are dependent on their social capital base such as spouses (marriage), foster parents, family/relatives and institutions. According to this study, all adolescent girls who participated in the study are not yet able to sustain themselves socially and economically. The study also proved that at 18, adolescent girls will not be old enough to live independently because they lack the necessary financial and social resources to do so.

6.2.4. Key findings 4: Transition programming needs

- Adolescent girls are able to articulate their gender-specific programme needs
- Adolescent girls inside and outside institutions A and B have individual as well as shared transition programme needs.
- Adolescent girls in the institutional context have unmet transition programme needs
- Institutions have similar as well as varied programme needs.

According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:3), “children can also assess their own vulnerability, identify vulnerable children, prioritise interventions to best fulfil their basic rights, monitor and evaluate the impact and effectiveness of interventions designed for children.” Accordingly, adolescents in this study were able to articulate their short-term as well as long term strategic needs. Findings of the study established that adolescent girls as individuals and as a group need scholarships to continue with their education, after care support, accommodation, living allowance/financial support, employment skills, assistance to get jobs, family tracing and after care services. To support adolescent girls’ transitions, institutions proposed self-advocacy programmes, educational support, family and community support and awareness programmes and employment skills. Nevertheless, findings from this study shows that a majority of the programme needs are not met. As noted from the study, institutions are able to provide non-monetary programmes such as counselling and other referral services. The Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services emphasised the importance of programmes that meet the basic needs of life such as food, health, education, protection from all forms of abuse and training on sexual and reproductive health.

6.2.5. Key findings 5: The roles of stakeholders in the transition process

- Different actors provide services and support to adolescent girls during the transition process.
- The level of engagement and capacity of each stakeholder affect transition programming thereby affecting livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls.

OVC programming in Zimbabwe adopts a collaborative and participatory approach. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, (2011b:18), consultative workshops were held with children, families as well as key government and non-governmental stakeholders to discuss the causes of poverty and vulnerability among children. The Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy also hails the important role played by different stakeholders both in the private and public sector in promoting the well-being of orphans (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:4). Accordingly, findings from this study show that adolescent girls get different services and support from families/relatives, institutions, social workers, churches, community-based organisations, schools and the government in the transition process. Therefore, the engagement and capacity of the stakeholders affect livelihood experiences and outcomes. Nevertheless, according to this study, although different stakeholders are willing to contribute meaningfully to the transitions of adolescent girls, their capacity to provide quality transition programmes has been affected by the harsh socio-economic environment prevailing in the country.

6.2.6. Key findings 6: Gender-analysis in the institutional context

- There is equitable distribution of available resources among girls and boys in both institutions.
- Adolescent girls do not participate in the planning and implementation of transition programmes.
- Adolescent girls outside care face more gender-based constraints resulting in limited mobility and access to community resources.

According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:21), OVC programming in Zimbabwe acknowledges cross-cutting issues such as gender, age, and disability among other issues. With regards to gender, programming should ensure equal access to services by girls and boys, with special attention to girls who are more likely to be disempowered (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:21). As cited by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:21), different needs of boys and girls should be addressed and adolescent girls should be protected from gender-based violence. However, findings from

this study show the lack of gender-analysis in planning and programming, hence, their unique needs are not addressed. Findings from this study show that girls and boys in the institutional context have equal access to available resources. However, adolescent girls outside care are vulnerable to gender inequality and gender-based violence due to relationships of power in families and communities. As a result, their movements are more restricted due to increased domestic work and child care responsibilities. Therefore, by virtue of their gender, adolescent girls are vulnerable to social and economic exclusion.

6.2.7. Key findings 7: The transition experiences of adolescent girls

- The transition experiences of adolescent girls in the institutional context vary considerably depending on the social and economic conditions of care-givers.
- The type of accommodation provided by institutions (dormitory or family) affect the transition experiences of adolescent girls.

Findings from this study show variations in transitions experiences on the basis of social and economic conditions of care-givers or guardians. According to this study, the ability of institutions to mobilise resources affect the quality of life for adolescent girls. As noted from this study, adolescent girls in Institution A complain of monotonous meals while their counterparts are satisfied with the varieties of meals prepared by their housemothers within their family clusters. Hence, adolescents living in institutions with limited resources and those staying with poorer relatives in communities are experiencing harder and more complex transitions. As noted by the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy, masses of orphans have fallen through the safety nets which are already overburdened by an elderly population and the harsh socio-economic conditions that have bedevilled the country (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:5). As affirmed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:3), most orphans live in extremely poor households and are less likely to access health care, attend school, clothing and bedding in the community. Orphans also experience psychosocial trauma, lack employment skills as well as capital to start income-generating activities and are also subjected to abuse including forced sex in adolescence (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:5).

Secondly, in line with the National Residential Child Care Standards, all children in institutions are expected to be placed in a family cluster type of accommodation (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:14). Findings from this study show variances in transition experiences as a result of living arrangements. According to this study, adolescent girls living in family-type accommodation have more confidence and life skills than their counterparts living in dormitories.

6.2.8. Key findings 8: An evaluation of institutions' transition programmes

- Transition programmes being provided are not effective in preparing adolescent girls for successful transitions beyond care.
- The transition programmes being provided are not structured and comprehensive.
- There is lack of transition policies and programme guidelines.

As stipulated by the National Residential Child Care Standards, institutions are mandated to provide holistic services that meet the individual as well as the shared needs of children in their care (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010b:14). However, an evaluation of the transition programmes indicates that they are not well-structured and comprehensive, hence transition services are delivered in a haphazard manner. As a requirement of the Minimum Quality Standards for OVC Programming in Zimbabwe, services should appropriately address the needs and circumstances of each individual (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:6). Additionally, OVC services should be standardised to facilitate outcome monitoring (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:30). However, findings from this study demonstrate that transition programmes being provided by institutions are not standardised and there is also lack of coordination, monitoring and evaluation.

As cited by the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy, there is no specific legislation on orphans and as a consequence, the delivery of services to this category of children is affected (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2010a:5). While, the National Residential Child Care Standards outlines the process of leaving care, it is not supported by transition

policy, operational guidelines as well as budgetary allocations. As noted from this study, institutions are finding it difficult to implement transition programmes as well as comply with the stipulated standards. Hence, as stated by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and UNICEF (2004:31), the transition challenges facing adolescents in institutions in Zimbabwe calls for the development of comprehensive transition policies and programmes.

6.2.9. Key finding 9: An evaluation of livelihood outcomes

- Adolescent girls have negative social and economic outcomes during and after care, with their counterparts outside care experiencing increased poverty compared to those in care.
- The transition programmes being provided have a negative impact on the livelihoods of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

Findings from this study demonstrate that adolescent girls lack adequate stocks of assets in their transition to adulthood and independent living. As a consequence, their livelihood outcomes are undesirable. According to this study, adolescent girls transitioning from institutions are socially and economically vulnerable. As affirmed by the Child Protection Society (2014:10), young people leaving institutional care have poor livelihood outcomes due to lack of access to life skills and employment opportunities before and after care. Thus, the transition programmes being provided have a negative impact on the livelihoods of adolescent girls.

6.2.10. Key finding 10: Contextualising and conceptualising livelihood outcomes

- Using mixed research methodologies which combined quantitative and qualitative research techniques, sustainable livelihood and feminist theories, this study was able to conceptualise the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

As affirmed by DFID (1999:1.2), “adopting the sustainable livelihood approach provides a way to improve the identification, appraisal, implementation and evaluation of

developmental programmes so that they address the priorities of poor people, both directly and at a policy level.” Findings from this study confirm that the sustainable livelihoods approach is a flexible tool which can be used to accomplish the purposes stated above. According to this study, cross-cutting issues such as gender can be mainstreamed in sustainable livelihood approaches. In this study, gender assessments were made to establish the assets that adolescent girls have access to and also establish their gender-specific needs during and after care. The two approaches complemented each other as was the case with quantitative and qualitative techniques used. As noted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2010c:10), the sustainable livelihood approach is an important tool for understanding the underlying causes of poverty and is useful for the designing of interventions that enhance OVC’ livelihoods. A study conducted by Child Protection Society (2014:10) was also able to evaluate the livelihood outcomes of children leaving institutions using the mixed research methodology. Therefore, theories and methods employed in this study were able to conceptualise the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

In summary, this study evaluated the transitions and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls during and after institutional care. According to this study, adolescent girls transitioning out of care face uncertain futures because they lack transition programmes that strengthen their asset base and build asset stocks needed to sustain their livelihoods. As noted from this study, adolescent girls face gender-constraints that impede on their life chances. An evaluation of the transition experiences shows that adolescent girls outside care are worse off than those in care. Adolescent girls in institutions are not satisfied with their livelihoods because they have some unmet needs. They have to deal with the trauma of abuse, neglect, orphanhood, poverty, dysfunctional family backgrounds as well as adjusting to a new life with strangers in the institution. On the other hand, adolescent girls discharged from care are struggling to meet their basic needs. For them, leaving care is stressful as they find themselves unprepared for the hard realities of adulthood and a new life in the community with little or no help from institutions and the government. Accordingly, this study has

shown how difficult and complicated adolescent girls' transitions are and how vulnerable they are to negative livelihood outcomes.

Using the sustainable livelihoods and feminist approaches, this study analysed and interpreted the different dimensions of poverty and the effects of gender on livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context. Both approaches were empowering as the adolescent girls were able to articulate the transition programme interventions they require in order to fight poverty and reduce their vulnerability to negative livelihood outcomes. In that respect, the study was able to examine transition constraints and opportunities as well as propose gender-responsive policies and programmes (see sub-theme 6.4.6).

Having discussed the key findings of the study, the next discussion demonstrates the extent to which the goal and objectives of the study were met.

6.2.11. Goal of the research

The goal of this study was to evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

Findings from this study were able to establish the relationship between transition programmes and livelihood outcomes. The study showed how the lack of well-structured and comprehensive transition programmes negatively affects the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls during and after leaving care. Through the achievement of the objectives below, the goal of this study was accomplished.

6.2.12. Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- To contextualise and conceptualise transition programmes and livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls within a sustainable livelihood approach and feminist theoretical framework.

- To establish adolescent girls' livelihood needs, the different kinds of assets they have access to, transition programme needs and their livelihood strategies within the institution.
- To establish livelihood needs, the different kinds of assets they have access to, transition programme needs and the livelihood strategies of the adolescent girls after institutional care.
- To make a comparative analysis of the livelihood needs, assets, livelihood strategies, transition programme needs and outcomes within the institutional context and the level of access to assets, livelihood needs, strategies, transition programme needs and livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls who have left institutional care.
- To assess the gender outcomes on the transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls by institutions.
- To propose gender-responsive policies and programmes that enhances the social and economic well-being of young people before and after institutional care.

Objective 1

The first objective which sought to conceptualise and contextualise the transition programmes and livelihood outcomes for adolescent girls within a sustainable livelihood approach and feminist theoretical framework was achieved in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Chapter two reviewed literature related to youth transitions and livelihood outcomes in general and specifically to the institutional context. The theoretical framework of the study was discussed broadly in the third chapter. Chapter three discussed the sustainable livelihood and feminist approaches, their principles and relevance in assessing livelihood outcomes of vulnerable groups. The fourth chapter discussed the methods used and located the study population. The chapter discussed the nature of the data to be collected and tools used. Accordingly, the tools used to collect, analyse and interpret data were designed in line with the sustainable livelihood and feminist approaches. The fifth chapter presented findings on the transition and livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls from the two institutions in Highfield, Harare. On this basis, Objective 1 was met.

Objectives 2, 3, 4 and 5

Chapter 5 of the study presented the research findings. These findings which were organised into themes and sub-themes addressed objectives 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the study. The study was able to establish the level of assets being accessed, livelihood needs, strategies, transition programme needs and gender outcomes of adolescent girls in the two institutions as well as those outside care. In this study, qualitative and quantitative data were collected, analysed and interpreted simultaneously and comparative analyses were made between two institutions for adolescent girls inside and outside care. In that respect, these four objectives were achieved.

Objective 6

Gender-responsive policies and programmes that enhance the social and economic well-being of young people before and after institutional care are proposed in this chapter below. In that regard, it can thus be concluded that the goal and objectives of the study were achieved.

6.3. CONCLUSIONS

This section discusses conclusions of the study. The conclusions are drawn from the key findings presented in the foregoing section.

6.3.1. Access to assets

Access to more assets result in better livelihood outcomes and improved quality of life. Therefore, adolescent girls in well-resourced institutions and families have access to more assets and better living conditions. Access to assets is also dependent on social networks (relatives and non-relatives) and the quality of relationships also governs access to assets. Poor relationships affect access to resources as well as gender-constrains that affect their participation, mobility and decision-making power. Therefore, the social and economic conditions of the social networks that adolescent girls have either promote or hinder access to different kinds of assets.

6.3.2. Livelihood needs

The unfavourable socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country have affected the capacity of institutions and care-givers of girls discharged from care to provide adequate services and support to meet the livelihood needs of adolescent girls. As a result, adolescent girls have unmet livelihood needs that affect their social and economic well-being. Additionally, the lack of participation of adolescent girls in reviewing their development plans implies that their gender-specific needs are not being identified. As a consequence, their transition needs are not addressed in transition policy making and programming.

6.3.3. Livelihood strategies

When adolescent girls are discharged from care at the age of 18, they are not in a position to live independently and sustain their lives without social and economic support. Even after three years of discharge, they will still be in need of social and economic support due to lack of employment opportunities. Adolescent girls continuing with education will not have completed their post-secondary education. Those without supportive relatives resort to early marriages as a livelihood strategy since foster parenting and adoption are not popular practices among local Zimbabweans. Therefore, the termination of services and support by the government as well as institutions at the age of eighteen results in poor coping strategies and increased poverty among adolescent girls.

6.3.4. Transition programme needs

Adolescent girls are active development actors and are able to identify transition programmes that meet their gender-specific needs as individuals and as a group. Adolescent girls are not passive recipients of welfare but are able to plan for their future and articulate the transition programmes they need to prepare for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes. Therefore, adolescent girls need to be consulted on issues that affect their lives.

6.3.5. The roles of stakeholders in the transition process

Adolescent girls are able to articulate the different roles played by stakeholders in the transition process and assess their different capacities in providing services and support. The provision of transition services and support requires a collaborative approach, where each stakeholder has defined roles and responsibilities. Although, key transition service providers understand their role in the transition process, the lack of transition policies and programme guidelines affects the coordination of transition services and support. Furthermore, the role of transition stakeholders has been diminished in recent years due to lack of adequate resources (financial, human and other material resources) to provide well-structured and comprehensive transition programmes.

6.3.6. Gender outcomes

Adolescent girls living in institutions have access to the same resources as boys. However, the lack of need assessments result in gender-blindness as some of the gender-specific needs are not identified. Gender-based constrains such as increased domestic work and child care roles affect the mobility and participation of adolescent girls in community activities thereby affecting access to developmental opportunities and other social services. The lack of ownership of assets also fosters dependency which often leads to gender-based violence. Therefore, gender affects the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

6.3.7. The transition experiences of adolescent girls

Adolescent girls experience difficult transitions due to inadequate social and economic resources. The prevailing harsh socio-economic environment has burdened the social safety nets, thus affecting their ability to provide adequate care and support to promote successful challenges. Living in institutions and leaving care are both stressful events as adolescent girls have not developed the resilience needed to cope successfully in both contexts. Secondly, the living arrangements of adolescent girls in institutions also affect the experiences of adolescent girls. Adolescent girls living in family-based type of accommodation have more life skills and better emotional well-being. They also have

opportunities for character development compared to adolescent girls living in dormitories. Therefore, living in family-based accommodation produces better transition experiences and increased human assets compared to adolescent girls living in dormitories.

6.3.8. An evaluation of institutions' transition programmes

The haphazard delivery of transition programmes result in limited access to assets and ineffective transition service delivery. Hence, transition programmes fail to address the gender-specific needs of adolescent girls. As a consequence, adolescent girls are not empowered socially and economically and are therefore not prepared for life beyond institutional care.

6.3.9. An evaluation of livelihood outcomes

There is a link between transition programmes and livelihood outcomes. Therefore, adolescent girls with access to transition programmes that promote increased access to human, social, financial, physical and public assets have better livelihood outcomes. Although, adolescent girls in institutions have better access to assets, both have negative social and economic outcomes with participants discharged from care being poorer than those in institutions. The adolescent girls living outside institutional care are at increased risk of social and economic exclusion because donors and other well-wishers tend to invest more in institutions than target individuals in the community where mobilisation is difficult and publicity minimal.

In summary, adolescent girls lack programmes that promote access to different kinds of assets. As a result, the transition experiences of adolescent girls in the institutional context are hard and complicated. Their livelihood outcomes are negative as they cannot sustain themselves socially and economically and their care-givers are also resource-constrained. As noted from the study, the transition programmes are not participatory and well-structured. The programmes are not gender-sensitive and are therefore not adequate in preparing adolescent girls for successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes beyond care.

6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS

In this last section, the researcher proposes recommendations based on key findings and conclusions from the study. Firstly, the researcher makes specific recommendations on access to assets, livelihood needs, livelihood strategies, transition programme needs, stakeholders in the transition process, gender-sensitive transition programmes, successful transition experiences, comprehensive transition programmes, and positive livelihood outcomes. The researcher proposes ways of increasing access to different kinds of assets in order to meet the livelihood needs of adolescent girls in the institutional context. With regards to livelihood strategies, the researcher recommends the building of social capital to promote social and financial security. The researcher further recommends the active participation of adolescent girls in planning for their transitions as well as building the capacity of transition stakeholders. To facilitate successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes, the researcher recommends the development of gender-responsive transition policies and programmes.

The researcher then discusses two categories of recommendations that address the policy and programming gaps identified in the study, namely transforming of the transition case management system, and investing in the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

6.4.1. Recommendations on access to assets

To increase access to assets for adolescent girls in institutions, adequate and consistent funding is required. More resources from both the public and private sector should be availed for the development and implementation of well-structured and comprehensive transition programmes for adolescent girls in care. Community linkages should be developed and maintained to increase access to community resources. Safe and secure spaces should be availed to adolescent girls to enable them to build their social capital and get access to important information on career guidance, character development, sexual and reproductive health and other positive youth development programmes.

Adolescent girls leaving care need continuous services and support to avoid negative coping strategies such as early marriages. Institutions and probation officers need to map assets in the community and provide information on different services and support available. They should be provided with transport so that they can visit places where they can access social services and other developmental opportunities that may not be locally available. Through corporate social responsibility programmes, employers from public as well as private sectors can provide employment opportunities and skills to vulnerable young people from institutions.

Probation officers or case managers should conduct regular follow-up visits to assess the needs and living conditions of adolescent girls in their new environments. The government and other development partners should implement family and community support programmes to foster safer and supportive living environments for adolescent girls. Parenting skills and counselling services should be provided to solve relational problems. Families that are financially-constrained should be linked to sustainable livelihood projects microfinance or cash transfer programmes.

Finally, the creation of a youth transition fund will foster the provision of a range of transition services and support that respond to the needs of young people in the institutional context. As a poverty reduction strategy, the transition fund will provide a continuum of transition services such as housing support, education, job training, health care, counselling, emergency contacts and living allowances to young people leaving care until they are able to sustain themselves as well as meet the developmental needs of adolescent girls in institutions.

6.4.2. Recommendations on livelihood needs

Institutions and care-givers of adolescent girls who aged out of institutions need adequate resources to meet the livelihood needs of adolescent girls in the institutional context. Regular meetings should be held with adolescent girls to review their development plans. Needs assessments should be conducted to establish individual as well as shared needs of

adolescent girls during and after care. Therefore data on the adolescent girls' livelihood outcomes should be collected periodically to monitor progress being made towards the achievement of livelihood goals. The process should be participatory, allowing the girls to express their views and opinions on the transition process.

6.4.3. Recommendations on livelihood strategies

Adolescent girls in the institutional context rely on their social networks as a livelihood strategy. Therefore, youth transition programmes should focus on building and maintaining positive relationships with responsible adults. Mentorship programmes and counselling services are critical in building social networks. Community-based organisations, schools and churches play a very important role in the social integration of young people in the institutional context. To foster increased livelihood options, institutions should develop and strengthen their relationships with these community structures as they are key in providing psychosocial support.

6.4.4. Recommendations on transition programme needs

Transition policy and programming should focus on humanitarian and developmental needs of adolescent girls. The government and other developmental partners should develop policies and programmes that are person-centred, taking into consideration the individual's strengths, interests and aspirations as well as for adolescent girls as a group. The process of transition policy-making and programme implementation, monitoring and evaluation should be participatory, respecting the views and opinions of adolescent girls. The government and institutions should therefore consult adolescent girls when planning and deciding on their transitions.

6.4.5. Recommendations on stakeholders in the transition process

Although the government and institutions acknowledge the important role being played by different stakeholders in the transition process, the lack of transition policies and programme guidelines affect the quality of transition service delivery. Therefore, transition policies and programme guidelines should be developed and the roles and responsibilities clearly

outlined. To increase accountability, there should also be clear coordination structures. The different stakeholders also need capacity-building programmes that enhance their skills and knowledge of delivering gender-responsive programmes.

To mitigate the financial challenges being experienced by stakeholders such as families and community-based organisations, the government and other development agents should provide financial support to enable them to provide meaningful support to young people transitioning from care. Institutions as well as the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services need adequate funding as well as human, technical and other material resources to deliver quality transition programmes. In order to reduce the dependency syndrome, the government and other development agents should develop programmes that enhance self-advocacy and build resilience that empowers adolescent girls to achieve their livelihood goals.

6.4.6. Recommendations on gender-sensitive transition programmes

Institutions should conduct gender assessments regularly in order to establish the different needs and development priorities of girls and boys in institutions. The same should be done for adolescent girls discharged from care who face increased gender-based constraints in families and communities. Therefore key societal structures such as families, schools and communities should be educated on how to support adolescent girls leaving care. Gender awareness and advocacy programmes should be implemented to increase gender-sensitivity as well as reduce gender-based violence that affects the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls.

6.4.7. Recommendations for successful transition experiences

The government and institutions should develop policies and programmes to counter the transition challenges being faced by adolescent girls in the institutional context. These interventions should both be preventive as well as protective in nature. The key priority should be the development of human and social assets which help adolescent girls to survive and thrive both during and after care. Additionally, institutions should invest in building

family-styled accommodation as opposed to dormitories. The government and institutions should also recruit trained care-givers who specialise in adolescents' transitions. More probation officers should also be recruited to reduce the huge case loads that affect the delivery of quality transition services.

6.4.8. Recommendations for comprehensive transition programmes

Institutions and the government should develop comprehensive transition programmes. The programmes should be well-coordinated and adequately funded. To address the challenge of poor transition service delivery, the existing case management system should be transformed for it to respond to the complex, multiple and unique needs of adolescent girls in the institutional context.

6.4.9. Recommendations for positive livelihood outcomes

For adolescent girls to have positive livelihood outcomes, the government and institutions should implement programmes that promote social and economic sustainability. Therefore, sufficient resources should be channelled to support the transitions of adolescent girls in institutions and more so for those who have left institutional care who are at risk of increased poverty. As a poverty reduction strategy, a comprehensive safety net system should be put in place so that adolescent girls transitioning out of care will not lose critical assets needed to secure their livelihoods.

6.5. Policy and programme recommendations

The transition programming challenges being experienced by the two institutions in Highfield, Harare and the resultant effects on adolescent girls' livelihood outcomes can be tackled through the development of a specialised transition case management system and provision of adequate and consistent funding. The researcher therefore proposes the transformation of the case management system and increased investment in transition policy and programming as recommended below.

6.5.1. Transforming of the transition case management system

Findings from this study have established the ineffectiveness of transition programmes being provided by the two institutions in Highfield, Harare. According to the study, the lack of proper planning, coordinating, monitoring and evaluating of transition programmes results in poor transition service delivery. To address these challenges, the researcher proposes the transformation of the case management system for young people in the institutional context. A general case management system is unable to respond to the complex and unique and specific needs of this population. Adolescents in the institutional context need a specialised case management system which seeks to empower them as well as transform the structures and processes that affect their livelihoods. A specialised case management system is able to consolidate services and support from different stakeholders, package them to meet the individual needs and deliver them in a cost effective way whilst not compromising on quality. Transforming the case management system therefore, facilitates the delivery of integrated, coordinated, comprehensive and sustainable services, thereby solving the current and future transition programming problems. It will help to overcome system rigidity which hinders better access to transition services and support. Table 6.1 shows the functions of the recommended transition case management system and provides recommendations that address key issues raised in this study.

Although there are different models of case management systems, based on what the findings reveal and conclusions, the researcher proposes a *programme or one-stop* case management system. This model is able to capture and address the key programme issues raised in this study. According to the School and Main Institute (2003:3), a programme or one-stop case management model is whereby a young person accesses a variety of services through one programme or location. The programme recruits case managers who deliver services, facilitate referrals and maintains the information management system (School and Main Institute, 2003:3). Using this model, case workers operate as facilitators, educators, coordinators and problem-solvers. For the system to be effective, transition stakeholders should agree on progress benchmarks and timelines. Additionally, collective responsibility between public welfare and private sector in channelling developmental resources towards

the transitions of adolescent girls is required. This calls for pooling of resources for programming and technical assistance as is the case with the Child Protection Fund, a funding mechanism supporting NAP for OVC II (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011c:vii)

Table 6.1: Transition programme case management system

Case management functions	Recommendations
1. Identification of girl in need of care and placement in institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Probation officers identify girls in unsafe environments and place them in institutions b. Case managers provide orientation giving them support to ensure that they adjust to their new environments
2. Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The case manager collects data using assessment tools to establish strengths, interests, social support, personal competences, family backgrounds b. Tools such as the SLA and gender assessment can be used to establish needs c. The case manager opens a case file
3. Design of service plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Based on data collected, the case manager and adolescent girl develop clear expectations and set realistic short-term and long-term goals b. The service plan must be girl-centred and goal-oriented, thus respecting and acknowledging the girl's views and opinions c. The roles and responsibilities must be clearly spelt out to ensure ownership and accountability d. Services and support needed to achieve goals must be identified e. Review dates must be set to track progress on set goals and objectives
4. Implementation of transition plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The case manager provides direct services such as counselling, birth registration and family tracing b. The case manager maps community assets and maintains contacts with different service providers c. Case managers advocate for additional services and improved service delivery d. Case manager coordinates services and support ensuring that barriers to access are eliminated e. Institutions provide practical independent living experiences to enhance social skills and competences, sexual and reproductive health training, mentorship programmes financial literacy and income-generating projects.
5. Monitoring and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The case manager meets with girl regularly to monitor progress being made and evaluate outcomes b. Regular communication is maintained with service providers to monitor implementation of service plan c. The SLA can be used to assess the different kinds of assets being accessed d. Case managers conduct client satisfaction surveys to evaluate service provision and training conducted e. Skills audits can be performed to measure transition skills and competences gained f. Feedback on outcomes is shared with all transition stakeholders
6. Follow-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Case managers advocate for additional services and improved service delivery during care b. Regular follow-up visits are made to girls discharged from care c. Their needs in the new environment are assessed as well as the socio-economic conditions of their care-givers

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">d. The girls are linked to community services and support such as social cash transfers, microfinance, health, education, employment, transport, accommodation, income-generating projects, child protection committees and other social protection programmese. Institutions maintain contact with adolescent girls discharged from caref. Case managers advocate for additional services and improved service delivery after leaving careg. Cases are reviewed periodically and an exit strategy is developedh. Case file is closed when adolescent girls achieve social and economic empowerment
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The following section discusses the second policy recommendation.

6.6. Investing in the transitions of adolescent girls in the institutional context

Investing in building the capacity of the abovementioned stakeholders is critical in ensuring successful transitions and positive livelihood outcomes for young people transitioning from care. Investments are therefore needed in transition policy development, capacity building of transition service providers, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

6.6.1. Transition policy development

The absence of transition policies and programme guidelines for adolescents transitioning from care results in fragmented and ineffective transition programming. Institutions need clear policies detailing the transition processes, the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders, financial and budgetary implications. These policies should be informed by research, indigenous knowledge systems and good transition practice from the region and beyond. As noted from this study, the policy that terminates services for children in the child welfare system at the age of eighteen should be reformed to allow for the acquisition of human and social assets that promote social and financial security after care. This study also observed the unique needs and circumstances of adolescent girls as individuals and as a group. Therefore, transition policies should promote person-centred interventions while at the same time addressing cross-cutting issues such as gender, poverty, age, HIV/AIDS and disability. The government and other development partners should therefore invest in the development of gender-responsive transition policies.

6.6.2. Transition service provider capacity building

As established by the study, different stakeholders lack the capacity to deliver specialised transition services. As such, capacity building programmes that confer appropriate knowledge, skills, competencies, systems and mechanisms are required for the implementation of effective transition programmes. There is therefore need for investment in capacity building programmes for care-givers, case managers and other institutional staff who are responsible for the delivery of transition services and support. Family and community support programmes are important as they address child protection issues, thus safeguarding the rights of children. These structures need transformational programmes to enhance their capacity to support young people from institutions as well as mainstream gender in their activities. Additionally, the government needs to recruit and train staff specialising in adolescents. Therefore funding is required to build organisational and staff capacity to manage the transition process as well as improve their working conditions. Funding is also required to support community-based organisations and churches that play a critical role in the social integration of adolescents living in institutions.

6.6.3. Transition programme planning

Transition planning is a collaborative process requiring the involvement of different stakeholders. It involves the participation of adolescent girls, career counsellors, different government agents, employers, social workers and teachers. It provides information on livelihood opportunities and links adolescents to different service providers. The government and other development agents therefore need to invest in transition planning in order to create livelihood opportunities for vulnerable adolescents. Transition planning helps in designing of programmes that address the underlying causes of poverty and development of poverty reduction strategies. To support the planning process, funding is also required to collect data on transition services and programmes as well as develop transition curriculum that responds to the transition needs of adolescents in institutions.

6.6.4. Transition implementation

Transition programmes should address the identified transition needs and solve transition-related challenges. Therefore, the government need to invest in the provision of services that meet the livelihood needs of adolescents and help them to achieve their livelihood goals. Institutions need adequate and consistent funding to implement transition programmes. Families living in poverty need financial assistance to sustain their lives and adolescents discharged from care. Furthermore, adolescent girls need programmes that provide them with social and employment skills.

6.6.5. Transition monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation are important functions in transition programming. Therefore, the government and other development agents should invest in developing functional monitoring and evaluation systems in institutions. Monitoring and evaluations helps in assessing whether the case management system is being effective in coordinating services and support. Investing in evaluation research will help to measure the impact of transition programmes being provided and their adequacy in meeting the transition needs of adolescent girls before and after care. Investment in impact evaluation research generates knowledge on good practice and allows for the improvement of transition programmes or case management systems where necessary.

6.7. Recommendations for further research

This study noted the importance of investing in adolescent girls' transitions. Against, this background, the researcher proposes further research which measures the benefits of investing in adolescent girls' transitions as well as the costs of failed transitions on adolescent girls, families, society and the government. Further research is recommended to evaluate the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls in rural institutions. Retrospective studies can be conducted for individuals who have left institutional care for longer periods to assess their livelihood outcomes post care and the kind of development interventions they needed to support their transitions. Longitudinal studies can also be carried out to follow different cohorts transitioning from institutions in order to assess their livelihood outcomes

over longer periods of time. The researcher also recommends research on adolescent boys' transitions from institutional care to assess variances in access to assets, livelihood needs, strategies and livelihood outcomes. Finally, the researcher recommends research that assesses the livelihood outcomes of vulnerable adolescent girls living with relatives and non-relatives in poor communities of the country.

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APPENDIX 1

Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Adolescent within institutional care

Goal of study: To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

Name of institution:**Pseudonym**.....

Age of interviewee:**Age at joining institution:**.....

Research question 1:

What are the different kinds of assets you have access to and livelihood strategies within institutional care?

Types of assets	Do you have access to the asset?	Describe level of access/Quantity	What are the strategies used to promote access.
HUMAN ASSETS			
Health care			
Information on sexual and reproductive health.			
Sanitary wear			
Contraceptives			
Food			
Warm clothes			
Blankets			
Primary education			
Secondary education			
Post secondary education/ training			

Daily living skills e.g. Meal preparation Shopping			
Personal care and hygiene e.g. skills Bathing Washing clothes			
Responsibilities/chores e.g. Cleaning the premises Caring for younger children			
Employment Skills/Experiences e.g. career exploration, volunteering, apprenticeships			
PHYSICAL ASSETS			
Housing /Living arrangements			
Tools/Equipment for production			
Energy/Electricity			
Running water			
Transport			
Computers/internet services			
Public phones/cellphone			
FINANCIAL ASSETS			
Pocket money or allowances			
Savings account			
Loan facility			
Income generating activities			
Insurance policy			
Money management skills (e.g. budgeting)			
SOCIAL ASSETS			
Family (Relatives)			
Boyfriend			
Friends			
Church			
Community organisations			

PUBLIC ASSETS			
Recreational facilities			
Legal representation			
Birth registration			
Library			

Research question: 2.1

What are the five immediate livelihood needs you have as an adolescent girl living in this institution?

Research: 2.2

List the five transition programme needs that you consider critical to prepare you for sustainable livelihoods post institutional care.

Research: 2.3

Explain why these are important to you.

Research Question 3:

Describe how the following people are engaging/ helping you to improve your livelihood within the institution.

- 3.1) Yourself:.....
- 3.2) Family or Relatives:.....
- 3.3) School:.....
- 3.4) Social Worker/Probation Officer:.....
- 3.5) Community-based organisations.....
- 3.6) Churches:.....
- 3.7) Government:.....

APPENDIX 2

Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Adolescent outside institutional care

Goal of study: To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

Name of institution:**Pseudonym**.....

Age of interviewee:**Age at joining institution:**.....

Research question 1:

What are the different kinds of assets you have access to and livelihood strategies outside institutional care?

Types of assets	Do you have access to the asset?	Describe level of access/Quantity	What are the strategies used to promote access.
HUMAN ASSETS			
Health care			
Information on sexual and reproductive health.			
Sanitary wear			
Contraceptives			
Food			
Warm clothes			
Blankets			
Primary education			
Secondary education			
Post secondary education/ training			

Daily living skills e.g. Meal preparation Shopping			
Personal care and hygiene e.g. skills Bathing Washing clothes			
Responsibilities/chores e.g. Cleaning the premises Caring for younger children			
Employment Skills/Experiences e.g. career exploration, volunteering, apprenticeships			
PHYSICAL ASSETS			
Housing /Living arrangements			
Tools/Equipment for production			
Energy/Electricity			
Running water			
Transport			
Computers/internet services			
Public phones/cellphone			
FINANCIAL ASSETS			
Pocket money or allowances			
Savings account			
Loan facility			
Income generating activities			
Insurance policy			
Money management skills (e.g. budgeting)			
SOCIAL ASSETS			
Family (Relatives)			
Boyfriend			
Friends			
Church			
Community organisations			
PUBLIC ASSETS			

Recreational facilities			
Legal representation			
Birth registration			
Library			

Research question: 2.1

What were the five immediate livelihood needs you had as an adolescent girl when you were living in the institution?

Research: 2.2

List the five transition programme needs that you considered critical to prepare you for sustainable livelihoods when post institutional care.

Research: 2.3

Explain why these were important to you.

Research Question 3:

Describe how the following people are engaging/ helping you to improve your livelihood within the institution.

- 3.1) Yourself:.....
- 3.2) Family or Relatives:.....
- 3.3) School:.....
- 3.4) Social Worker/Probation Officer:.....
- 3.5) Community-based organisations.....
- 3.6) Churches:.....
- 3.7) Government:.....

Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Superintendent

Goal of study: To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

Name of institution:..... **Date of joining institution:**.....

Research question 1:

What are the different kinds of assets and livelihood strategies you are providing through transition programmes to adolescent girls within your institution?

Types of assets	Do you have access to the asset?	Describe level of access/Quantity	What are the strategies used to promote access.
HUMAN ASSETS			
Health care			
Information on sexual and reproductive health.			
Sanitary wear			
Contraceptives			
Food			
Warm clothes			
Blankets			
Primary education			
Secondary education			
Post secondary education/ training			
Daily living skills e.g. Meal preparation Shopping			

Personal care and hygiene e.g. skills Bathing Washing clothes			
Responsibilities/chores e.g. Cleaning the premises Caring for younger children			
Employment Skills/Experiences e.g. career exploration, volunteering, apprenticeships			
PHYSICAL ASSETS			
Housing /Living arrangements			
Tools/Equipment for production			
Energy/Electricity			
Running water			
Transport			
Computers/internet services			
Public phones/cellphone			
FINANCIAL ASSETS			
Pocket money or allowances			
Savings account			
Loan facility			
Income generating activities			
Insurance policy			
Money management skills (e.g. budgeting)			
SOCIAL ASSETS			
Family (Relatives)			
Boyfriend			
Friends			
Church			
Community organisations			
PUBLIC ASSETS			
Recreational facilities			
Legal representation			

Birth registration			
Library			

Research question: 2.1

What are the five transition programmes the institution needs to meet the immediate livelihood needs of adolescent girls in the institution?

Research: 2.2

List the five transition programme needs that you considered critical to prepare adolescent girls for sustainable livelihoods when post institutional care.

Research: 2.3

Explain why these are important to adolescent girls.

Research Question 3:

Describe how the following people are engaging/ helping the institution in improving the livelihoods of adolescent girls living in the institution.

- 3.1) Yourself:.....
- 3.2) Family or Relatives:.....
- 3.3) Schools:.....
- 3.4) Social Worker/Probation Officers:.....
- 3.5) Community-based organisations.....
- 3.6) Churches:.....
- 3.7) Government:.....

Semi-structured Interview Schedule

District Social Services Officer

Goal of study: To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

Designation:..... **Date of joining department:**.....

Research question 1:

What are the different kinds of assets and the livelihood strategies being provided to adolescent girls in institutions and outside institutional care by institutions and the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services?

Types of assets	Describe the assets being accessed through transition programmes provided to adolescent girls in institutions	Describe the assets being accessed through transition programmes provided to adolescent girls post institutional care
HUMAN ASSETS		
Health care		
Information on sexual and reproductive health.		
Sanitary wear		
Contraceptives		
Food		
Warm clothes		
Blankets		
Primary education Secondary education		
Post secondary education/ training		

Daily living skills e.g. Meal preparation Shopping		
Personal care and hygiene e.g. skills Bathing Washing clothes		
Responsibilities/chores e.g. Cleaning the premises Caring for younger children		
Employment Skills/Experiences e.g. career exploration, volunteering, apprenticeships		
PHYSICAL ASSETS		
Housing /Living arrangements		
Tools/Equipment for production		
Energy/Electricity		
Running water		
Transport		
Computers/internet services		
Public phones/cellphone		
FINANCIAL ASSETS		
Pocket money or allowances		
Savings account		
Loan facility		
Income generating activities		

Insurance policy		
Money management skills (e.g. budgeting)		
SOCIAL ASSETS		
Family (Relatives)		
Boyfriend		
Friends		
Church		
Community organisations		
PUBLIC ASSETS		
Recreational facilities		
Legal representation		
Birth registration		
Library		

Research question: 2.1

What are the five transition programmes the institution needs to meet the immediate livelihood needs of adolescent girls in the institution?

Research: 2.2

List the five transition programme needs that the department considers critical to prepare adolescent girls for sustainable livelihoods when post institutional care.

Research: 2.3

Explain why these are important to adolescent girls.

Research Question 3:

Describe how the following people are engaging/ helping the department to improve the livelihoods of adolescent girls during and after institutional care.

- 3.1) Yourself:.....
- 3.2) Family or Relatives:.....
- 3.3) Schools:.....
- 3.4) Social Worker/Probation Officers:.....
- 3.5) Community-based organisations.....
- 3.6) Churches:.....
- 3.7) Government:.....

THE GENDER ASSESSMENT TOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE: Superintendent

Name of institution:.....

Designation of respondent:..... **Date:**.....

Description of tool:

The gender assessment tool comprises of questions that seek to measure the gender-responsiveness of the transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls within institutional care.
















Goal of study: To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.






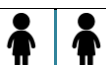




Research question: What are the gender outcomes for the transition programmes being provided to adolescent girls by institutions in Highfield, Harare?

Instructions:

The questions are categorised according to human, physical, financial, social and public assets. Please read through the questions carefully and put one tick per question in the appropriate box before moving to the next question.

Thank you.

HUMAN ASSETS		All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls: boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None
Code	Question						
A 01	Who has access to medical cover?						
02	Who receives information on sexual and reproductive health?						
03	Who gets sanitary wear?						
04	Who has access to contraceptives?						
05	Who has access to clothes?						
06	Who has access to a bed and blankets?						
07	Who has access to secondary education?						
08	Who has access to post-secondary education/training?						
09	Who cooks/prepares meals?						
10	Who has better personal hygiene?						
11	Who performs chores -cleaning the home, - washing clothes - looking after young children?						
12	Who receives employment skills?						
PHYSICAL ASSETS		All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls: boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None
							
B 01	Who has access to private living space/room?						
02	Who has access to land or property?						
03	Who has tools for production (machines)?						
04	Who has access to electricity?						
05	Who has access to running water?						
FINANCIAL ASSETS		All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls: boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None
							
C01	Who has access to pocket money?						
02	Who receives cash allowances/transfers regularly?						
03	Who is involved in an income-generating project						289

04	Who has access to loans?						
05	Who has a bank account?						
06	Who saves money for future needs?						
07	Who has an insurance policy?						
08	Who is involved in budgeting of the home?						
09	Who has money management skills?						
SOCIAL ASSETS		All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls: boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None
							
D01	Who is visited by relatives?						
02	Who goes to visit relatives over weekends/holidays?						
03	Who has friends within the institution?						
04	Who has friends outside institutions?						
05	Who participates in community's cultural activities?						
06	Who participate in sport?						
07	Who goes to church?						
08	Who is dating or romantically involved?						
09	Who makes decisions in arranging social events at the institution?						
PUBLIC ASSETS		All girls	More girls than boys	Equal girls: boys	More boys than girls	All boys	None
							
E01	Who has access to recreational facilities?						
02	Who has more time to visit recreational facilities?						
03	Who has access to transport services?						
04	Who has access to computers (internet services)						
05	Who has access to telephone/cellphone?						
06	Who has birth certificates?						
07	Who has a National I.D. Card?						
08	Who has access to legal representation?						
09	Who has access to library facilities?						

APPENDIX 6

Our reference: Pamhidzayi Berejena Mhongera
Mobile Number: 0772292175
E-mail: pmhongera@gmail.com

ASSENT: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

My name is Pamhidzayi Berejena Mhongera I am a DPhil Social Work candidate with the University of Pretoria, South Africa. I am kindly requesting you to participate in a research study that seeks to evaluate the effects of programmes being provided to enable adolescent girls to have a better life within the institution and after being discharged from institutional care.

1. TITLE OF THE STUDY

Beyond institutional care: An evaluation of adolescent girls' transitions and livelihood outcomes in Highfield, Harare

2. GOAL OF THE STUDY

To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

3. PROCEDURES

You will be requested to participate in a face to face interview and a focus group discussion. You will be asked questions regarding your transition needs, the assets you have access to, your livelihood strategies within institutional care and transition programmes needed to achieve sustainable livelihoods beyond care. I will be asking these questions according to a semi-structured interview schedule and the interview will take between thirty to forty-five minutes. The focus group discussion will last between forty-five minutes to one hour. You will be requested to maintain confidentiality on responses provided by other girls during the focus group discussion. In both cases, I will be requesting for your open and honest responses to the questions.

4. RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

You will not be exposed to any risk by taking part in this study. However, I understand that talking about your transition needs may evoke feelings of fear and insecurity which might cause some discomfort. As a qualified counsellor, I will do my best to minimise any discomfort and will refer you to a qualified social worker or counsellor from the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services in Highfield, should you require further counselling after the interview.

5. BENEFITS

By participating in the study, you will not be entitled to any compensation or incentives, either monetary or otherwise directly or indirectly.

6. RIGHTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

You are under no obligation to participate in the study and if you participate, it will be voluntarily. If you decide not to proceed, you will not be subjected to any penalties, prejudices or negative consequences in any way. You therefore have the right to withdraw from the study at any given point if you so wish.

7. CONFIDENTIALITY

In order to capture accurately what is said in the interview, a voice recorder will be utilised. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the recordings. After the completion of the research study, the recordings will be stored for fifteen years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria along with the other raw research data. All the information obtained from you will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your name or any personal information will only be known to me and will not appear in the research report or any other publication. The research data will not be used for any other research purposes without your informed consent.

For any questions and concerns, you are free to ask me. You can call me on 0772292175 or e-mail me at pmhongera@gmail.com

I (insert your name) understand what the study is about and why and how it will be conducted. I give voluntary consent to the child in my guardianship to participate in the study.

.....
Signature of the child

.....
Date

.....
Signature of Researcher

.....
Date



APPENDIX 7

Our reference: Pamhidzayi Berejena Mhongera
Mobile number: 0772 292175
E-mail: pmhongera@gmail.com

ASSENT: ADOLESCENT GIRLS OUTSIDE INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

My name is Pamhidzayi Berejena. I am a DPhil Social Work candidate with the University of Pretoria, South Africa. I am kindly requesting you to participate in a research study that seeks to evaluate the effects of programmes being provided to adolescent girls during and after leaving institutional care.

1. TITLE OF THE STUDY

Beyond institutional care: An evaluation of adolescent girls' transitions and livelihood outcomes in Highfield, Harare

2. GOAL OF THE STUDY

To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

3. PROCEDURES

You will be requested to participate in a face to face interview and you will be asked questions regarding your transition needs, assets you have access to, your livelihood strategies outside institutional care and transition programmes needed to achieve sustainable livelihoods. I will be asking these questions according to a semi-structured interview schedule that will take between thirty to forty-five minutes. During the interviews, I will also be making observations of your living environment. I am kindly requesting for your honest views and opinions.

4. RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

You will not be exposed to any risk by taking part in this study. However, I understand that talking about your transition needs may evoke feelings of fear and insecurity which might cause some discomfort. As a qualified counsellor, I will do my best to minimise any discomfort and

will refer you to a qualified social worker or counsellor from the Department of Child Welfare and Probation Services, should you require further counselling after the interview.

5.BENEFITS

By participating in the study, you will not be entitled to any compensation or incentives, either monetary or otherwise directly or indirectly.

6.RIGHTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

You are under no obligation to participate in the study and if you participate, it will be voluntarily. If you decide not to proceed, you will not be subjected to any penalties, prejudices or negative consequences in any way. You therefore have the right to withdraw from the study at any given point if you so wish.

7.CONFIDENTIALITY

In order to capture accurately what is said in the interview, a voice recorder will be utilised. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the recordings. After the completion of the research study, the recordings will be stored for fifteen years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria along with the other raw research data. All the information obtained from you will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your name or any personal information will only be known to me and will not appear in the research report or any other publication. The research data will not be used for any other research purposes without your informed consent.

For any questions and concerns, you are free to ask me. You can call me on 0772292175 or e-mail me at pmhongera@gmail.com

I (insert your name) understand what the study is about and why and how it will be conducted. I give voluntary consent to the child in my guardianship to participate in the study.

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Date

.....
Signature of Researcher

.....
Date



APPENDIX 8

Our reference: Pamhidzayi Berejena Mhongera
Mobile Number: 0772292175
E-mail: pmhongera@gmail.com

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER: GUARDIANS IN INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The children under your guardianship are invited to take part in a research study. The aim of this letter is to obtain your permission to allow the children to participate. The content of this letter will provide you with all the information you need to fully understand what is involved before you provide permission for the children to participate in the study.

1. TITLE OF THE STUDY

Beyond institutional care: An evaluation of adolescent girls' transitions and livelihood outcomes in Highfield, Harare

2. GOAL OF THE STUDY

To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

3. PROCEDURES

The children will be requested to participate in face to face interviews and a focus group discussion with the researcher. The researcher will focus on the transition needs of the child, the assets they has access to and what their livelihood strategies are within institutional care and how they can be assisted through transition planning and programming to have their needs met. During the interviews and focus group discussion, the children are expected to answer a set of questions which the researcher will ask according to a semi-structured interview schedule. The interview with each child will take between thirty to forty-five minutes and the focus group discussion for six children or more will last between forty-five minutes to 1 hour. In both cases, the researcher will be asking the children some questions that require open and honest responses.

4. RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

The researcher anticipates no foreseen risks to children who take part in the study. However, the researcher understands that talking about transition needs may evoke feelings of fear and insecurity which might cause some discomfort. As a qualified social worker, the researcher will

do his best to minimise any discomfort and will refer the child to another social worker or counsellor after the interview, if needed.

5. BENEFITS

The children will not be entitled to any compensation or incentives, either monetary or otherwise directly or indirectly, for their participation in the study.

6. RIGHTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The children are under no obligation to participate in the study and if they participate, it will be voluntarily. If you agree that the children participate, they may decide not to participate in the interview and focus group discussion. If they decide not need to proceed, they will not be subjected to any penalties, prejudices or negative consequences in any way. The children therefore reserve the right to withdraw from the study at any given point if they so wish.

7. CONFIDENTIALITY

In order to capture accurately what is said in the interview, a cassette recorder will be utilised. The recording will only be listened to by the researcher and supervisor and tapes will be stored for fifteen years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria along with the other raw research data after the completion of the research study. All the information obtained from the children will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The children's names or any personal information will only be known to the researcher and their names will not appear in the research report or any other publication. The research data may not be used for any other research purpose.

For any questions and concerns you can call the researcher at 0772292175 or e-mail her at pmhongera@gmail.com

I understand what the study is about and why and how it will be conducted. I give voluntary consent to the child in my guardianship to participate in the study.

.....
Signature of Guardian

.....
Date

.....
Signature of Researcher

.....
Date



APPENDIX 9

Our reference: Pamhidzayi Berejena Mhongera
Mobile Number: 0772292175
E-mail: pmhongera@gmail.com

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER: GUARDIANS OUTSIDE INSTITUTION

INTRODUCTION

The child under your guardianship is invited to take part in a research study. The aim of this letter is to obtain your permission to allow the child to participate. The content of this letter will provide you with all the information you need to fully understand what is involved before you provide permission for the child to participate in the study.

1. TITLE OF THE STUDY

Beyond institutional care: An evaluation of adolescent girls' transitions and livelihood outcomes in Highfield, Harare

2. GOAL OF THE STUDY

To evaluate the effects of transition programmes on the livelihood outcomes of adolescent girls post institutional care in Highfield, Harare.

3. PROCEDURES

The child will be requested to participate in an interview with the researcher. The researcher will focus on the transition needs of the child, the assets she has access to and what her livelihood strategies are and how she can be assisted through transition planning and programming to have their needs met. The child is expected to answer a set of questions which the researcher will ask according to a semi-structured interview schedule and the researcher will also observe her living conditions. The interview will take between thirty to forty-five minutes and the observations discussion will last between twenty to thirty minutes. During the interview, the researcher will be asking the child some questions which she will be required to give her open and honest answers. The researcher will also be taking notes of her observations.

4. RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

The researcher anticipates no foreseen risks to the child who takes part in the study. However, the researcher understands that talking about transition needs may evoke feelings about her experiences which might cause some discomfort. As a qualified social worker, the researcher

will do her best to minimise any discomfort and will refer the child to another social worker or counsellor after the interview, if needed.

5. BENEFITS

The child will not be entitled to any compensation or incentives, either monetary or otherwise directly or indirectly, for her participation in the study.

6. RIGHTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The child is under no obligation to participate in the study and if she participates, it will be voluntarily. If you agree that the child participates, the child may decide not to participate in the study. If she decides not to proceed with the interview, she will not be subjected to any penalties, prejudices or negative consequences in any way. The child therefore reserves the right to withdraw from the study at any given point if she so wishes.

7. CONFIDENTIALITY

In order to capture accurately what is said in the interview, a cassette recorder will be utilised. The researcher shall also use a note book to take down some notes of her observations. The researcher and supervisor will have access to the recordings and the tapes will be stored for fifteen years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria along with the other raw research data after the completion of the research study. All the information obtained from the child will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The child's name or any personal information will only be known to the researcher and his/her name will not appear in the research report or any other publication. The research data may not be used for any other research purpose.

For any questions and concerns you can call the researcher at 0772292175 or e-mail her at pmhongera@gmail.com

I understand what the study is about and why and how it will be conducted. I give voluntary consent to the child in my guardianship to participate in the study.

.....
Signature of Guardian

.....
Date

.....
Signature of Researcher

.....
Date