



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

An analysis of the effects of the political environment on the governance of orphans and vulnerable children by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe

By

Miss Adelaide Chikova

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Masters in Political Sciences

Department of Political Sciences

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

at the

University of Pretoria

Supervisor: Dr Cori Wielenga

Date of submission: 1 June 2020

DECLARATION

I, **Adelaide Chikova**, declare that this dissertation is my own work, both in conception and execution. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of International Relations in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other university.

Adelaide Chikova

ETHICS STATEMENT

I, Adelaide Chikova, have obtained, the applicable research ethics approval and declare that I have observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for researchers and the Policy Guidelines for responsible research.

ABSTRACT

This study focused on how the political environment affects the governance of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe. The increase in the number of OVC has led to non-state actors intervening to care and support for OVC because the government is no longer able to do so. Traditionally, extended families worked as the safety net for OVC but due to certain government policies and failures, the burden of caring for the children has increasingly fallen on non-state actors. Governance determines who has power, who makes decisions, how people make their voices heard, and how account is rendered. It aims to promote and strengthen participation by civil society in governing. This research looked at people involved in decision making, who the actors are, and who they report to. A qualitative research design and case study approach was used to provide answers to the research problem which is an investigation of the effects of the political environment on the governance of OVC. Primary data collection was obtained through interviews in organizations in Mutare that assists OVCs. The researcher made use of content analysis to analyse the data that was obtained through interviews. This research found that although the government of Zimbabwe created policies to support the care of the OVC, they have also created an undesirable environment that affects the governance of OVCs. Some of the policies were created to monitor the functioning of non-state actors which resulted in most of the organizations to relocate to neighbouring countries. The outcomes of this study will assist policymakers and childcare programmes to review and design effective intervention policies aimed at helping OVC in Zimbabwe.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
ESPP	Enhanced Social Protection Programme
EU	European Union
FBO	Faith-Based Organisations
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ORG	Organisations
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PASGR	Partnership for African Social and Governance Research
POS	Programme of Support
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
SAOVC	The Situation Analysis of OVC

UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WPO	Working Party of Officials
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ETHICS STATEMENT	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Background to the Study	1
1.1 Introduction and Research Problem	1
1.2 Background to the Research.....	2
1.3 Background to the Problem.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
1.4 Justification for the Research	5
1.5 Research Questions.....	6
1.6 Conceptual Framework.....	6
1.6.1 Governance.....	6
1.6.2 Orphans and Vulnerable Children.....	8
1.6.3 Sustainability	9
1.7 Overview of the Chapters	10
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 Defining OVC	12
2.2.1 Challenges facing OVC.....	14
2.3 The Governance of OVC	16
2.3.1 Understanding power and decision making in governance.....	19
2.3.2 Actors involved in the governance of OVC	21
2.3.3 Policies implemented in relation to the governance of OVC	22
2.3.4. The role of government in caring for OVC	24
2.3.5 Civil society in the governance of OVC	27
2.3.6 Non-state actors in the governance of OVC.....	30
2.4 Sustainability of OVC Programmes	31
2.5 Existing Strategies in the Governance of OVC.....	32
2.7 How the Political Environment Affects Non-State Actors	35
2.8 Lessons from Other Countries.....	36

2.9 Conclusion	37
CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology.....	38
3.1 Introduction.....	38
3.2 Research Paradigm, Approach, and Design.....	38
3.3 Data Collection Methods	41
3.4 Sample	43
3.5 Data Analysis	44
3.6 Reliability and Validity of Data	45
3.7 Positionality.....	46
3.8 Ethical Considerations	47
3.9 Challenges and Successes Encountered during Research.....	49
3.10 Conclusion.....	51
CHAPTER FOUR: Findings from the Case Study of Mutare, Zimbabwe.....	52
4.1 Introduction.....	52
4.2 Description of the Organisations.....	53
4.3 Programmes and Sustainability.....	55
4.4 Themes.....	62
4.4.1 Funding.....	62
4.4.2 Relationship between non-state and state actors.....	63
4.4.3 Hindrance from government.....	65
4.4.4 Government assistance to OVC	68
4.5 Challenges Faced in Assisting OVC	69
4.6 Recommendations from the Organisations.....	72
4.7 Conclusion	73
CHAPTER FIVE: Discussions and Synthesis.....	75
5.1 Introduction.....	75
5.2 Actors Involved in the Governance of OVC.....	76
5.3 Sustainability and Strategies of Non-State Actors	81
5.4 Relationship between State and Non-State Actors.....	84
5.5 Effects of the Political Environment and the Policies Implemented by Government.....	87
5.6 Recommendations	91
5.7 Conclusion	92

Bibliography	94
Appendices	109

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Background to the Study

1.1 Introduction and Research Problem

Although the government of Zimbabwe has committed to taking care of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), it is unable to so do effectively because of the increase in their numbers, amongst other factors. According to Rosenberg *at al.* (2008:51), even though the government is committed to helping OVC they require additional support from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), international donors, and the private sector to assist OVC in accessing the services and resources to which they are entitled. NGOs act as intermediaries by mobilising people to participate in projects aimed at improving their lives.

The government faced many problems in implementing the National Action Plan (NAP) I, the policy framework designed to support the care of OVC, because many interventions that were implemented were not working in addressing the challenges faced by OVC. These included interventions in failed medical care, problems in adoption services, the unpredictability of government grants, and challenges in generally caring for OVC because of the government's dependence on international donors to provide this care.

This study set out to understand the effects of the political environment on the governance of OVC in Zimbabwe through a case study of Mutare as a microcosm. The case study was used to understand the effects of the political environment on the care of OVC more broadly.

Governance, as will be discussed in the conceptual framework, determines who has power, who makes decisions, how people make their voices heard, and how account is rendered. It aims to promote and strengthen civil society's participation in governing. This research paper will look at the actors involved in decision making, who makes decisions, and whom they report to.

Governance involves a political dimension because it reflects on the political process and includes more than just government (Coetzee 2018). Governance deals with the manner in which the government makes decisions and governs a country. Therefore, governance contributes to the enrichment of the discipline of Political Sciences. Although the literature discusses OVC and OVC policy, not much has been written about how non-state actors situate themselves in this space, especially in terms of OVC in Zimbabwe.

To meet the objectives of this research, a constructivist paradigm and qualitative research approach were used to provide answers to the research question and research problem that the political environment of Zimbabwe imposes on the governance of non-state actors. A case study design was adopted, specifically the case of Mutare, Zimbabwe. Primary data collection was obtained through open-ended interview questions which were analysed using conventional content analysis. The sample of the study includes eight NGOs and Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) working with OVC in Mutare. The research question asked is: how does the political environment in Zimbabwe affect the governance of OVC by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe?

1.2 Background to the Study

On the 19th of January, 1995, Zimbabwe became a signatory to the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. The Charter defines a child as every human being under the age of eighteen and, like the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child, covers civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. Until now, the Zimbabwean government has not domesticated the rights provided in the Charter to make them acceptable in the country for the OVCs.

According to Saito *et al.* (2007: 200-201), a Working Party of Officials (WPO) was established by the Zimbabwean government to help with the increase of OVC throughout the country. The WPO included representatives from the United Nations (UN), NGOs, donors, and other civil societies who were selected carefully by the Social Services Action Committee of the cabinet. They were responsible for the implementation of the NAP.

The purpose of the NAP II was to respond comprehensively to issues faced by OVC and to build on areas that are insufficiently addressed the governance of OVC. Working with non-state actors that make up the WPO, the government developed NAP II to solve the failures that had occurred in NAP I because it was ineffective in addressing challenges faced by the OVC. NAP II is a policy which allows and encourages children to participate in decisions in all areas that concern them from the community to the national level. However, in NAP II although laws have been passed that are meant to protect vulnerable groups, they have not been implemented, and it has

been challenging to lift the provisions of the Children's Act of the paper into something tangible within the community.

Gibson (2009) contends that most of the projects aimed at OVC are either publicly or privately funded for children who have lost both parents, those who don't receive adequate support from their parents, or for the guardian appointed to take care of them. The migration of OVC to cities, unemployment, poverty, and the lack of support for the poor by the state are part of the myriad problems faced by OVC. Orme and Seipel (2007:489) are of the view that some of the children end up on the streets because of the death of parents, sexual abuse, poverty, neglect, and violence at home.

Traditionally, extended families provided support to OVC, but this practice collapsed due to challenges brought about by Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), urbanisation, poverty, and other socio-economic factors, leaving orphanages to provide support and protection for these children (Howard *et al.* 2006). The lack of established care and support of OVC has placed an enormous number of vulnerable children at risk of emotional underdevelopment, HIV infection, and malnourishment. As a result, the health of the future generation they are required to sustain has been destroyed.

Various political policies and events in Zimbabwe have affected the governance of OVC, including interventions by the government. This includes the May 2005 urban and rural clean-up campaign commonly known as "Operation Murambatsvina", or Operation Restore Order. The operation mainly affected urban poor people who were left homeless, including widows and OVC. People's loss of jobs and livestock greatly affected the informal economy. The majority of people were left homeless and by the end of June 2005, it was estimated that 300,000 families had been physically displaced. The structures of those who survived through operating informal businesses were destroyed and people who survived on selling vegetables were chased off the streets. Consequently, this contributed to an excessively high rate of unemployment. As a result of this, the UN Mission in Zimbabwe reported that the massive displacement strained family networks and traditional coping mechanisms such as taking in and caring for OVC. Extended families endured the burden of caring for OVC to provide care and support for them.

Mutare's industrial site which used to be a hub of trade has totally collapsed. Dapira (2014) supports that "Large-scale manufacturing industries have shut down, a few remaining are now operating below capacity utilisation and subletting their premises to small business operators." One of the industries that closed is Mutare Board and Paper Mills which used to supply newsprint to the region. The local media house is now regarded as a shell. The company employed over 6,000 workers who were left unemployed when the company closed down. The company's premises have been leased to NGOs for food storage, schools, and vehicle repair companies and the company's offices have been turned into a private primary school.

The closing of big companies shows that the political and economic environment of Zimbabwe was not conducive for them to continue operating and this left many families unemployed and living in poverty. The closure of so many of the industries in Mutare has led to the majority of residents to resort to trading in the informal sector by either vending along the street pavements or selling fruits and vegetables at Sakubva market in Mutare.

The government of Zimbabwe assisted OVC by promoting access to education through the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM). As a result, the government could provide OVC with economic assistance by ensuring that their school fees were waived. However, allegations of corruption were made against the programme due to a lack of transparency around the selection criteria of beneficiaries. This resulted in the unequal distribution of funds and goods for OVC. Schenk *et al.* (2010:325) suggest that the government was in arrears by US\$22.1 million, resulting in the dropping out of school by the majority of OVC who were being assisted by the BEAM programme. School administrators often had no other option than to prevent children who had defaulted on fees from accessing school. As a result, this contributed to human rights violations such as child prostitution, child labour, drug abuse, and high criminal activities in Zimbabwe.

The relevance of the problem indicates that the political environment in Zimbabwe affects the governance of OVC because of the Murambatsvina. Furthermore, the closing of the majority of industries in Mutare affected many of families which were left them homeless, unemployed, and in some cases OVC's and their families had to relocate to other areas. If the relationship between the state and non-state actors is good it brings opportunities to non-state actors which will enable

the organisations to negotiate social protection measures for OVC such as BEAM and a good political environment for the development of the organisations. It is important to fix the problem so that the needs of the OVC are met.

This study shows that the government has implemented several programmes targeted towards OVC, but there is a lack of effective planning to ensure that the affected population is assisted. Hence the government should implement policies that can allow NGOs and FBOs to work independently with the OVC and have power over funding for the development of the organisations.

The political environment in Zimbabwe has affected the governance of OVC in areas such as the distribution of aid, difficulties in accessing some of the areas that are populated by the opposition party, and under and over reporting of challenges faced by the OVC. Furthermore, OVC living with disabilities have a difficult time accessing services from public institutions such as hospitals and social welfare departments and risk going back home without being assisted.

1.4 Justification for the Research

Not much research has been conducted on how the political environment affects the governance of OVC by non-state actors in the city of Mutare. As such, this research looked at ways in which the political environment affects the governance of programmes implemented by NGOs to assist OVC and whether planned interventions are reaching OVC. The outcomes of this study will assist policymakers and those in charge of childcare programmes to review and redesign intervention policies aimed at helping OVC in the community. It is furthermore meant to assist NGOs in establishing whether the needs of OVC are being met.

The researcher's interest started when she worked as a volunteer at a FBO that works with OVC in Mutare for a year in 2017. The gap which was left by the state actors due to economic difficulty was being fulfilled by the non-state actors through providing school fees, clothing, and food for OVC in Mutare. During the time the researcher spent at the FBO, she noticed various ways in which the political environment was affecting or disturbing the governance of non-state actors.

This research study was undertaken to highlight the interference of state actors in the governance of OVC, particularly focusing on the political environment in the governance of OVC by non-state actors. The findings of this research can point out ways that state actors can reduce their interference in the governance of OVC and lessen some of their policies so that non-state actors can receive donations that sustain their programmes. The challenges encountered by non-state actors can be forwarded to the relevant authorities such as the local government and policy makers for them to find suitable measures for the implementation of sustainable programmes to support OVC. The findings can also assist non-state actors to share ideas for interventions, care, and support of OVC in the community so that the needs of OVC can be fulfilled.

1.5 Research Questions

A research question is a question that a research project sets out to answer. The research question that this project set out to answer is “How does the political environment in Zimbabwe affect the governance of OVC by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe?” The following sub-questions were used to answer the research question:

- What opportunities or limitations does the political environment create for the functioning of non-state actors in the governance of OVC in Mutare?
- How is the relationship of non-state actors with state actors involved in the governance of OVC in Mutare?
- In what ways has the current governance of OVC in Mutare met the needs of OVC?

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The concepts discussed in this research are governance, orphans and vulnerable children, and sustainability. These concepts are key to understanding the central research question.

1.6.1 Governance

Peters (2012) suggests that the concept of governance has become the most commonly used term in the discipline of political sciences. He is of the view that the term has been used mostly in publications and discussions of international organisations, especially those that are responsible for helping and improving the lives of people around the world who are oppressed and poor. The

concept of governance has mostly been used in the private sector in referring to the management of organisations.

Toikka (2011) argues that governance refers to how a group or society within a group organises to make decisions. Toikka (2011) believes that governance focuses on the network aspects of decision making. It determines who has power, who makes decisions, how other people make their voices heard, and how account is rendered. Governance is a decision-making process in which different actors negotiate social protection packages, delivery methods, and the nature of beneficiaries. Measurement of the quality of governance depends on how accountable, transparent, inclusive, and responsive institutions are to its citizens' concerns, needs, and priorities (PASGR 2016). This research will look at individuals involved in decision making, who the actors are, and who they report to.

Stoker (Ewalt 2001: 8) argues that in governance "boundaries between and within public and private sectors have been blurred." Governance identifies the power of dependency which is involved in the relationship between institutions in collective action (Ewalt 2001: 8) Different organisations are dependent on each other for the achievement of collective action, thus promoting the exchange of resources and the ability to negotiate a shared understanding of the programme goals. Most governance propositions do not depend on changes in the policy making process, simply the inclusion of multiple actors, whether private or public, into the process (Toikka 2011).

Pierre and Peters (2020) conceptualise three approaches to governance which are the role state actors plays in governance, the role that societal actors play in governance, and the mixture of state and societal actors in governance. The first approach is one of the key aspects of governance. The role that the state actors play in governance depends on various factors which are "the historical patterns of regulations and control of the particular policy sector, the institutional interest in maintaining control, the degree to which governance requires legal and political authority, and the strength of societal organisations and networks" (Peters & Pierre 2016). The actual role that state actors play in governance consists of a tug of war between the role played by the state and the role that the external environment allows them to play (Pierre & Peters 2020).

The second approach to governance focuses on the role of societal actors in organising governance. Pierre and Peters (2020) suggest that “civil society, non-governmental organizations, private businesses, regional and local governments and international actors as European Union (EU) institutions control considerations amounts of resources, knowledge, expertise and organisational capabilities that make them attractive partners to the government in governing.” Frequently asked questions are whether the government is still in control or if it has been side-lined and if there are any other actors governing without government (Rhodes 1997).

The third approach is of the view that governance is a mixture of state and societal actors where the relative weight of these actors may vary from one policy sector to another, but governance provides limited fragmented steering and the coordination of the society as a whole. Pierre and Peters (2020) further suggest that this perspective tries to understand the relations between the state and societal actors concerning the capacity of economic interest to fend off political pressures and ensure self-regulation of market actors.

1.6.2 Orphans and Vulnerable Children

Skinner *et al.* (2006: 622) suggest that the term “orphans and vulnerable children” was introduced because of the limitations of the existing definition of orphan hood in the scenario of HIV/AIDS. Schenk *et al.* (2010:325) suggest that the term includes not only children who are biological orphans after the death of their parents, but also children who are considered to be vulnerable to shocks that jeopardise their health and well-being, such as the chronic illness of a parent, living on the street, living with disabilities, living in extreme poverty, or other household factors. Hence, it is important to distinguish who OVC are because certain children living with sick parents who are regarded as non-orphans thus fall outside the care system for OVC (Skinner *et al.* 2006: 622). In this study, the definition of orphans will include children under the age of eighteen who have lost their mothers (maternal orphans), those who have lost their fathers (paternal orphans), and those who have lost both parents (double orphans).

Mbiti (1994) and Tutu (2004) argue that the term “orphans and vulnerable children” only applies to a child who has no parents and no substitute caregiver. In Northern Uganda, a study was carried out on the experiences of OVC. Oleke *et al.* (2007) revealed many cases where orphans were not wanted, cared for, or loved by their caregivers. The study showed inadequate care of

OVC or discrimination against them that was evidenced through excessive workloads; inadequate feeding, shelter, and clothing; and the OVC being unhappy when compared to other children in the same household.

Deters (2008) argues that in developing countries around the world street children and orphans are viewed as the most vulnerable children in society because of the abuse, separation from their siblings, neglect, and abandonment they encounter. In 1991 the Ministry of Social Welfare in Zimbabwe identified the most vulnerable and marginalised groups in society to be girls, rural women, children living on the streets, abandoned children, people living with disabilities, orphaned children, and people living in remote rural areas (Manyonganise 2013:476). Most OVC face stigma and inequality. As such, to reduce the problems faced by children, interventions should aim at reaching all children affected by HIV, not only children rendered vulnerable because of the death of their parents (Foster 2006: 393).

According to Skinner *et al.* (2006:619), in Zimbabwe orphans are divided into two groups: those with guardians and those without. Hence, being an orphan does not mean that the child is vulnerable; it depends on the quality of care that the child is receiving. However, many children are at risk, including those living with disabilities, those living on the streets, orphans, disadvantaged children living in state-run or private institutions, and those who grew up in families with alcoholics, drug abuse, mental health problems, or domestic violence (DCI 2011).

1.6.3 Sustainability

This study looked at the issue of the sustainability of programmes for the care of OVC. Iwelunmor *et al.* (2015:2) suggest that sustainability refers to the continuation of activities and benefits achieved during the project and after donor funding has ceased. Iwelunmor *et al.* (2005:2) further argue that an intervention is regarded as sustainable when the activities and relevant benefits continue to assist those in need in the direction of its primary objectives. Rizkallah and Bone (1998) categorise three indicators of sustainability, including those that measure continued health benefits, those that measure institutionalisation within the organisation, and those that measure the continued capacity of the community. Although this study did not measure sustainability, it will discuss perceptions of sustainability by key actors.

1.7 Overview of the Chapters

Chapter One: Introduction and Background to the Study

This chapter provides an introduction and background to the study. This includes the background to the problem, research objectives, and the research questions of the study. It also highlights the significance of the study and discusses some of the main concepts that will be discussed in the research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The second chapter reviews literature on different concepts, including governance, civil society, power, and non-state actors. The chapter highlights the sustainability of programmes for OVC, the role of the government in the governance of OVC, and the relationship between the state and non-state actors in Zimbabwe. It also identifies the research gap that this study responds to.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology that was used in the study in detail, including the case study and data collection methods employed. Furthermore, it gives a brief outline of the successes and challenges faced during the data collection process.

Chapter Four: Findings from the Case Study of Mutare, Zimbabwe

This chapter focuses on the findings from the fieldwork which were subdivided into themes. The themes which were used are: funding, the relationship between non-state and state actors, government as a hindrance, and government's assistance of OVC.

Chapter Five: Discussions and Synthesis

This chapter focuses on the findings, presentation, and data analysis on the governance of OVC. The chapter summaries the research and offers recommendations which emerge from the findings of the research.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Although the government of Zimbabwe has committed to taking care of OVC, it is unable to do so effectively because of the increase in their numbers, amongst other factors. Rosenberg *et al.* (2008:51) state that even though the government is committed to helping OVC, they need support from NGOs, the private sector, and international donors. All these actors assist Zimbabwean children in accessing the resources and services to which they are entitled. NGOs act as intermediaries by mobilising people to participate in projects aimed at improving their lives. According to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), even communities with strong social cohesion and traditions of providing care and support for OVC can be overwhelmed when there is an increase in orphans in the community. As such, the government and non-state actors should work together in assisting OVC (UNICEF 2004).

The term "orphans and vulnerable children" was coined by international aid organisations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for programmes targeting vulnerable children in society. Stover *et al.* (2007:24), suggest that the need for public assistance varies from country to country depending on the number of orphans, the socio-economic conditions, and local decisions about the type of support to provide and the best way to provide it. In Zimbabwe, the increase in unemployment and the retrenchment of workers worsened the plight of OVC. The economic situation in 2008 led to poverty in most families around the country. Many people suffered during that period and even nurses and doctors left their unpaid jobs to seek employment in other countries.

The government faced many problems in implementing the NAP I the policy framework to support the care of OVC because many interventions were not effective in addressing the challenges faced by OVC. Challenges faced in implementing the plan included interventions in medical care, problems in adoption services, the unpredictability of government grants, and challenges in the general care of OVC. The government's dependency on international donors has become the major source of these challenges.

The type of literature review used for this study is a scoping review. It is like a systematic review, but the key difference is that there are no restrictions on the materials used. The literature review will discuss the dilemma in defining who OVC are and the actors involved in the governance and sustainability of programmes directed towards OVC. It will also discuss the coping strategies in the governance of OVC and the current situation in the country. The case study of Mutare is used as a microcosm to understand the effects of the political environment on the governance of OVC. Governance, as will be discussed in the conceptual framework of this chapter, determines who has power, who makes decisions, how people make their voices heard, and how account is rendered. The research will look at people involved in decision making, who the actors are, and who they report to.

2.2 Defining OVC

There are various ways of defining who OVC are, depending on the use of the term. One can use the term in a legal, epidemiological, or in a cultural and social sense (Skinner *et al.* 2004:620). An orphan is defined as a child who has lost one or both parents, regardless of the cause of death. Skinner *et al.* (2006:620) argue that the definition of OVC differs from country to country and the definition used by local communities is different from the one used the government. For instance, assistance given to OVC by the government depends on a particular age group and any child that falls outside that group is excluded from the benefits (Skinner *et al.* 2006:620).

Saito *et al.* (2007:198) argue that the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) defines an orphan as any child under the age of fifteen who has lost their mother or father to AIDS. Saito *et al.* (2007:198) furthermore suggest that the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy and NAP I define an orphan as a child aged from zero to eighteen whose parents have died. Fanelli *et al.* (2007: 122) argue that the NAP defines a child as a human being below the age of eighteen and an orphan as a child whose mother and father have both died. Some of the definitions do not include children with HIV/AIDS or child-headed households. Furthermore, there is some confusion around which age categories fit into the definition of OVC. This is significant as it means that there will be conflicts between UNAIDS-sponsored and government-sponsored programmes, pointing to a problem in governance. How OVC are defined has direct implications on the governance of OVC.

Mutiso and Mutie suggests that these various ways of defining who OVC are and what programmes and policy implementations are needed to assist them need to be fully understood and thoroughly considered before put into practice. In this study, the definition of orphans includes children under the age of eighteen who have lost their mothers (maternal orphans), those who have lost their fathers (paternal orphans), and children who have lost both parents (double orphans).

The use of chronological age is a problem in identifying who OVC are because it ignores young people who are older than eighteen whose parents are deceased and who are exposed to intense vulnerability from a lack of family and external support (Hlatywayo *et al.* 2015: 3). According to Hlatywayo *et al.* (2015: 5), a child older than eighteen is automatically removed from the category of orphan hood and vulnerability. In this instance, close friends, extended families, and NGOs believe that at the age of eighteen a child can look after him or herself, yet this is not true. The Situation Analysis of OVC (SAOVC) in Zimbabwe by UNICEF (1998) and Armstrong (2000) reveal that using age in defining which OVC should be provided with educational support was penalising teenagers who started school at a later age by excluding them from educational support once they had turned eighteen years old.

Skinner *et al.* (2006:625) argue that OVC are grouped into layers of vulnerability, depending on whether they have foster parents, are supported by extended family members, or live in child-headed families. Vulnerability is defined as extended families who receive OVC, children living with old caregivers, or children living with caregivers who are too ill to take care of them. Drought, stigma, and political repression can also influence the vulnerability of people.

World Vision (2002) defines vulnerable children as those who live in a household in which one or more people are ill, dying, or deceased; children who live in households that take care of orphans; and households where caregivers are too ill or too old to take care of orphans. The vulnerability of children starts even before the death of their parents because as parental health declines, children are faced with more responsibilities. In some cases, children even drop out of school to take care of parents. Morley *et al.* (2011) strongly argue that some children are dedicated to their education to the extent that they make sacrifices to attend school, do their homework on time, and encourage their siblings to stay in school.

According to World Vision, OVC are children who are:

- Orphaned by the death of one or both parents;
- Abandoned by parents;
- Living in extreme poverty;
- Living with disabilities;
- HIV positive;
- Marginalised, stigmatised, or discriminated against

A study carried out in Zimbabwe by Schenk *et al.* (2010:326) shows that vulnerable children were reported to have experienced many traumatic events such as illness in the family, the death of parents, and abandonment by parents, and discrimination at school. Subbarao *et al.* (2001) argue that child-headed families are often exploited and sexually abused, have no access to health care and education, and are often denied inheritance of property. In a child-headed family, the older children will have the responsibility to take care of their younger siblings but sometimes they will not be able to cope and have to make sacrifices that threaten their development.

According to Nyamukapa and Gregson (2005:2155), a recent study in Zimbabwe showed that children between the ages of thirteen and fifteen who had lost their mothers were less likely to have completed primary school than children who had lost their fathers. Boler and Carroll (2003) argue that maternal orphans may be more disadvantaged because mothers emphasise the importance of education and if they die the children will have less access to education. This happens because women have weaker property rights, which increases their perception of the importance of investing in their children. In some societies, orphan support programmes allocate more resources to an orphan whose father has died than one whose mother has died.

2.2.1 Challenges facing OVC

The literature was reviewed to gain a better understanding of the situation faced by OVC and their families and the difficulties they encounter when it comes to living in the community and the social welfare response (Skinner *et al.* 2006:622). The study reviewed the programmes implemented by the government to determine whether there are long or short-term goals to assist

the children. It also reviewed the existing coping strategies aimed at OVC and looked at how vulnerable children are selected and how orphans are assisted. Many studies consider children with HIV and AIDS to be vulnerable. These studies omit OVC living in extreme poverty, living with a disability, living in child-headed families, living on the street, or that have been abandoned by parents

The NAP II (2011-2015) encourages children who are exposed to violence and abuse to seek protection and safety through the legal justice system. Giddens (1997: 153) defines domestic violence as physical abuse directed to one member of the family by another. Giddens also suggests that violence in the family is tolerated and approved and that the prime targets of physical abuse are children, especially small children under the age of six. The challenges faced by the government have disadvantaged most of the children who are unable to access the justice system. Furthermore, some families tend to hide the abuse that happens in the family, the family members will be too scared to report the abuser, or the abuser might be the breadwinner of the family. Children who manage to access the justice system face delays and hardships when they encounter the police and courts. The current situation in Zimbabwe cannot deliver medical support, legal support, and referral services to boys and girls who have witnessed or experienced criminal acts.

The burden of caring for sick adults rests on the very young and the very old (UNICEF 2003). In some cases Barnard (2003: 6) shows that children who are six years old take on the responsibility of caregiver and breadwinner by taking care of their sick elders. Children who live in child-headed families or those who live with sick caregivers are deprived of the care and support which help them to develop a positive concept of who they are (Chitiyo, *et al.* 2008: 185). The eldest will have the responsibility of taking care of the younger siblings. These children will become increasingly worried and may even stop playing with their peers in order to assist their parents or siblings. Some of the children may become the head of the household, taking over adult responsibilities, anxieties, and decisions (Laurie *et al.* 2006).

Schenk *et al.* (2010:326), argues that in some cases children will end up dropping out of school because the adult who used to be the breadwinner has become bedridden. Horizon studies have shown that amongst vulnerable people in Rwanda, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, girls are more

likely to drop out of school because of negative symptoms such as depression, hopelessness, poor appetite, and low self-esteem. The loss of income from the breadwinner of the family often results in child destitution and child labour. In most cases, if girls are no longer going to school, they end up in child marriages and teenage pregnancy because some parents tend to marry off their daughters to reduce the burden of poverty. Pridemore and Yates (2005:291) suggest that most OVC end up being emotionally vulnerable, financially desperate, and socially isolated and, as such, they are likely to end up being sexually abused or engage in unprotected sex which might result in contracting sexually transmitted infections and HIV. Some might become involved in prostitution to support their siblings and family members. Sexual abuse has long-term consequences on its victims as was shown by studies which were carried out and showed that a high proportion of juvenile offenders, prostitutes, drug users, and adolescent runaways had a history of child sexual abuse (Giddens 1997: 154). Zimbabwe will remain underdeveloped because the future of young girls and boys is being destroyed by poverty.

2.3 The Governance of OVC

Pierre (2000) suggests that the concept of governance emerged in the 1990s and was viewed as an institutional response to the rapid changes in the state's environment. At that point, the government was loaded with other responsibilities and was unable to resolve all the tasks and demands placed upon it by society. In the 1980s and 1990s, problems escalated which forced the state to cut back more or less comprehensively on its services, prompting the search for new strategies for public services production and delivery. This enabled emerging forms of governance which forced leaders to rethink the traditional notions of democracy and the role of the state in society.

Afegbua and Adejuwon (2012: 143) describe the concept of governance as a set of policies, values, and institutions through which the society manages political, social, and economic processes at various levels based on interaction amongst civil society, government, and the private sector. It involves the process of decision making and the process in which decisions are implemented or unable to be implemented in the organisation. Policies that are implemented ensure that the voices of the poorest and most vulnerable groups are heard in decision making through the allocation of development resources.

Governance identifies the power dependence in the relationship between institutions involved in collective action (Keping 2017:4). Keping (2017:4) suggests that “every organisation devoted to collective action has to depend on other organisations; to achieve its purpose, it has to exchange resources and negotiate a common goal with others, and the outcome of the exchange depends not only on the resources of each actor but also on the game and the environment in which the exchange takes place.” Hence to achieve their goals, organisations have to exchange their resources. This is done through the interaction of organisations in order for them to give adequate resources to OVC and also achieve projects that can sustain the needs of this generation without compromising their future.

Arts (2003) is of the view that governance involves ways in which both private and public institutions and individuals manage their affairs. He further suggests that, in doing so, NGOs position themselves in various sustainable discourses in industry and government. Hence, these NGOs convince the public that their views on sustainable development of programmes are more promising than those of others.

Civil society and governance are two concepts which have been used frequently in past decades in African economic and political development with different purposes and meanings (Sjogren 1998). Although many scholars have debated the issue of civil society and governance there is still no clear consensus as to the meaning and importance of the two concepts. Kaviraj and Khilnani (2001) suggest that civil society involves the associations that comprise of “centers” and the “enabling environment” that allows them to operate freely. If the political environment is stable many non-state actors will be able to operate in the country freely.

Non-state actors have important roles to play in international relations, specifically since the end of the Cold War (Furtak 1997, in Arts 2003). The number of non-state actors increased globally after the Cold War and people have witnessed the impact on non-state actors in different areas. According to Arts (2003), since the late 1980s people witnessed new dynamics in international relations which resulted in the collapse of the Communist Bloc. This resulted in a dramatic change in the international political landscape, allowing more political space for other issues and no longer only focusing on security and big states and their allied forces. This research will give full attention to the non-state actors in the governance of OVC in Mutare. The non-state actors

act as mediators between the state and its citizens by providing education, health, and food to the less privileged and OVC in the community. The non-state actors source donor funds from different countries and locally in the hope of lifting the community out of poverty.

The public has few spaces to engage decisions makers in shaping programmes, resource allocation, and policies (Nomdo 2011:19). Therefore, the separation of public from governance creates a disconnect between people's day to day struggles and policy and programming solutions that are supposed to alleviate their plight. If the public are not involved in the governance of OVC, the government will not know the problems faced by OVC and their needs. To know what the needs of OVC are, a clear understanding of the community's perspective is required.

According to Robertson *et al.* (2012:2504), in low- and middle-income countries cash transfer programmes have become popular social welfare interventions. Cash transfers were formed to support households suffering economically. They argue that in Malawi the programme targeted households who were likely to be caring for orphans or someone with HIV. The NAP II was implemented with the support of the Child Protection Fund and helped families through cash transfers to the poorest families, educational assistance (BEAM), child protection services, and assistance for child survivors of abuse, violence, and exploitation.

UNICEF (2011) holds that education enables children to end generational poverty and shift from vulnerability to security and meaningful, productive lives. The government of Zimbabwe, with the collaboration of UN agencies and civil society, came up with several social protection initiatives to assist OVC programmes such as the BEAM, child adoption, institutional grants, free treatment orders, and the NAP (Masuka *et al.* 2012). The funds for BEAM were provided in the national budget but now the programme is mainly donor-funded under the observation of the NAP for OVC. The programme assists OVC through providing tuition and examination fees to children from very poor families, or with disabled or single parents. The beneficiaries are selected at the school level by a committee consisting of parents and school authorities. It is important to keep these children in school, especially girls, because it reduces their vulnerability and provides educational access through training in agricultural practices, entrepreneurship, and life skills. However, it is difficult for OVC to depend on the programme as a form of social

protection because it excludes those with learning difficulties and those who live far from the school.

School feeding encourages children to go to school and attracts marginalised communities if children are targeted based on poverty and food insecurity. In Mutare, children were given porridge and food parcels to help them grow and increase the availability of food or financial resources in the household. The partnership for child development suggests that school feeding of OVC can provide a social safety net that helps address issues of inequality and gender imbalance.

2.3.1 Understanding power and decision making in governance

Baldwin (2002) is of the view that the concept of power is one of the most fundamentally circumstantial notions in political sciences. Arts (2003) further supports that power is not only exercised through decision making itself but also by excluding issues from the political agenda through non-decision making. According to Bachrach and Baratz (1962: 950) power consists of two faces of power which do not only concern decision making but also involves agenda-building on the bases of which decisions are made which will result in a certain “bias” when the outcomes are mobilised. Arts (2003) further contends that agents can achieve outcomes not only by influencing other agencies but by influencing rules and institutions within their operation area. Discursive and regulatory power was formed due to the changing of discourses and institutions within the context of these rules which can be changed so that the outcomes will last.

Faces	Capacity
Decisional Power	The capacity to influence decision making
Discursive Power	The capacity to (re)frame discourse
Regulatory Power	The capacity to (re) make rules

This study will focus its attention on decisional power which is the capacity of non-state actors to influence decision making that affects them. Arts (2003) is of the view that for non-state actors to have a chance to be effective they need to intervene, indirectly or directly, in the decision making process they want to influence. Non-state actors can intervene in decision making through strategies such as advocacy, lobbying, protest, participation, and monitoring. Arts (2003) further explains the meaning of the above. According to him, advocacy refers to acceptable ways of spreading information based on the change of decision making. Lobbying refers to informal attempts to influence decision making. A protest is defined as the opposition to certain ideas and monitoring refers to controlling whether the government on their policies and promises. As such, decision making can be influenced directly.

Power is viewed as an aspect of social relationships. Haralambos and Heald (1980: 98) is of the view that a group or an individual cannot hold power in isolation, but they can hold it in relation to others. Haralambos and Heald (1980: 99) further suggests that a group or an individual holds power to the degree that other comply with their will. If members of the society pool their resources and efforts together they are more likely to realise their shared goals than if they work as individuals. When studying the governance of OVC the researcher concentrated on who holds power and how power is used in order to examine if power is only centered on furthering the interest of the power holders or the society as the whole.

Governance refers to the exercise of power in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (Sjogren 1998). Haralambos and Heald (1980: 101) suggests that power is "the capacity to mobilise the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for which a general 'public' commitment has been made." The amount of power is measured by the achievement of the collective goals. Non-state actors act as the voice of the voiceless. The goal of the non-state actors that were interviewed for this research is to pull vulnerable children out of poverty through the implementation of sustainable projects. By so doing, the non-state actors are able to achieve their goals as an organisation. With assistance from foreign and national donors, non-state actors are there to help OVC by improving the economic and social development of the country.

2.3.2 Actors involved in the governance of OVC

Several actors are involved in the governance of OVC, including NGOs, FBOs, communities, orphanages, churches, and government. Children are encouraged to participate in governance because it enables them to build skills, political knowledge, and become active citizens in the future (Nomdo 2011:22) but the participation of children in governance is subject to superficial rhetoric. The participation of children in governance will enable government services and programmes, especially the child protection system, to be more responsive to the needs of children who are beneficiaries. Although they are invited into The Children's Parliament, they do not have decision making power. Children are not viewed as credible reporters on their lives because 'adults know best'. Children are regarded as minors and their decisions are not taken seriously.

The NAP II was formed to include children from all ten provinces of Zimbabwe, but the effectiveness of its implementation fell far short of expectations (Munashe 2014). During meetings, the state actors did not address the actual needs faced by OVC but rather their perceived needs. This was due to generational gaps. Researchers like Fanelli *et al.* (2007: 122) support the claim that in some cases children were used as fronts for resource mobilisation by humanitarian agencies. During the meetings, there was hardly any meaningful participation by children. Furthermore, the children were alienated from their community and culture because NGOs tend to bring in foreign cultures and values in a bid to please donor communities.

Matthews (2001:154) argues that children should be involved in decision making about interventions that impact their lives. NAP II allows and encourages children to participate in decision making from community to national level. Although children are given the right to make their own decisions if they are still under the age of eighteen, they are not able to inherit any land or property. Elders normally do not listen to children's decisions because they think that they know best.

Stover *et al.* (2007:21) believe that it is important to receive assistance from the public for the wellbeing of orphans, but it also depends with the country and the number of orphans. According to Nomdo (2011:20) the public is not involved because they have few spaces in decision making to share programmes, policies, laws, and resource allocation. This separation of the public from

governance causes a disconnect between the reality of people's struggles and policy and programming solutions that are supposed to alleviate their plight.

According to Strebel (2004), FBOs are playing a magnificent role in response to OVC. In Zimbabwe, an interdenominational community-based orphan care network works to revitalise existing traditional coping mechanisms within the family through a process of sharing resources and experiences (Siwela & Germann 1996). While some of the programmes and projects are developed to respond to needs in communities, some programmes are developed based on research findings.

2.3.3 Policies implemented in relation to the governance of OVC

The Zimbabwean government is a signatory to various international and regional declarations on the protection and survival of the rights of children, particularly in education and health, and has applied various social protection policies and programmes to guarantee the fulfilment of children's rights. The various international and regional declarations on the rights of children state that "children need special safeguards and care including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth" (Child Rights 2015). The key principles of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child states that "a child is to enjoy special protection as well as opportunities and facilities by law and means for healthy and normal physical, mental, moral, spiritual and social development in conditions of freedom and dignity" (Child Rights 2015). The funding mechanism for the principles and implementation of the policies and rights of the children is managed by UNICEF in close collaboration with the Government of Zimbabwe. The government of Zimbabwe is coordinating the efforts of multiple actors and has also planned special interventions for orphans with the help of the World Bank and other donors (Miller 2007).

The government of Zimbabwe implemented the Children's Act in 2002 to protect all children in the country. Children's rights are the human rights afforded to children with particular attention to the rights of special protection and care afforded to minors. Some of the rights include the right to life, the right to identity, the right to protection from physical and mental violence, and the right to freedom from discrimination. Rights ensuring the development of a child include the right to family and the right not to be unjustly separated from such family. Children also have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. They have a right to food, shelter,

education, and the best possible health care. These rights are intended to protect all children regardless of race, language, sex, and ethnic group. However, unless children are aware of these rights, they are basically ineffective. Children should be educated so they can know and exercise their rights as citizens of Zimbabwe.

Ganga and Maphalala (2014:3) point out that the government of Zimbabwe created two key national policies and a legal framework to support OVC. The two key national policies include the National AIDS Policy and the National Orphan Care Policy which was created in 1999. These policies were formed to reflect on Zimbabwe's strength in doing things in a traditional way and promote the collaboration between the civil society and the government (Masuka *et al.* 2012). Law makers have introduced laws that can protect children and other vulnerable groups.

Masuka *et al.* (2012) argue that Zimbabwe's National Orphan Care Policy recognises opportunities to provide care and support for OVC that are inherent in the country's legislative framework, the cultural tradition of caring, and the collaborative approach which exists between government and the civil society especially the six tier safety net mechanism. Masuka *et al.* (2012) explain that "the six tier safety mechanism according to The National Orphan Care Policy has the following six steps of care that a child in need can be catered for in order of appropriateness. The six are nuclear family, extended family, community care, foster care, adoption and institutional care."

The law makers have played their part in introducing laws that protect the wellbeing of vulnerable children but the government does not succeed in providing certain rights and protection to OVC due to the lack of inclusion of social and economic rights. Masuka *et al.* further argue that even though laws were passed that can benefit vulnerable groups, the improved capacity for the implementation of the social protection policies is not available and it is therefore challenging to move the requirements of the Children's Acts off the paper into something tangible within the community.

The increase in OVC has led to the formulation of different policies to protect children. The need for intervention began with an attempt to prevent children from becoming orphans through HIV prevention or treatment and addressing maternal mortality (Desmond & Glow 2002; Subbarao & Coury 2004). Even though laws have been passed that can benefit vulnerable groups

the improved capacity which is necessary for their implementation is not available. Hence it is difficult to translate the provisions of the Children's Act into something tangible.

Masuka *et al.* (2012) show that the government of Zimbabwe, in collaboration with UN agencies and civil society, came up with several social protection initiatives to assist OVC programmes:

- a) Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM);
- b) Child Adoption;
- c) Institutional Grants;
- d) Free Treatment Orders;
- e) The National Action Plan (NAP)

2.3.4. The role of government in caring for OVC

The first version of the NAP was created in 2005 and implemented from 2005 to 2010 with the purpose of responding comprehensively to issues faced by OVC and to build upon areas that were insufficiently addressed in the governance of OVC. The NAP I was formed because of the increase in poverty and mortality rates due to HIV and AIDS and sought to address and prioritise the urgent issues facing OVC, their families, and the community (Ministry of Public Services, Labour, and Social Welfare 2013). The vision of NAP I was to reach all OVC in Zimbabwe with basic services that will impact positively on their lives. The policy sought to ensure that OVC are able to access health services, food, birth registration, education, and protection from exploitation and abuse through the coordination efforts of the civil society and the government with the full participation of the children (Gutsa 2012).

The Programme of Support (PoS) was launched in 2006 to coordinate and scale up international financial support for the welfare and protective initiatives that are run by both the government and civil society (Arruda 2018). The NAP I and PoS were not structured on any central initiative but, rather, they consisted of a multiplicity small-scale, small budget initiatives with little coordination (Arruda 2018). An assessment of the NAP 1 and PoS in 2010 identified the following challenges (Kang & UNICEF 2017):

- Unclear targeting due to multiple different definitions of OVC;
- Fragmented services, resulting in a mean of (only) 1.6 types of support per child;

- A focus on reach (number of children served), rather than the quality of the service provided;
- Ineffective coordination of decentralised services at provincial, district, and ward levels due to the limited capacity of the Department of Social Services;
- Insufficient focus on learning and sharing good practice among all stakeholders and delays in developing and sharing operations research materials, which did not inform PoS management;
- Limited capacity development for government structures overlooking poverty as a key driver of vulnerability in the NAP I.

The challenges faced in NAP I led to the formulation of NAP II by moving away from not only targeting the OVC's and HIV but also tackling the relevant forms of vulnerability and poverty.

The government developed NAP II in 2011 in partnership with non-state actors. The second version of this document of NAP was published to cover the period from 2011 to 2015 with the goal of ensuring that OVC and their families have enough income and access to basic services and that all children are protected from exploitation and abuse (Gutsa 2012). Later on it became difficult to deliver medical support, referral services, and legal support to girls and boys who had experienced criminal acts because the system did not link to social welfare. As such, the situation in Zimbabwe has led many children to move around the country and into other countries, often unaccompanied by elders. This movement exposes children to abuse, violence, and exploitation.

The government of Zimbabwe realised the third version of the NAP (NAP III) covering the period of 2016 to 2020 along with the publication of Zimbabwe's first National Social Protection Policy Framework (NSPPF) (Government of Zimbabwe 2016). Arruda suggests that "The publication of the NSPPF was a landmark for structuring a broader social protection system, since the three NAP OVC have a somewhat narrow focus on protective services, social assistance and OVC and households with children and people living with HIV." Before the publication the NSPPF the key policies did not include the pillars of the social system such as the contributory insurance and pension. The focus of this policy is to develop administrative mechanisms to improve its capacity to deliver the proposed outcomes and outputs.

According to Munashe (2014), the government of Zimbabwe developed NAP I and NAP II to support traditional methods of keeping children with extended families and discourage the removal of children from their communities. The programme recommended foster care and adoption and discouraged the use of institutional care. The main goal of NAP III is to seek greater involvement of families in protecting and promoting children's well-being, in addition to the previous strategy of engaging community members into such activities (Arruda 2018).

Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 and inherited a colonial education system. Manyonganise (2013:476) argues that colonial education had managed to keep black Zimbabweans out of school. To deal with this injustice, the government came up with policies that could benefit black Zimbabweans (Manyonganise 2013:476). Thus, education was declared to be a human right and was regarded as a powerful tool for social and economic transformation (UNESCO 2000). From 1980 to 1990 OVC were given the opportunity to attend school like other children.

The BEAM was established in 2001 as a key component of the Enhanced Social Protection Programme (ESPP). BEAM was designed to provide quality education to children, including certain policies aimed at helping OVC. The funding for BEAM comes from the government with the support from technical partners such as UNICEF and the Department for International Development (DFID) (Chikova 2013). The primary goal of BEAM is to reduce the number of dropouts and to assist children who have never been to school because they face social and economic hardships. However, the government suffers from a lack of fiscal space to fund social services and BEAM is facing a major problem that involves low coverage of the population at risk and the late disbursement of funds which results in children being sent away from school. Masuka *et al.* (2012) point out that it is difficult for OVC to depend on the BEAM programme as a form of social protection because it excludes OVC with learning difficulties, including those who live far from school. The government later failed to sustain the BEAM programme and the policy of free education did not survive long enough to benefit children in need such as OVC.

The government has the responsibility of looking after all its citizens, but there are always children on the street which indicates that the government is failing its responsibility. Bourdillon (1995) argues that the main concern of administrators is the image of the city or country. They

are always talking about “cleaning up” the city and country as if children can be considered “dirt”. Street children around the country are denied rights to shelter and medical assistance and they must earn their living. The greatest problem faced by street children is harassment from police, government, criminals, and their peers.

Rosenberg *et al.* (2008:52) point out that although the government is committed to assisting OVC they need additional support from NGOs, international donors, and the private sector to help children access the resources and services which they are entitled to. In the same way Pierre and Peters (2012) argue that the role that the state plays in the governance of OVC the outcome is often a tug of war between the roles the state plays and the role which the external environment allows them to play. The economy and the political situation of a country contribute to the difficulties faced by children. Therefore, the state and non-state actors have to work together to fulfil the needs of the OVC in a politically stable environment which allows both actors to work independently.

2.3.5 Civil society in the governance of OVC

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) uses the term “Civil Society Organisations” (CSOs) as an umbrella term to refer to voluntary organisations, not for profit, and non-state actors such as community-based organisations, NGOs, and voluntary associations (Chikoto-Schultz & Uzochukwu 2016: 137). Mugabe (2015) is of the view that over 20,000 CSOs operate in Zimbabwe. Chikoto-Schultz and Uzochukwu (2016: 137) suggest that these CSOs consist of diverse communities which include religious associations, labour unions, community-based organisations, resident associations, professional associations, humanitarian organisations, and development charities. The CSOs advocate on behalf of people on several policy issues from democratic governance to public service provisions to human rights concerns based on age, gender, religion, and ethnicity (Masunungure 2011:50). This study focused on community-based organisations, NGOs, and FBOs which work together in various ways to assist OVC in the community of Mutare. These organisations were interviewed during this research to better understand how the political environment of Zimbabwe affects the governance of OVC.

In Zimbabwean, the term “vabatsiri”, meaning those who help others, describes voluntarism which involves the traditional cultural beliefs, practices, and support system that are based on the

principle of collective responsibilities (Kaseke & Dhemba 2006: 85). If other members of the society are experiencing life crises it is a cultural expectation for the extended families and members of the community to provide support. As such, volunteering refers to the community and the extended families that practice togetherness, a sense of belonging and caring for one another.

Newton (2001: 201) views civil societies as “a dense network of voluntary associations and citizens organisations that help to sustain community relations in a way that generates trust and cooperation between citizens and a high level of civic engagement and participation.” The civil society manages the relationship between the state and its citizens by sustaining community relations.

Sjogen (1998) is of the view that civil society is understood as a relational concept that works as the mediator between the state and its citizens. Hence, civil society is able to address concerns and grievances on behalf of the citizens to state actors. The non-state actors work with OVC and therefore they know the actual situations faced by OVC and are able to be the voice of the voiceless. This will enable the state actors to implement policies and funding for OVC in the country.

According to Mugabe (2015), Zimbabwe consists of four CSOs which are private voluntary organisations (PVOs), non-governmental organisations, trusts, and unincorporated associations also known as *universitas*. Local and international organisations undergo different registration processes for them to be able to operate in Zimbabwe. Elone (2010) is of the view that, although the process of registration is decentralised, some people view the process of registration as a bureaucratic obstacle and a barrier to entry as a CSO.

Chikoto-Schultz and Uzochukwu (2016: 138) are of the view that the relationship between the Zimbabwean government and the CSOs has been defined by mistrust, with CSOs continually demanding participation in the policy process. It is unclear what level of impact the CSOs have on policies that affect them and the impact these policies have on them.

Although the government of Zimbabwe values the economic contributions made by CSOs, especially to the well-being of the society, it has shown significant resistance to CSOs and

political pluralisation (Bratton 1989). As such, the government has sought to monitor CSO's activities and behavior by regulating their registration. In general, the Zimbabwe government tends to employ different forms of strategies and regulations for them to maintain control over the CSOs.

The Zimbabwean government has been suspicious of foreign-funded CSOs which has led government to differentiate between foreign CSOs and domestic CSOs (Chikoto-Schultz & Uzochukwu 2016: 140). The government of Zimbabwe introduced a law that restricts foreign funding to any local CSO and limited the types of activities that foreign CSOs can engage in if they receive any foreign funding (Elone 2010). Foreign CSOs whose activities involved governance issues could be denied registration of their organisations, while local CSOs with similar missions could be prohibited from receiving foreign funding (Elone 2010; Dupuy *et al.* 2014: 430). If the relationship between the state and civil society continues to be hostile it will be difficult for foreign aid to be invested in the development of societies. Even though the citizens of Zimbabwe earned their independence in 1980 and the population and all non-state actors were granted the right to freedom to operate in the country it is difficult for them to practice the fundamental right to freedom because of the restrictions that the foreign and local CSOs receive when it comes to funding and operating in Zimbabwe.

NGOs are faced with the problem of donor dependency which is limiting their activities and the sustainability of CSO programmes (Matanga 2000). Some of the FBOs and NGOs that were interviewed mentioned that it was difficult for the organisations to sustain themselves after donor funding had been pulled. Kaseke and Dhemba (2006: 88) support the view that the harsh economic environment is worsening the situation of Zimbabwe because OVC are living in fear of dropping out of school because they cannot afford the outrageous school fees required by school authorities. If the local and foreign donors pull their funding some of the OVC will not be able to continue with their education. Radley (2008) argues that the dependency of NGOs on donor funding results in them being accountable to those who finance them and not to the people they intend to benefit. Hence, local funding should be mobilised for the sustainability of social protection programmes to reduce foreign donor funding which sometimes comes with rigid conditions that can be unpredictable. NGOs are limited to carry out their work in the communities because of a lack of resources.

Power develops as a theme in understanding the reality, meaning, and dynamics of civil society (Malema 2008). The CSO is referred to as the “power of the people” in contrast to the political authority of the state and the economic clout of the market. Hence, CSOs involve power sharing with vulnerable people in society. Different CSOs consist of various goals and positive values that involve equity, democracy, justice, and tolerance and serve the public interest and common good. CSOs are concerned with how values are promoted and practiced within the civil society sphere.

2.3.6 Non-state actors in the governance of OVC

The government is not able to take care of OVC because of the increase in their numbers. As such, NGOs cover the gap by providing social services to children. NGOs act as intermediaries by mobilising people to participate in projects aimed at improving their lives. Many community-based organisations were formed to support OVC through foster homes that provide psychosocial support to children and provide them with material goods. The programmes that assist OVC need to be strengthened to provide more effective and sustainable means of addressing the challenges faced by OVC.

Researchers like Ndegwa (1996) and Werker and Ahmed (2008:75) support the view that NGOs established themselves as the medium of delivery of economic, social, and political development for vulnerable people living in the margins of society in developing countries. NGOs are there to fill in the gaps where the politically challenged or corrupt governments were unwilling to accomplish their duties (Kanyinga *et al.* 2013). In most developed countries governments recognised that NGOs like United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) were reliable partners for the accomplishment of projects (Dibie 2008; Sama 2009:268).

Non-state actors such as NGOs tend to enjoy more public trust than their government counterparts. Stromquist *et al.* (1998) argue that non-state actors are positioned in a way that they can understand the needs of people and are able to give them an effective voice. The principle that guides NGOs is to consider people first in their work, especially the poor. Hence NGOs play a crucial role in addressing the needs of OVC.

2.4 Sustainability of OVC Programmes

Sustainability of a project refers to the maintenance of benefits over an extended period. According to the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) (2016), one of the most important indicators of sustainability is the capacity to pull beneficiaries out of poverty and graduate them as empowered and self-supporting members of society. Some of the beneficiaries of NGOs stopped receiving their benefits not because they were better off, but because the NGO's funding for a project ended. The PASGR (2016) reports that some of the NGOs remain in the same geographic area but might shift to a new project and register new beneficiaries without any guarantee that previous beneficiaries are permanently out of vulnerability.

NAP I was formed to provide a framework for coordinating the implementation of interventions and to increase OVC's access to basic social services. NAP I also aimed to improve the sustainability of social welfare programmes concerning the protection of OVC from all forms of abuse (Ministry of Labour and Social Services 2009). One way of the government to attain this is by implementing free education and assistance to children living in abusive homes as Namibia and Kenya are doing. Countries such as South Africa provide social grants to OVC which is another sustainable way to help OVC in Zimbabwe (Masuka *et al.* 2012).

NAP II assists vulnerable families with basic living costs through programmes such as Public Assistance, Drought Relief, Assisted Medical Treatment Order, and the Public Works Programme. Cash transfer for all vulnerable families is currently under review. Stover (2007) holds that OVC receive support from different groups such as government, community, and NGOs but this assistance only reaches a small percentage of those who need it. Hence government and donors are encouraged to redouble their efforts so as to sustainably increase the safety nets for extended families (Biemba *et al.* 2010).

Schenk *et al.* (2010:330) suggest that local and international agencies establish orphanages but child advocates criticise this approach as being unsustainable and inefficient as it undermines traditional models of family and community care and creates adverse psychological and social effects amongst children and families. On the contrary, NAP II (2011-2015) suggests that many community based initiatives such as community foster homes and projects that provide

psychosocial and material support assist OVC. These programmes need to be strengthened in order to provide more effective and sustainable means of addressing the growing challenges faced by OVC.

Mtetwa and Muchacha (2013: 18) are of the view that people should not rely heavily on donor funding because this has an effect of compromising the sustainability of projects. In 1993, Child Aid Kuwanisa started operating in Mutare and the organisation supported about 1,600 orphans through community and school-based projects (Dlamini 2004). They introduced projects which benefited the community such as vegetable farming, beekeeping, soap making, tree planting, and piggery. The projects were aimed at generating income and to achieve long-term sustainability rather than depending on donor funding. The funds that were raised were used for paying school fees and buying books for orphans.

2.5 Existing Strategies in the Governance of OVC

Foster *et al.* (1997: 392) believe that one strategy to support OVC is for non-state actors to develop partnerships with community groups, assisting them to respond to the impact of AIDS. Skinner *et al.* (2004) further argue that there should be a clear understanding of the community's perspective to get a sense of where to introduce interventions. Traditional leaders are playing an important role in the care and support of OVC through a programme called “Zunde raMambo”. Zunde raMambo is a traditional social security arrangement used to address famine or drought in the community. “Zunde raMambo” is a local phrase in the Shona language which, when translated, means “the chief’s granary”. It is a granary building which is used to store grains and is regarded as a safety net at the community level. Proceeds from the programme are kept for the purposes of assisting poor members of the community such as vulnerable children.

Grant programmes such as USAID and DFID provide annual payments negotiated with individual schools in exchange for fee waivers for OVC (Chikova 2013). The funds are used by the school to purchase furniture and books and to invest in the improvement of classrooms. The block grants are able to support the entire school as well as OVC who receive the fee waiver.

The PASGR (2016) was able to provide care and support to more than 6,2 million orphans and vulnerable children. They were able to raise awareness of violence and child abuse in 11

countries. In Zimbabwe, they introduced school feeding which encouraged children to attend school and attracted children from marginalised communities. Providing food at school can be a social safety net because keeping OVC in school can reduce the instances of teenage pregnancy.

Hlatywayo *et al.* (2015:8) point out that traditionally in Zimbabwe orphans were absorbed into extended families that took on the responsibility to care for and support them. Foster *et al.* (1997: 392) argue that extended families are regarded as the primary source for support of OVC, although some relatives take advantage of this and exploit orphans. According to Masuka *et al.* (2012) the traditional family and community mechanisms that support orphans have been under financial strain. This has resulted in more children facing difficulties accessing health care, education, and other basic amenities. Meinch *et al.* (2016) suggests that in South Africa many orphans are taken advantage of in foster care placements. They are either used as cheap labour or their grants are used to support the entire family. Community based care is viewed as being cost effective compared to institutionalisation because it provides children with a familiar cultural, social, and ethical environment (Sathpathy 2006:365). That said, some orphans end up being homeless because there is no willing and available adult caregiver and safety nets have not been tight enough to support orphaned children.

Morley *et al.* (2011) suggest that friends, neighbours, and teachers are always there and ready to lend a hand. Doctors and nurses have gone out of their way to assist OVC whenever they visit hospitals. Some of the doctors even offer free consultations to children and caregivers on specific days. The children also receive support from local churches and community centres.

2.6 The Relationship between State and Non-State Actors

Traditionally the relationship between state and non-state actors has been categorised by benign neglect because most governments in Africa perceive non-state actors to be a threat to their power and influence. One of the requirements which have been a source of friction between state and non-state actors is that the government must approve projects before they can operate. The government has managed to find ways of controlling non-state actors' involvement in development by maintaining policies for registration and coordination of NGOs within their countries.

Rosenberg *et al.* (2008:53) agree that government collaboration is important in projects designed to help families access government grants, those offering community solutions, and those which advocate for rights for OVC through legislation. Hence donors and NGOs should concentrate on developing strong partnerships with local and national government agencies for the sustainability of the projects.

With the introduction of NAP II policies were developed to reflect Zimbabwe's strength and traditions through collaboration between government and civil society. The Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy aims to identify opportunities to provide care and support to vulnerable children based on the country's laws, which involves cultural traditions of caring and a collaborative approach between government and civil society. A partnership was established between government ministries and PVOs, FBOs, communities, traditional institutions, and NGOs. The partners collaborate and monitor the situation, advocate on children's behalf, and respond to the needs of the Child Protection Committees which have been established from village to national levels. The role of the Child Protection Committee is to provide individual and collective leadership for the management of child protection services in the community (Taruvunga *et al.* 2015:574).

The National Orphans Care Policy and National AIDS Policy were both created in 1999 (Banda and Ngwerume 2014). These policies were formed to replicate the traditional strengths of Zimbabwe by encouraging collaboration between government and civil society. According to Banda and Ngwerume (2014), government and non-state actors have been working together under a multi-donor fund which is called Programme of Support (POS). The dependency of state and non-state actors has yielded results in improving service delivery in Zimbabwe's education and health sector for instance. Over 30 NGOs and 150 CBOs have been caring for and supporting OVC through school-related support, health care, food, education on nutrition, birth registration, provision of water and sanitation, shelter, health and hygiene support, and cash transfers.

The relationship between government and NGOs has always been tense. The president recently threatened to deregister civil societies because they claim they are being pulled into the country's politics. Ncube (2018) argues that during Mugabe's reign he would frequently deregister NGOs,

accusing them of supporting the opposition party despite relying on them to provide food aid and social services that the government could not afford.

2.7 How the Political Environment Affects Non-State Actors

Kaseke and Dhemba (2007: 100) hold that presidential elections and parliamentary disputes have formed political divisions in Zimbabwe. This has created mistrust amongst people and between government and NGOs because the government feels that NGOs are interfering in politics. This has created political instability in the country.

Historical events have impacted negatively on non-state actors that assist OVC. An urban clean-up campaign known as “Operation Murambatsvina” was carried out by the government of Zimbabwe in 2005. As argued by the government, Operation Murambatsvina was meant “to rid the country of illegal structures, crime, filthy stalls and squalor” (Musiyiwa 2008). Operation Murambatsvina evicted thousands of people who were living as illegal squatters countrywide, especially in the urban areas. It left vulnerable groups such women and children especially OVC in more vulnerable positions (Benyera & Nyere 2015: 6522). The effects of the operation resulted in the loss of livelihood, shelter, education, and property.

Benyera and Nyere (2015: 6522) argue that human rights activists viewed the operation as a weapon to target voters who had shown interest in the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The UN described the clean-up campaign as an effort to make people homeless in sections of the urban and rural poor who comprised much of the opposition to the Mugabe administration.

The movement of people severely strained family networks and traditional coping mechanisms such as taking in and caring for orphans. Extended families continued to offer support to victims even three years later. According to Manyonganise (2013:477) the fact that the operation started in May when schools had just opened for the second term meant that the majority of children affected were abruptly removed from school with no plan around readmission. Some OVC ended up relocated to rural areas which disadvantaged them because some of the non-state actors assist OVC in their catchment area only.

Felsman (2006: 8) suggests that, among fifteen countries in the world, Zimbabwe receives the lowest donor support but has one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates. This is because Zimbabwe has been isolated internationally due to international anti-Zimbabwe sentiments. Poor economic management, policy confusion, and corruption have prevented Zimbabwe from accessing international financial packages and donations that other countries are receiving. The fallout has its roots in Zimbabwe's land reform programme which received worldwide condemnation.

2.8 Lessons from Other Countries

Peek (2008:5) holds that scholars and practitioners should be more careful when considering the experiences of children themselves. They often experience delays in their education because of disasters such as conflicts, drought, and wars. He further argues that children can contribute to disaster preparedness, response, and recovery activities. As such, adults should improve children's access to resources, offer support, and encourage their participation. In the Sub-Saharan region, many children have lost their parents to AIDS, conflicts, or other causes. The increased number of orphans has strained systems by which families and communities traditionally cared for orphans and vulnerable children. Some OVC are supported by a variety of actors such as government, community, and NGOs. However, assistance only reaches a small percentage of the children who need it (Stover *et al.* 2007:24).

According to Strebel (2004), there was a pooling of labour by villagers to develop community gardens to assist the vulnerable people in the community in countries such as Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Kalemba (1998) also states that in Malawi collaboration between the government and NGOs demonstrated the willingness of communities to help orphans if they are supported. The government must be willing to collaborate with the community so that they know the problems faced by orphans and vulnerable children.

Rosenberg *et al.* (2008:55) further contend that in South Africa, although OVC are given a social grant until they reach the age of fourteen, only a small percentage of children receive the grant. Only 25,000 of Namibia's estimated 150,000 OVC received a monthly grant from the government. Although governments from different countries are committed to helping OVC,

they need additional support from NGOs, the private sector, and international donors to help children access resources and services.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the three main concepts employed in this research which are power, governance, and non-state actors by looking at what has been written by other scholars broadly, linking them with the research topic. It highlighted the three types of power which are decisional, regulatory, and discursive power. This study will focus on decisional power which is the capacity of non-state actors to influence decision making in their organisations.

The Zimbabwean Government has implemented policies to support and care for OVC such as NAP I, NAP II, and NAP III. Most of the policies were unsuccessful because of a lack of funds. As such, it has become clear that non-state actors are required to assist OVC in Zimbabwe. Some of the policies appear on paper and are not implemented in real life.

Civil societies work as the mediator between the state actors and its citizens. Governance refers to the process of decision making and, as such, non-state actors ensure that the policies that are implemented by the state benefit the vulnerable people by ensuring that their voices are being heard in decision making when it comes to the allocation of resources. State and the non-state actors work together to achieve certain goals and policies but the NGOs and FBOs have the final say when it comes to decision making for the development of the organisations. Until today the relationship between the state actors and the civil societies has been filled with mistrust because the civil societies demand to be involved in policy making.

The literature review provided scholarly information on aspects of NGOs and state actors. It also looked at the governance of OVC, policies that have been implemented in support of OVC, and the sustainability of these programmes. It also highlighted the fact that NGO and donor relations are critical as they need each other to achieve their goals: donors need NGOs to readily disburse funds, and NGOs need donors to sustain themselves. However, the community should not only rely on support from non-state actors but should also implement sustainable projects that will last when donor funding has ceased.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This dissertation is interested in how the political environment in Zimbabwe affects the governance of OVC by non-state actors. It looks at how non-state actors function in the presence of state actors and whether the political environment is conducive to their operations. This chapter will discuss the methods used during fieldwork to address the research problem and research questions. The research question which this research project aims to address is “How does the political environment in Zimbabwe affect the governance of OVC by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe?”

This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study. It begins with a brief overview of the research design and methods. Furthermore, it gives a preview of the research population, sampling, data collection, and data analysis methods. It provides an overview of difficulties faced during interviews. The conclusion highlights the successes and challenges encountered during fieldwork.

The research area is the Mutare District in the Manicaland Province in Zimbabwe. The study focused on Mutare because it has quite a number of orphans, with some of the children coming from neighbouring Mozambique and others who ran away from their homes in neighbouring villages. Mutare consists of high, low, and medium density suburbs such as Sakubva, Chikanga, Dangamvura, Murambi, Morningside, and Greenside. Most of the informal houses in Sakubva were destroyed by police and military during Operation Murambatsvina which left orphans and vulnerable children homeless. Several factors contributed to the choice of these areas, including accessibility, distance, time, NGO activity, and OVC programmes. The researcher had a background in OVC because she once worked with one of the organisations.

3.2 Research Paradigm, Approach, and Design

The researcher made use of the social constructivist paradigm. According to Baxter and Jack (2008: 12), constructivists claim that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one’s perspective. When using this paradigm, the goal of the research is to understand the

respondent's views and perceptions. Researchers also focus on the contexts in which people live and work to understand the historical and cultural setting of respondents.

A qualitative research approach was used in this research. During this inquiry process, the researcher is expected to develop a complex and holistic picture by analysing words, reports, detailed views of informants, and the natural setting (Creswell 2007: 45). The use of a qualitative design also helped to obtain a more holistic view of the role of NGOs in assisting OVC in the Mutare District. This is relevant because, as Gubrium and Sanker (2005: 52) state, this approach helps to understand social phenomenon within their cultural, social, and situational context without imposing pre-existing expectations upon the setting. The main attributes of research are primarily conducted in a natural setting. The primary aim is an in-depth understanding of actors and events and the focus is on the process rather than on outcome (Babbie 1999). The understanding of actors and events was gained through interviews conducted with caregivers working for NGOs and civil society.

Qualitative approaches share a common goal of presenting findings in the form of written descriptions rather than in terms of statistical analysis which is characteristic of quantitative studies (Crowl 1993). In this regard, this study includes information obtained from interviews with caregivers working with NGOs and civil society.

Qualitative research seeks to understand phenomena in a context-specific setting, such as the "real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton 2001: 39). Kirk and Miller (1986) state that qualitative research depends on watching people in their environment and interacting with them in their own language and on their own terms. Yates and Leggett (2016:226) suggest that, when practicing qualitative research, the researcher is aware of the political and cultural perspectives of the research participant, the research environment, and the data being collected. In this context, the researcher is willing to engage in self-understanding and self-questioning. Qualitative research methods are effective when one needs to explore participant perceptions. Qualitative research was the most effective approach for this research as it allowed for a deeper understanding of the perceptions and experiences of NGOs concerning OVC governance and in their relationship to government. Hence, a qualitative research approach was used to analyse the research problem.

A qualitative research approach was used to provide answers to the research questions and the research problem, which is how the political environment is affecting the governance of OVCs in Mutare. Furthermore, researchers have argued that human learning is best researched by using qualitative design (Denzin & Lincoln 1994: 94; Domegan & Fleming 2007: 132). The role of qualitative research is to be concerned about uncovering how people in society feel or think concerning various circumstances in which they are involved (Thorne 2000:69). The research was able to uncover the non-state actors' perspectives and feelings on how the political environment and the neglect from the state were affecting their day-to-day activities.

The case study research design was used to answer the research question. Case studies are often used in research because they offer insights that might not be achieved by other approaches. A case study methodology allows the researcher to examine organisations or individuals through complex interventions, communities, and relationships and supports the deconstruction and the subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena (Yin 2003). A qualitative case study is an approach that allows a researcher to use multiple data sources and ensure that it is not explored through one lens but rather indifferent lenses which allow the phenomena to be understood and revealed (Baxter & Jack 2008: 10).

A case study is one of the approaches that supports deeper and more detailed investigation to the why and how questions (Rowley 2002: 20). Yin (2003) offers four ways in which one can consider using a case study, which are:

- (a) The focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions;
- (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study;
- (c) when one to cover you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study;
- (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

The researcher used the case study design because the study focused on how and why questions which were to be answered throughout the research process. The interviews were conducted in a natural setting so as to not manipulate the behaviour of the participants.

A good case study depends on the competence of the research. Rowley (2002: 22) furthermore explains that the researcher is required to ask good questions, listen, and interpret the answers

given by the participants. This involves being able to approach the study in an unbiased and flexible manner.

The case study was a descriptive one which is defined by Yin (2003) as a case study that is used to describe a phenomenon or intervention in the real life context in which it occurred. The main purpose of the case study design was to investigate the governance of OVC. The case study was also used to investigate whether governance of OVC was efficient and whether the objectives of the project were reached. The case study enabled the researcher to examine data within a specific context (Zainal 2007:3). The case study shows the relationship between state and non-state actors in the governance of OVC and how communities are working with non-state actors to assist OVC.

3.3 Data Collection Methods

Qualitative data can be collected in various ways, including through focus groups, recorded observations (both participatory and video), public domain, multimedia, documents, text, photographs, and interviews. Primary data collection is defined as data that is collected by the researcher from first hand sources using methods such as interviews, experiments, or surveys. For this study, primary data collection was obtained through interviews that were conducted in nine different organisations. The unit of analysis for the study was non-state actors. In-depth interviews were the main method of data collection. Twenty people participated in the interview from nine different organisations. Permission letters were obtained from all nine organisations. The researcher conducted interviews between 2 April 2019 and 16 April 2019 over a period of two weeks. The choice of method was influenced by the nature of the research problem, research questions, and the availability of finances, human resources, and time.

The researcher used in-depth interviews because the method allows for greater flexibility in tackling issues related to the study. The participants answered all questions, and discussed other matters related to the study using open-ended questions. This confirms the reflections of Gubrium and Sanker (2005) which highlight that the method promotes rich, meaningful, subjective data viewed through the eyes of the respondent.

As stated by Brewer and Miller (2003), an atmosphere of trust was created, encouraging respondents to reply with richness, sincerity, and spontaneity. For example, some respondents used one of the local languages, Shona, to communicate. The consent forms created trust and confidentiality between the interviewer and interviewee because the interviewer stated that the information given during interviews will be confidential and that the names of people and organisations will be changed to protect them. Kvale (2017) states that knowledge produced during the interview depends on the relationship between the participant and the interviewer. The interviewer was able to create a safe environment for participants to talk of private events happening around the governance OVC and organisations that are involved in this.

Kvale (2017) suggests that the interviewer has the responsibility to interpret the meaning of what is said and how it is said during the interview. The interviewer should be knowledgeable about the topic and be observant and interpret vocalisation, body gestures, and facial expressions during interviews. The researcher used her field diary to gather notes, expressions, and body language during research and during the interviews. A cell phone was also used to record and transcribe the conversations so that data wasn't lost.

Researchers have argued that interviews promote an “insiders” view on the way participants view NGOs in addressing societal needs (De Vos 1998: 300; Mouton & Marais 1990: 212). Face-to-face interviews were conducted and each interview had a scheduled time and venue. Darling (2014: 201) suggests that some respondents need to be interviewed in a place where they are comfortable and where they feel free to express themselves; to take them out of their familiar environment and expect them to discuss their private lives in unfamiliar surroundings is an intrusion. For example, after the interview at ORG A, the respondent took the researcher on a tour of the organisation to show the projects they are currently working on and to explain the normal activities they undertake. However, not all participants offered to have the interviews conducted at their offices; some chose a neutral venue.

The researcher used an interview schedule to plan for the interviews (included in Appendix A). Holstein and Gubrium (1995), cited by De Vos *et al.* (2005), define an interview schedule as a preparatory questionnaire written to guide interviews. Even though Zimbabwe is multilingual, the interview schedule was written specifically in English to accommodate a wide range of

participants. However, participants were welcome to respond in the language most comfortable to them as the researcher understands both English and Shona.

The arrangement of questions was a critical aspect of the interview schedule. The questions were categorised to address various areas and followed a hierarchy from simple to complex questions. The researcher avoided the use of complex words which would require an explanation during the interview. As prescribed by Nyathi (2012), the researcher ensured that questions were non-judgmental and unbiased.

In the case of NGOs, questions that required reflection on political affiliations were often left to the end because two respondents were reluctant to answer considering the recent national elections that had taken place in Zimbabwe in 2018. Therefore, the interview schedule preparations proved to be advantageous as they created an atmosphere conducive to interactions with participants. Most of the participants were excited to answer the questions which involved the political environment and their relationship with state actors.

3.4 Sample

According to Mouton (1996: 34), a sample is a collection of objects, events, or individuals having common characteristics that the researcher is interested in studying. In the context of this study, the sample was drawn from Mutare. Eighteen people from nine different organisations that help OVC in Mutare were interviewed for the research. The sample included both females and males and both middle aged and elder people. The researcher used her background and experience as a social worker in this area to access NGOs and government institutions assisting OVC.

A Non-probability sampling method in the form of snowball sampling was used to select respondents from NGOs in Mutare. In snowball sampling, once contact is made with a member of the network, the participant can assist to identify other participants who can further assist the research (Blaike 2010: 179).

3.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis can be divided into the following categories: content analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, framework analysis, and grounded theory. The researcher made use of content analysis to analyse the data that was obtained through interviews. Researchers regard content analysis as a flexible method of analysing text data. Therefore, the content analysis approach depends on the theoretical and substantive interest of the researcher and the research problem (Cavanagh 1997; Weber 1985). Researchers conducting content analysis focus more on the characteristics of language as a way of communication with attention to the content or the contextual meaning of the text (Tesch 1995). Qualitative content analysis goes beyond just counting words to examine language for the purpose of classifying large amount of text into effective number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber 1985)

In qualitative research, content analysis is viewed as one of the numerous research methods used to analyse text data. Kondracki and Wellman (2002:225) further suggest that text data is viewed in different forms such as print, verbal, or electronic form and might be obtained from narrative responses which are focus groups, open ended survey questions, interviews, print media, or observations. Content analysis was used to best answer the research questions in the form of interviews that were used to collect data from the participants.

Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique and has three approaches which are conventional, directed, or summative. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1280) give a brief summary of the three approaches used in qualitative research analysis and suggest that the differences between the approaches are coding schemes, origins of codes, and threats of trustworthiness. A conventional content analysis approach was used to analyse data because it best suits the research method that was used to obtain data which is open-ended interview questions.

Conventional content analysis is generally used with a study design which aim is to study a phenomenon (Hsieh and Shannon 2005:1280). Therefore the goal of content analysis is “to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study” (Downe-Wamboldt 1992: 315). In this case the researcher focused on how the political environment is affecting the governance of OVC.

The researcher followed a number of procedures in conducting qualitative content analysis. When conducting content analysis using a conventional approach the researcher is required to read the data repeatedly to achieve a sense of the whole as one would read a novel (Tesch 1995). Then the data is read word-by-word to derive codes by highlighting the exact words from the text that capture key concepts and thoughts (Morgan 1993: 115). The researcher uses the key texts to make her notes, analysis, and first impressions. Codes will emerge that are more than one key thought and they will become the coding scheme (Hsieh & Shannon 2005:1282). The codes will finally be sorted into categories. These are some of the procedures that were followed in conducting data analysis with the use of interview questions to discuss the findings of how the political environment in Zimbabwe is affecting the governance of OVC. A conventional approach has the advantage of gaining direct information from the participants without imposing theoretical perspectives or preconceived categories. The knowledge and findings gained during the fieldwork were based on the participants' unique perspectives.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Data

MacMillan and Schumacher (1994: 84) point out that reliability can be achieved and discussed in terms of design and data collection. Patton (2001) argues that validity and reliability are two factors qualitative researchers should be concerned with whilst designing a study, analysing results, and judging the quality of the study. Long and Johnson (2000) define reliability as consistency within the employed analytical procedures while validity refers to the integrity and the application of the methods undertaken and the accuracy in which findings reflect the data. In the study, reliability was influenced by the rapport and the relationship which was established between the researcher and the participant. Noble and Smith (2015:34) are of the view that the aim of reliability and validity of data is the truthfulness in which a study is conducted which will ensure the credibility of findings concerning the research question.

Qualitative researchers adopt different strategies to ensure the credibility of the study findings such as truth value, neutrality, consistency, and applicability. Golafshani's (2003:598) examination of trustworthiness ensures reliability in qualitative research. Seale (1999: 266) maintains that to establish validity and reliability in qualitative research, "trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability."

Sandelowski (1993:7) holds that “acknowledging biases in sampling and ongoing critical reflection of methods ensure sufficient depth and relevance of data collection and analysis.” He suggests that clarity can be demonstrated by displaying the thought process during data analysis and successful interpretation. Validity is also shown if the interview questions answer the objectives and aims of the research question. It is also important to obtain the exact words the participants used in speaking about the organisation and to let the data tell what the sub-headings will be. The quality of research is shown through the generalisability of results, as such increasing the validity or trustworthiness of the research (Golafshani 2003:599).

3.7 Positionality

Positionality is defined by Rowe (2014) as the positioning of the researcher in relation to the political and social environment of the study such as in the organisation, community, or the participant group. Rowe further suggests that the position of the researcher affects every state of the research process which includes the way the research question is constructed, how people are invited to participate, how the knowledge is constructed, and which outcomes are disseminated and published. Positionality influences the decisions made during the research process when the researcher accepts that that which is perceived in the workplace or social community as reality is socially constructed.

Conducting a research in a motherland can be an advantage to the researcher. Tembo (2003) is of the view that the researchers have certain advantages when being an “insider”. Rowe (2014) suggests that an “insider” refers to a researcher or participant who works for or is a member of the participant’s community where the outsider is viewed as a non-member.

The way a researcher is positioned in the community through factors such as gender, ethnicity, education, sexual identity, and age can enable particular fieldwork methods and interpretation (Rowe 2014). The researcher had the advantage of being a citizen of Zimbabwe and speaking the same language as the participants, which is Shona. Most of the participants felt comfortable expressing themselves in their mother tongue which gave the researcher more access and insight to information.

As a member of the community, the researcher had to follow all the procedures that were required when conducting interviews. The schools and organisations were helpful because they assisted the researcher by providing the relevant information on where and how to get authorisation to conduct the interviews. “Positionality also involves negotiations of insider-outsider perspectives linked to the researchers’ relationship to the specific topic or community and where they locate themselves on this continuum. This also involves how much of their position or identity they share with their participants” (Fenge *et al.* 2019: 4). Hence, negotiation of entry into the organisation was important.

A researcher should be fully informed about his/her roles and multiple identities when conducting research. Fenge *et al.* (2019: 5) suggest that positionality involves the way that the researcher makes sense of their roles and the boundaries involved in the research. Sometimes researchers have to reflect on their identities and multiple roles when doing research, especially researchers with a professional background such as counsellors and social workers. The identities and multiple roles that the researcher brings to the field include the relationship to the topic under study, background experiences, and previous professional statuses (Christensen & Dahl 1997: 272). Hence, the identities of both the researcher and the participants have the potential to affect the research process. Because the researcher can be biased, he/she ought to gain insight into how to approach a research setting, members of a particular group, and how best to engage with the participants (Bourke 2014: 6).

The researcher interviewed primary caregivers, co-ordinators, and directors of different organisations. The researcher used her background and experience to reach NGOs and government institutions assisting OVC in Mutare. The researcher had access to some information concerning OVC and knows several organisations that assist children in Mutare because she once worked with one of the organisation that assist OVC. The researcher also grew up in Mutare and saw how OVC were treated and how the political situation affects them. The NGOs, institutions, and FBOs have been selected carefully to answer the research questions.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher abided by all the required ethical principles of research by ensuring participants were informed about the nature of the study and that they signed a consent form. The researcher

followed all the ethical principles required by the University of Pretoria for the fulfilment of a Master's degree programme by applying for ethical clearance and seeking approval to conduct interviews in Zimbabwe. The Faculty of Humanities issued the ethical clearance to allow the researcher to conduct the interviews. This important document highlights that the researcher is authorised to conduct research, and that the participants should contact the University of Pretoria in the event that they should incur any harm during the encounter. Furthermore, the letter of consent assists participants in knowing what the study involves before participating. Permission was obtained from all nine organisations before undertaking interviews.

Creswell (2007: 54) states that the researcher must strive to produce an accurate and honest account of the findings. Furthermore, Boyden and Ennew (1997) state that it is the responsibility of the researcher to protect the participants from risk and to decide whether, or when, to intervene when a participant is at risk.

In terms of confidentiality, Denscombe (2002) argues that information should not be revealed in a way that allows it to be traced to the person who provided it. Flick (2014) adds that confidentiality should be maintained so that readers will not be able to identify the organisations or people who participated in the research. The names of organisations were changed so that the research will not be traced back to them. This increased participation. For example, one of the organisations that was trying to cancel scheduled interviews at the last minute finally agreed to the interviews after they were informed that the name of the organisation would not be used.

Anonymity is important when doing fieldwork to protect the participants' identities from any harm. Christensen *et al.* (2014) suggest that anonymity is the best way of protecting privacy because anonymity refers to keeping the identity of researchers and organisations unknown. The promise of anonymity was kept because the collection of data is structured in such a way that the research will not link specific information to the individuals who provided it (Ruane 2005). As such, the research encodes specific details to protect identities. The original records such as audiotapes, informed consent, and research diaries were stored in a safe place so that no one will be able to access the information.

The researcher should maintain a trust relationship between themselves and the participants so that the researcher doesn't spoil the field for other potential research subjects because

participants are reluctant to be studied (Ryen 2016). Trust is key to good fieldwork although it is more practiced in ethnographic studies than any other kind of fieldwork. Hence confidentiality, consent, and, trust are closely linked when looking at ethical issues.

In addition to this, informed consent is important in terms of ethical considerations as it gives the respondents the right to choose whether they want to be involved in the research project (Ruane 2005). At the heart of informed consent lies the freedom of choice and self-determination. The consent forms inform respondents of all aspects of the research that might influence their participation in the research project (Ruane 2005). Christensen *et al.* (2014) agree that the participants are supposed to be informed about the risks and benefits of the study so that they can make an informed decision to choose either to give his or her consent to participate or to decline to participate in the study.

The informed consent forms clearly stated that respondents have the right to withdraw from the study at any point, that participants will be protected from harm (Creswell 2009: 51), and that participants have the right to privacy (Merriam 2009). It also confirmed the honesty of the researcher (Punch 2006: 32; Creswell 2009: 54) and enforced the idea of trust between the researcher and informants. The study aims to provide an unbiased account of events as they unfolded during the research. The informed consent form was presented to respondents before interviews so that they understood what is involved in the interview, especially with cases that involve the study of children. Seidman (2013: 64) maintains that informed consent is the first step towards minimising the risk that respondents may face.

3.9 Challenges and Successes Encountered during Research

This section below highlights some of the challenges that were encountered during the research process. These included Cyclone Idai which meant that the researcher had to reschedule some of the interviews, and that some of the organisations did not respond to telephone calls and emails. One of the participants was not comfortable to discuss the political aspects of the interview questions because the government had previously threatened to deregister some of the organisations. These will be discussed in more detail below.

Cyclone Idai which happened in Chimanimani and Chipinge in 2019 left many people homeless and orphaned. As such, most of the heads of organisations were travelling to and from Chimanimani to assist vulnerable people. In some cases, the researcher had to visit offices three times to schedule a meeting with them. She also had to visit social welfare offices to obtain clearance to interview orphanages several times, but this was unsuccessful because the manager was attending meetings about the cyclone. In one of the organisations, the researcher had to reschedule the interview because the participant had a busy schedule, but she managed to conduct the interview on the next appointed date. In some instances, meetings were delegated to other representatives, which resulted in interviews being less productive because the last-minute delegate was not prepared or well informed about the operations of the NGO.

The research environment produced challenges around communication. Telephone calls were unanswered and emails ignored. The researcher needed to visit the NGO premises in person to make an appointment. Some individuals did not want to have a picture taken as evidence that the researcher conducted the interview. However, some respondents were happy to have their pictures taken during the interviews.

Some of the participants from NGOs that were interviewed described that the government was suspicious of the activities of NGOs and, in some cases, would withhold information. The government also threatened to deregister some organisations because they were suspected of being involved in politics. Hence some organisations were unwilling to discuss the political environment affecting them as they were fearful.

Despite the limitations noted, the researcher managed to obtain assistance to conduct the study. Organisations that were willing to be interviewed provided effective information and were cooperative throughout the interview process. Practical steps were taken in terms of planning and timing to ensure a smooth transition during fieldwork. Ethical considerations were taken into account ensuring research legitimacy, data security, and researcher security. Planning of fieldwork also involved communicating with organisations through emails for preparation and approval to interview them. The interview guide was prepared in advance to ensure that relevant and useful information could be gathered during fieldwork.

The organisations were welcoming and the researcher managed to obtain the required information. The participants were more interested in the political part of the interview questions because they had much to share about the political system that was hindering them. The Ministry of Education was helpful because they gave the researcher a letter that was used to gain access to a school.

One NGO granted the researcher an opportunity to visit two consecutive Saturdays where the researcher observed a parent and child meeting with the caregivers. The researcher was able to interact with the children and caregivers and participate in the activities such as painting and playing games.

3.10 Conclusion

The research question guiding this study is: “How does the political environment in Zimbabwe affect the governance of OVC by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe?” This chapter highlighted the paradigm, approach, design, and methods that were used to answer this driving question.

As was discussed in this chapter, this research used a constructivist paradigm, a qualitative research approach, and a case study design. The methods used included interviews with eighteen individuals from nine organisations that work with OVC and observations of activities at some of the organisations.

The case study was that of Mutare in the Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe. Non-probability sampling in the form of snowball sampling was used to identify interviewees. This method saved time and helped reach a wide network of NGOs in the area.

The chapter further discussed issues related to positionality and that the ‘insider’ position of the researcher offered advantages to the research. Validity and reliability were described as strategies adopted to ensure credibility of the research findings.

Data was analysed using conventional content analysis and it was then transcribed. In chapter four the researcher closely examines the data to identify common themes and give a descriptive account of the results from the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FOUR: Findings from the Case Study of Mutare, Zimbabwe

4.1 Introduction

This thesis is interested in how the political environment in Zimbabwe affects the governance of OVC by non-state actors. In this chapter, the fieldwork data is discussed in relation to this research question. It reveals that, although most organisations found the political environment to be a hindrance to the sustainability of their programmes, some also identified ways in which it helped them.

Chapter two discussed the dilemma of defining OVC and how it has caused disagreements between government and funders. Children who are above eighteen years are regarded as adults by state and non-state actors, but those children still need money and resources to survive. The difference in defining OVC by age groups is controversial because state and non-state actors define children differently which is likely to cause problems when organisations receive funding from government.

Chapter three provided an overview of the research method that was employed to address the research question and research problem. Interviews were used to gather data and participants answered interview questions about how the political environment affects the governance of OVC. The study population consisted of caregivers, staff workers, and coordinators who worked with OVC who had a deep understanding of activities in the organisation.

The data collected during fieldwork was transcribed and analysed using content analysis and then organised into different themes. The data was grouped according to questions used during the fieldwork interviews. The questions asked by the researcher included questions around challenges faced by the organisations in working with OVC, the criteria to select OVC, the sustainability of programmes offered, whether they were meeting the needs of the children, and how the political environment affects the governance of OVC.

This chapter discusses the results of the fieldwork interviews which were categorised into themes, starting with a description of the nine organisations interviewed, followed by the relationship between non-state and state actors, how government hinders the progress of NGOs, how government helps the development of NGOs, and challenges and recommendations from

the organisations. It also reviews the governance of OVC and people involved in decision making as well as those who have the power to make those decisions. It focused on various policies implemented by the government around the functioning of non-state actors.

This chapter engages with the question of how the political environment in Zimbabwe affects governance of OVC by non-state actors. The respondents had different views on this question, with most describing how the political environment constrains their care of OVC, but some also cited examples of where the current political environment has been helpful. Some organisations suggested that the change of leadership in Zimbabwe has enabled a dialogue between organisations and local government officials. The current leadership allows them to work anywhere and they can challenge the government where they feel they are affecting human rights, provided they have evidence.

4.2 Description of the Organisations

The researcher interviewed nine organisations that assist OVC in Mutare. These interviews were conducted from 3 April to 16 April 2019. The organisations are identified by letters in this chapter to protect their anonymity because most of the organisations requested the use of pseudonyms. A brief description will be given below for all the organisations that were interviewed during the fieldwork.

ORG C supports over 200 children who have been orphaned as a result of HIV/AIDS. ORG C is a non-profit FBO that works towards empowering and promoting the rights of the children. They have a trained team of voluntary caregivers who offer emotional and practical support to orphans and their families. They run agricultural projects such as piggeries and vegetable gardens at school to train children in agricultural and livestock skills.

ORG D was established as a FBO and registered as a PVO to reduce the impact of HIV/AIDS in the Manicaland Province of Mutare. It has different branches around Manicaland and they currently work in Nyanga, Mutasa, Mutare, Makoni, and Chipinge. The head office is in Mutare and they have branches in different districts. Each year the organisation implements projects that directly reach around 25,000 families. Since the organisation was established the FBO has been involved in implementing and designing HIV programmes and they started with capacity

building of community-based health workers. The organisation focuses on strengthening the capacity of communities to respond to the burden of HIV through an integrated health access framework, sustainable livelihoods, and rights for vulnerable people in Zimbabwe. It is a FBO that supports government interventions, especially around HIV/AIDS issues. ORG D complements government efforts and interventions although the government thinks that NGOs are politically motivated and funded by opposition parties and Western countries.

ORG I was established to assist OVC in Mutare and, to date, it assists 150 children. The children they care for receive healthcare and a daily nutritious meal. They pay for clinical and consultation fees for children who are sick. They also have caregivers who volunteer their time to assist and visit OVC.

ORG G has been paying the school fees of 70 children since it started operating. It has caregivers who volunteer to work for the organisation and assist OVC in the community. ORG G is a FBO and the church leaders gave them space to operate at the church premises for their day-to-day activities. They provide food, medical care, and sport activities to children.

ORG H is a registered PVO for OVC in Mutare. It advocates for the protection and promotion of rights of children and youth in order for them to realise their full potential. It seeks to reduce the vulnerability of children and youth to all forms of abuse and exploitation. The organisation educates children on practical projects and most of the projects take a period of three years. School fees are paid once-off by ORG H after which the children have to sustain their projects in order to generate an income.

ORG A, B, and F assist disabled and intellectually challenged children in Mutare and surrounding areas. They provide education and vocational training to children for them to obtain life skills and ways of starting their own businesses. They have teachers who are specifically trained to assist and communicate with disabled and intellectually challenged children.

Organisations C, D, E, G, H, and I assist OVC in Mutare in various ways such as educating children, providing food for families, and giving the guardians or the extended families some responsibilities in order to involve them in the upbringing of the children. They play a major role in that they ensure that every child at least attains primary education. They use strict selection

criteria to make sure that those in real need are assisted. For example, they use hot spot geographic location that looks at places with a high population of OVC to provide them with food and security.

4.3 Programmes and Sustainability

The organisations interviewed had different programmes and different ways of sustaining their programmes. Sustainability is defined as the ability to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their needs. Sustainability refers to the ability to maintain at a certain rate or level. Each organisation had a different way of implementing their programmes to ensure sustainability. One of the research questions was to identify ways in which the governance of OVC was meeting the needs of the OVC. For the needs of OVC to be achieved the non-state actors are responsible for the implementation of sustainable programmes that assist OVC Mutare. Most of the organisations urge children to assist in domestic chores of dishwashing and cleaning to prepare them for adult life. Others engage children in agricultural and industrial projects to help them develop self-reliance. They also educate children, youth, and parents on livestock skills and how to generate an income.

The NGOs and FBOs educate the OVC with long-term skills that empower the children to be independent when they grow up. For example, ORG A runs programmes tailored to individual children. The organisation teaches pre-vocational skills such as gardening, poultry, and baking which help children to be independent and to start their own businesses. The programmes meet the needs of children because they develop self-care skills, language, good eating habits, respect, and they can practice gardening at home and sell their produce for income. One of the staff members of ORG A said that:

They are practicing these skills at home. One of the students, Tinashe (name changed), says that the onions or vegetables they gave him are yielding something hence he will thank us by bringing a small portion to them as a way of thanking us (10 April 2019, Mutare).

Children are taught these skills so that they can learn how to conceptualise business projects and how to sell products for profit so that they will not have to continuously depend on organisations

to fulfil all of their needs. They are also taught communication skills and how to socialise with other children because some of them are neglected at home and do not know how to communicate. Some do not even know how to bath or take care of themselves. The parents are grateful for the work that the teachers are doing because the children can cook and bath themselves. Many of them can even garden.

Many people harbour a stigma towards deaf children so parents tend to hide the children indoors so that people will not know about them. ORG B runs pre-school and youth programmes for the deaf in the city of Mutare and the surrounding areas. The pre-school programme helps to train children in communicating using sign language from a young age. One of the staff members that was interviewed stated that:

The most effective age to learn a language is before the age of three. We advocate child protection programmes and include children in these programmes so that they are protected. We initiate deaf awareness campaigns and we work with childcare workers and people from social welfare. We educate parents to accept the challenges faced by deaf people and train parents and children on how to communicate with sign language (8 April 2019, Mutare).

ORG B works with the Ministries of Social Welfare and Education to set up special classes in mainstream schools and to support children in these programmes. One of the participants, Susan (whose real name has been changed), said that nurses are trained by the organisation to communicate in sign language so that they can assist deaf people who visit the hospital.

A staff member that works at ORG B said:

The need is big so we specialise in a particular area. We cannot say we fill all the needs but the deaf community has been developed from 2,000 because we started very small but now we have been developed and we are meeting more needs, especially when we start with the little children (8 April 2019, Mutare).

They added that “some of the children repeat grades at primary school hence it is important to start learning sign language at an early age. Early intervention is so important to the children” (8 April 2019, Mutare). If both the child and the parents learn sign language the road will be much

smoother through pre- and primary school because children tend to learn a new language easily and quickly at a younger age. With the awareness campaigns, the organisation encourages parents to go for early screening if they notice any hearing and speaking challenges, rather than keeping them indoors hidden from the world.

The programme relies on people sharing skills without money or funding for salaries and is not sustainable but the organisation tries by all means to ensure sustainable programmes that can benefit persons with disabilities and the community. The youth is taught how to practice agriculture, sewing, and poultry farming so that they can work and earn a living. The parents are taught income generating and business skills that can sustain them. When the youth graduate from their projects they are given a lump sum of money to start a business. After they graduate from tertiary education they are given a certain amount of money that is used as capital to start a business of their own. The organisation had a poultry business, but they had to stop when it became unsustainable.

ORG C runs child protection programmes and educates the youth about sexual reproductive health. These programmes are sustainable because they teach youth, teenagers, and parents how to use condoms and about family planning in order to avoid unwanted pregnancy and bearing too many children they will not be able to take care of. Teaching the youth about condoms reduces the risk of unwanted pregnancy, STIs, and HIV infection. It reduces the risks of OVC from getting pregnant whilst they are still at school. The number of early marriages and unwanted pregnancies has decreased because of the impartation of knowledge on sexual reproductive health. The organisation provides basic education to children and pays for stationery and school fees.

Livelihood projects have enabled some child-headed families to send their siblings to school. The projects also give parents or caregiver's capital for projects such as poultry and vegetable farming that can sustain them as a family. By doing this, the organisation can sustain programmes that fulfil the needs of the next generation.

ORG D provides educational intervention for primary, secondary, and high school children who have been selected using vulnerability assessment criteria. They also provide second chance education for children who dropped out of school and they send children to vocational schools.

The organisation encourages children to do a course in something they are good at and tries to link them with the job market.

ORG D has implemented poultry projects whereby livestock is kept by households to support the education of OVC. The programme was designed for guardians to contribute to the development of children and school fees for OVC are paid by households from the profits they make selling chickens, eggs, or goats. The parents are responsible for livestock farming and the government and local leadership monitor the projects so that money is used for the right purposes and the continuation of the projects. Because of this, the children's guardians or the extended families cannot sell livestock or misuse the money generated. At school, there is a database of livestock and the guardians give updates about chicken sales. The programmes are sustainable because parents are involved in the wellbeing of their children. Many children have passed their Ordinary level exams and have proceeded to Advanced levels because of the project. A representative from ORG D (16 April 2019, Mutare) suggested that girls are born at a disadvantage because they lack resources and if they educate one girl, they know they have educated the whole family or community.

The organisation also provides psychosocial support camps. For example, after the Chimanmani cyclone children were sent to these camps to come in terms with what happened to their family members. The NGO has a medical component that is either conditional or unconditional. If it is conditional, the organisation plays its part and parents will play their own part as well. If the caregivers send sick orphans to the hospital, they have to present a hospital card to the organisation and, in return, they will receive a food hamper or cash. By doing this the child will remain healthy because the guardians or the extended families know they will be rewarded for looking after the children. The organisation looks at the school register to find out if the child attended school for the whole term and those children who were not absent will receive food hampers as a reward. ORG D educates them with skills to enable them to manage their programmes. A representative from ORG D (16 April 2019, Mutare) suggested that:

Some NGOs provide food and fees to parents and they do not have certain conditions whereby parents will realise that they have a role to play. These are the dynamics we find

in the NGO sector where organisations try to bring models that are not sustainable. A conditional programme brings more sustainability and rewards.

The number of the OVC has increased over the years and although the government is doing its best, it requires support from non-state actors to meet the needs of OVC in Mutare. A respondent from ORG D said, “In Zimbabwe, we cannot find a child who has never been at primary school although they will not reach secondary education. Their motto is for every child to get to secondary level” (16 April 2019, Mutare).

If the organisation fails to support OVC in a particular area they make a referral to other organisations where they exchange monthly notes in terms of beneficiaries. Different organisations try to make sure that all the needs of the OVC are fulfilled because organisations specialise in different areas such health, food, and security.

ORG E provides pre-school education. The programme provides basic education if sponsors are able to pay school fees for the OVC. The children receive a meal each day and those who stay with grandparents or sick parents receive food hampers every month. The participants pointed out that it is difficult for children to concentrate in school if they are hungry. The programme provides basic health, or first aid, to children if they are injured and if they have money, they take them to hospital.

The needs of children are not met because of the financial issues associated with the current situation in Zimbabwe. The organisation can no longer afford to pay for consultation fees for children at hospitals and some of the medication is sold in United State Dollars. They mainly cater for food provisions by provide a nutritious meal for the children every day. An educational support programme is sustainable because ORG E pays school fees for children and does follow up to make sure that children are going to school.

ORG F provides educational support through the payment of school fees and providing stationery for OVC with disabilities. Mary (name changed), one of the participants who works for ORG F, is of the view that:

They provide food hampers to those who are in real need. We provide counselling to affected children and their parents or guidance so that their guardians are able to accept

their situation and will not feel stigmatised. We offer awareness campaigns about OVC and disabilities where we educate the OVC about human rights and child rights (4 April 2019, Mutare).

Government's Disability Act and Disability Policy assist the organisation in running their duties. The organisation also trains children, specifically albinos, to make sunscreen lotion. The NGO is only managing a third of the children's needs because of inadequate funding, resources, and demands.

ORG G has three main pillars: education, health, and food. The organisation pays fees for OVC and provides them with uniforms and stationery. It is the NGO's responsibility to consult teachers to find out if the child is attending school and if the child needs help in their studies. Caregivers and guardians are given food hampers every month. The organisation sends children who need medical attention to the hospital and keeps a record of those children who are HIV positive to make sure they are taking their medication. They also accompany them to the hospital for check-ups and to receive medication. The organisation occasionally invites a professional nurse to provide counselling to HIV positive children and their guardians or parents. Because some parents do not talk to children about the importance of taking medication, they educate children on why they take the pills so that they don't stop taking the medication when they are older.

Sports and leisure are important for the wellbeing and mental development of students. When the children play with each other it builds a sense of self-esteem, leadership, team spirit, and self-confidence amongst them. ORG G has a sports and leisure programme in which children are able to participate in activities such as rugby, table tennis, music, and art. They have a one-week retreat during the holidays during which they take children to Chimanimani or Chinhoi to refresh their minds after exams. They also offer Bible study lessons in which they teach children to be respectful and thankful for what they have.

Some of the needs of the OVC are not met. For example, some of the organisations cannot sponsor children who have qualified to attend universities. According to someone that works at ORG G, "In some cases if they fail form four, they take them to colleges. There was a girl who finished form six in 2016 and had to remain at home until 2017 until she got a presidential

scholarship in 2018” (4 April 2019, Mutare). There are cases where some children are being abused at home, but ORG G cannot remove them because they do not have the means to take care of them.

Caregivers volunteer in most of the organisations. ORG G is able to provide volunteers with income to start their own projects. Here, caregivers are involved in different projects such as a peanut butter project of which fifteen percent of profits go to OVC. The money is used to pay rent and buy clothes for children. The organisation also pays fees for voluntary caregivers’ children until they finish high school.

ORG H trains children in income-generating projects through the means of farming which also promotes food security. ORG H only pays fees once after which families are required to sustain themselves through the profits generated from the projects they run. The projects enable guardians to send orphans to school. ORG H offers vocational training which caters for children aged twelve to twenty-one. Here they can learn about carpentry, catering, and other skills so that they are able to earn a living after the completion of the course. ORG H caters for child-headed households from the ages of fourteen to twenty-one who can implement the projects on their own and take care of their siblings. They educate children about being responsible and teach them about children’s rights. For example, every child has the right to have a birth certificate and the right to go to school.

The organisation uses a holistic approach that includes health, hygiene, food, children’s rights, and education to address all the needs of OVC. ORG H covers a percentage of the needs faced by OVC. The gatekeepers such as chiefs and mentors help ORG H to maintain the sustainability of projects. The organisation gets support from traditional leaders. The chiefs and the police monitor the progress of projects and make sure that money is not misused.

ORG I has a pre-school programme and provides food for early learners when they are at school. They provide one nutritious meal per day for the children in the programme. Some of the children only eat once a day. By providing food to the OVC, ORG I helps them to concentrate in class because children cannot concentrate when they are hungry or focus on other activities throughout the day.

ORG I pays fees for OVC who are in primary and secondary school and have been selected by the organisation. Children from extended families who can afford school fees are only allowed to go to the organisation to eat during lunchtime. ORG I teaches children to farm vegetables. The children are taught about hygiene and how to respect their elders. They have different activities such as a boys' soccer team, drama, and a girl's netball team where the children can interact and forget their problems. They educate children during weekends in Bible study and menstrual and sexual health in order to prevent unwanted pregnancies and child marriages.

Some of the children's needs are not met because ORG I has not found people who can sponsor the soccer team, although most of the children excel at school. ORG I cannot afford to provide food hampers to less privileged children because of the financial crisis in the country. The economy affects the sustainability of programmes. For example, ORG I took down the shoe sizes and names of children, but they cannot afford to buy them because of inflation.

4.4 Themes

The themes discussed in this section were generated from the in-depth interviews that were conducted in Mutare, Zimbabwe. The first theme is funding. Funding enables the organisations to not only be sustainable, but also shapes and influences their decision-making processes. The NGOs receive funding from international and local donors and the funding helps with the sustainability of programmes. The second theme is the relationship between the state and the non-state actors. Some organisations have a good relationship with state actors because the organisations are given the opportunity to conduct their interviews and do fieldwork and the chiefs and police assist the organisations by monitoring projects. Another theme is how the political environment in Zimbabwe hinders the development of non-state actors. This is evident through the implementation of policies that force donors to go through a process of monitoring before donating funds to the organisations. These themes will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.4.1 Funding

One theme that emerged from the interviews was that of funding where money comes from and how it influences operations. For organisations to be fully functioning they receive funding from

national and international donors. Most organisations receive their funding from countries like Germany, The Netherlands, the United States, and Austria. One of the organisations received its funding from UNICEF, World Vision, the Catholic Church, the High Life Foundation, and Well-Wishers. Well-Wishers are individuals who adopt a child by paying fees for them whilst they stay with parents; the money, however, will be given to the organisation, because some parents might use it for other purposes. Some organisations rely on donations given to them by Mission Direct. Mission Direct is an organisation that assists OVC in Africa. In schools some funding comes from churches and NGOs. Most churches assist the organisations in the form of school fees, sanitary wear, uniforms, and food hampers. In some cases, ORG C receives funding from the community and people from the Moslem church bring cooked food to the organisation to share with OVC. Local companies in Mutare assist some of the organisations by donating mealie-meal, vegetables, and fruit

The BEAM is a funding mechanism from the government that assists vulnerable children. It also helps some organisations by paying fees for OVC. In some cases, the organisations received equipment from the Presidency Fund (funding from the President of Zimbabwe). ORG B also received a new building which was built by the Japanese embassy.

4.4.2 Relationship between non-state and state actors

State actors have a negative attitude towards activities conducted by non-state actors in general. The organisations that were interviewed had different perspectives about their relationship with state actors. Some organisations suggested that they had a great relationship with state actors because they have the opportunity to discuss grievances they encounter with local government. Some organisations work closely with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth which shows that they have a good relationship with government. These organisations try to implement policies that will not make the government suspicious of their activities. One of the organisations said that, in order to accept donations, they have to follow a certain procedure which is long and donors often pull out because the process is frustrating.

On the positive side, a representative from ORG D said they have a good relationship with the government. They experienced some changes after the new leadership came to power. During

the Mugabe regime, dialogue with local government was difficult but dialogue became possible more recently. Someone working at ORG D said that:

During the Mugabe regime NGOs were viewed with a negative eye but through the new leadership things have changed, although in some cases there are policies which disturbs the running of the organisation, and registration is becoming much easier but still there are some hiccups [sic] (16 April 2019, Mutare).

ORG D is positive about the changes because it can now have a dialogue and can arrange meetings with the local government to improve their relationship.

The government intervenes in almost all programmes because ORG D work hand-in-hand with government ministries. This involvement does not involve decision making or influence how things are done. The government only witnesses and approves any proceedings, especially with regards to health and HIV interventions because the government is the major player in these aspects. In terms of funding, the government were invited to meetings as stakeholders and did not influence the proceedings.

ORG B works closely with the Ministry of Youth and the Ministry of Education. The education sector provides them with classes and teachers to educate the children. They work closely with the government to show they are not opposed to them. This indicates that the organisation has a good relationship with state actors because they work together with government ministries.

ORG C asserts that it has a favourable relationship with the government because of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between state and non-state actors. This MOU brings together the thoughts and expectations between parties before they enter into a legally binding contract. Community leaders assist the organisation by giving them access to gatekeepers who introduce them to members of the community. The organisation has community dialogue through churches and raises awareness about child marriages and educates OVC about sexual health.

In some cases, organisations view their relationship with government positively and are of the view that they meet government halfway. The government supports ORG H in their activities but if the organisation gets involved in the politics of the country the government will not get

involved. Someone working at ORG I claimed that the relationship between the government and non-state actors is good although they do not receive assistance from the government.

On the more negative side, ORG F suggested that NGOs are suspected by government of siding with the opposition party. In some cases, they are forced into situations in which they risk their lives to do their jobs. They have problems with the political space in that they are not allowed to access their members, especially in areas dominated by the opposition party, because non-state actors are regarded as a threat to the government. Likewise, the organisation encounters problems when it comes to obtaining clearance to visit rural areas for their fieldwork. ORG F is forced to write weekly and monthly reports so that the local government can monitor their day-to-day activities.

ORG E believes that the budget for Social Welfare for OVC is neglected compared to other departments. The organisation does not receive enough support from government because of their suspicion about politics. In some instances, the Social Welfare staff referred families to ORG E for assistance to get birth certificates for the OVC or to show them the relevant protocols that need to be followed.

The state is too weak to maintain the same control and power it exercised a couple of decades ago (Pierre & Peters 2020). This is due to poor economic management, inflation and various changes in the state's external environment. ORG E and ORG A suggest that the relationship between state and non-state actors exists more on paper than on the ground. According to ORG A, state actors assist here and there but most of the time up to two years can pass without receiving any assistance from Social Welfare. An interviewee from ORG A said, "In developed countries, special schools are funded by the government but that is different in Zimbabwe. The organisation thrives more on charity than government and when we get funding the protocols that need to be followed are too long" (10 April 2019, Mutare).

4.4.3 Hindrance from government

Hindrance refers to something that provides resistance, delay, or obstruction to something. In this research, government hindrance is considered to take place when the government delays or provides resistance and obstruction to the political environment when it comes to the governance of OVC by non-state actors. The state actors always preach about freedom but the truth is the

non-state actors are not free to implement any policies that go against the government. Non-state actors are viewed with a negative eye because they are suspected of supporting the opposition party. In some cases, they are delayed and not given clearance letters to visit areas to carry out their projects.

ORG E argues that the process of registration takes long because the non-state actors are monitored intensively and are even followed home and asked questions concerning the organisation. The procedure of registration is long and frustrating because the government requires non-state actors to advertise the organisations in the newspaper in case people are opposed to the organisation.

An interviewee from ORG F mentioned that state actors hinder the progress of NGOs because they are always suspected of supporting the opposition party. Sometimes they are delayed and not given clearance letters which gives them the right to visit certain areas of the country where they wish to carry out their work. Furthermore, opportunities may arise to brainwash the society. For example, if organisations are given resources to distribute, they are requested to ask a member of the local government to be available during distribution. Often, the local government members will distribute the resources as if they are the ones who donated them, leaving the organisation and donors as spectators. In these instances the local government officials override the situation to their advantage and people end up thanking them, not the donors. The researcher witnessed such a situation during a Zimbabwean Television Broadcast in which people were thanking the government for the goods they received during cyclone Idai when the goods were in actual fact donated by other countries and organisations. Some funders are opposed to political parties' involvement because they want to be independent.

The rules are being tightened because ORG F is requested to send daily and monthly reports to the local government of all activities they are involved in. Writing the weekly and monthly reports does not allow the ORG F to function independently because the local government is able to monitor the activities carried out by the organisation through the reports.

Someone that works for ORG G suggested that state actors believe that community based organisations should get their funding from within the country. Even though the government is not sponsoring them they are expected to get their funding locally but it is the economic situation

in the country led them to look for sponsors in other countries to start with. If organisations do receive outside sponsors they are regarded as an NGO and NGOs are required to pay a certain amount to government each month.

High rent has forced OVC and their caregivers to relocate to rural areas or nearby cities. A participant from ORG G said that:

A child was staying with her mother and they could not afford rent, so the family had to relocate to the rural area. Although the organisation sends money for school fees, they cannot do home visits to monitor if the child is being taken care of. Sometimes the organisation send money so that the child can stay with one of the caregivers during the holidays as they monitor his wellbeing (4 April 2019, Mutare).

An interviewee from ORG I said that in December 2018 due to the political environment, the government placed restrictions on the organisations and threatened to deregister non-state actors which the President claims are dabbling in politics. Due to the January 2019 political shutdown throughout the country children missed their classes and this disrupted their studies. Children who have lunch at certain organisations were affected because people could not even walk freely in the streets. Politicians are using organisations as the campaigning mechanism to further their agendas.

A participant from ORG A suggested that the relationship between state and non-state actors is only really evident on paper, stating that, “The government wants to do away with special schools. They want to go for inclusion hence it will affect children because a teacher with forty-two children cannot concentrate with two children who are intellectually challenged”.

Protocols funders are required to follow mean it takes longer for organisations to receive donations and funders might give up before making their intended contributions. Donations are sent to state actors for approval before the organisation receives them. The state actors also need to trace donations and understand where funding is coming from. As a result, the organisation loses out on money to other organisations that do not have to follow long procedures. State actors are suspicious when funders from Europe visit organisations and, as such, organisations are

required to report the purpose of the visit and what contributions they will be making to the organisation to state actors before the funder's arrival.

The respondent from ORG B is of the view that it is difficult to go to rural areas to gather people and create community awareness during political instability. It will be difficult for them to gather people because community leaders will be suspicious of the gathering, thinking that they might be planning to act against the government. The respondent from ORG C also suggested that state actors ban people from doing fieldwork because of political issues so the organisation refrains from participating.

4.4.4 Government assistance to OVC

The government assists non-state actors in various ways, including by providing them with permission to visit areas around the county. One organisation suggested that the local leaders and police assist by monitoring the projects carried out by community members selected in these programmes. The organisations work with the Ministry of Youth, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Social Welfare for the state and non-state actors to find an effective working relationship to improve the lives of the OVC in Mutare.

Organisations require permission letters before visiting a community to conduct fieldwork. ORG B is required to seek permission to visit an area and is accompanied by the gatekeepers for a smooth process. There is a lot of bureaucracy involved in this, but it helps because the local government representatives that accompany them into the field usually know the situation on the ground and is able to obtain relevant information from the right people. Non-state actors must sign MOUs and follow all protocols.

According to a respondent from ORG B, local government officials are helpful and work with non-state actors. The organisation works closely with the Ministry of Youth, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Women Affairs for the state and non-state actors to be able to find a working relationship that can improve the lives of the OVC in the community. The Ministry of Education set up special classes in mainstream schools and they work with teachers and support special units of children in those programmes.

A respondent from ORG C mentioned that the relationship between state actors and the organisation is good because of the MOU entered into with the government. ORG C was permitted to engage the community about child marriages through churches.

A representative of ORG D argued that, before the new government came into power, NGOs were viewed in a negative light and now things are changing. They are positive about the changes and feel their relationship with government is improving. ORG D also has meetings with ministers. For them registration has become easier compared to the past few years. Space for dialogue is provided. The representative from ORG D said: “The current leadership is saying you can work anywhere you feel you can, challenge where you feel we are affecting human rights provided you have evidence” (16 April 2019, Mutare). Although there are some challenges, they are happy with the new developments.

In the case of ORG A, the government offers school psychological services through which they screen children and submit reports to the organisation for the enrolment of children with disabilities. Therefore, the organisation does not take children directly from the community because they must go through a screening process.

4.5 Challenges Faced in Assisting OVC

Organisations encounter different challenges as they work with OVC which differ per organisation. Challenges around religious and cultural practices have emerged with the allegation that some of these practices result in child abuse. For example, in some cases caregivers offer a girl child against her will to a wealthy man as a wife. This can be payment of avenging spirits (*Ngozi*) or return of goods such as money. These children are married at a young age and drop out of school to get married before their eighteenth birthday.

A representative from ORG A suggested that most children in Zimbabwe are OVC and come from a poor background. These children’s guardians cannot afford to pay their school fees. The BEAM is funding programme from the government that is meant to assist vulnerable children with school fees. The government is not time-conscious when it comes to paying school fees so the organisation struggles to feed children because the money they receive doesn’t cover all of their expenses.

ORG B's programme is run by deaf people and is not run by professional counsellors or psychologists so they have limitations as to how much they can help, especially with complicated needs. They report that the problem is "huge", and the NGO is only able to provide safety nets by specialising in working with the deaf. Some deaf people do not have knowledge of HIV/AIDS medication and because they do not understand the purpose of drinking the medication they stop taking it. Parents are often in denial about disabilities and ORG B assists them by running community awareness programmes to educate them about disability acceptance and encouraging parents to bring the children to learn sign language. ORG B faced challenges when the district councillor decided to charge NGOs to work in their district but when a group of NGOs questioned this decision and it was later reversed. Some nurses do not understand sign language which means deaf children have to wait for hours in queues and nurses might end up forgetting about them.

The participant from ORG C suggested that the political structure disrupts the running of activities. Those in rural areas are not receiving as much information about children's rights as those in urban areas. Some churches such as the Johanne Marange Church do not want their children to participate in workshops because they do not believe in the education of children and in children's rights. They believe in child marriages, hence educating children on matters of child marriage and sexual health goes against their doctrines. The NGO lacks finances and resources to run the organisation.

The representative from ORG D said they have limited funding because the donor landscape is growing smaller and smaller and there is competition to win funding. The number of cases of vulnerable children who require funding has increased because of natural disasters caused by climate change and this has made many children vulnerable.

The interviewee from ORG E was of the opinion that the government is negligent because they do not take proper care of OVC. According to them, the best childcare is provided by non-state actors. The governments take ten percent of the money sent to help children and foreign currency is changed to bond notes. The local government monitors people during the registration of the organisation. At times they even follow them home and ask questions about the organisation. There is a lack of commitment from both children and guardians when they are told to attend

workshops and meetings regarding the wellbeing of the children. The participant said that sometimes guardians lie about children's situation by making it sound worse so that they can be enrolled in the programme. The guardians try to tailor their stories to the vision and mission of the organisation so that they can receive assistance from the organisation.

ORG F does not have enough funding to support vulnerable children and they need wheelchairs and medicines. The political environment is not conducive for the organisations to move freely and conduct their fieldwork because the organisations are required to obtain clearance whenever they want to visit a district or place to operate in that area. Furthermore, the database of the organisation is not accurate due to challenges such as transportation in updating their information in the field. ORG F has limited office space for them to operate freely.

A representative from ORG G is of the opinion that children take time to open up about their situations at home which poses a problem because some children are being abused by the people they are living with. ORG G does not have accommodation to relocate them from abusive homes so the OVC will have to continue staying with abusive relatives. The children also encounter stigmatisation because they are HIV positive. As a result, children are not told the truth about the HIV pills they take and may stop taking them when they are older because they are unaware of the importance of the pills.

There is no beneficiary selection and bookkeeping in ORG H and this is one of the challenges they face as an organisation. The number of OVC is increasing and they cannot take care of their needs. The children go through vocational training but face difficulties in getting a job because of high rates of unemployment. The guardians participate in income-generating projects, but returns are low and cannot sustain the wellbeing of the OVC and the rest of the family.

Their lack of infrastructure has resulted in ORG I to resort to using a gazebo for cooking. When it rains the gazebo leaks, making it difficult to cook for the children during rainy seasons. The price of groceries has increased so much which means the organisation has reduced its monthly budget for children. Every child is given an allocation of \$20 each month for medication and medical consultation but with the increase in prices, they cannot cater for all the children's requirements. They are facing problems with OVC who are getting married at a young age.

Sometimes the people who work for ORG I try to convince girls to return to school but to no avail.

4.6 Recommendations from the Organisations

The organisations in Mutare offered different recommendations depending on their target population. Most of the organisations suggested that it is important for guardians to participate in the well-being of orphans, for instance by learning sign language and attending meetings concerning the well-being of the children. In some cases, organisations complained that government interference in funding leads to the misfortunes they are facing such as not having enough money to feed and educate the children. If the relationship difficulties between state and non-state actors could be resolved, organisations will be able to participate freely without endangering themselves by going against the government just to assist the OVC in the community. If there is peace and freedom in the country it will enable different countries to invest in the non-state sector.

The representative from ORG I mentioned that caregivers and the staff at the organisation are doing voluntary work and need assistance for their well-being. The caregivers who volunteer at the organisation spend most of their time at the NGO and only receive one bar of soap for the entire year. Most of the caregivers are single parents and need money to take care of their families.

According to the representative from ORG B, if deaf children and their parents learn sign language the road through pre-school and primary school will be much smoother. The organisation tries to provide children who may have committed crimes with access to the justice system and assists by providing affected children with bus fare and interpretation in courts although they want the government to take over this responsibility. The organisation contends that vulnerable children must be included in the decision making of issues that concern them.

The participant from ORG C pointed out that if there is peace in Zimbabwe it will improve the chances of other countries investing in the country. It is difficult to move around and help OVC by assessing the situation and needs of the children in conflict areas. If children are educated it

will reduce high crime rates because they will be occupied with legal jobs. Furthermore, if OVC are successful in life they will be able to support their siblings and guardians.

Disabled children prefer to represent themselves and strongly believe that “nothing for us without us” (10 April 2019, Mutare). The participant from ORG A suggested that the government should include vulnerable children in the budget for intellectually challenged children to be able to learn basic skills and that someone with a disability should be employed at the top of the hierarchy in government. Nurses should learn sign language so that they can assist deaf people. The government should increase incentives or remuneration for teachers who assist intellectually challenged children. In developed countries special schools are funded by the government whereas in Zimbabwe the schools depend more on charity than on the government.

4.7 Conclusion

The question this research set out to answer was: “How does the political environment in Zimbabwe affect the governance of OVC by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe?” As discussed in this chapter, the political environment in Zimbabwe affects the governance of OVC because it is not conducive for the organisations to carry out their day-to-day activities. After all, non-state actors are viewed with a negative eye and are suspected of supporting the opposition party. The non-state actors cannot access rural areas if the political environment is unstable because they will be suspected of plotting against the government. When the political environment is not conducive for members of the organisations to travel and conduct their fieldwork this can result in delays in the implementation of programmes that assist OVC.

Non-state actors are required to follow certain procedures when registering themselves as organisations. In some instances the leaders of the organisations are even followed home by the secret services to find out if they have any political agendas. As a result, some international organisations end up investing in other African countries where donors are not suspected of having a hidden agenda.

The participants had different perspectives on the effect the relationship between the state and non-state actors has on the governance of OVC. These relationships differ from organisation to organisation and some organisations suggested that the relationship between the state and non-

state actors offers opportunities because the police and traditional leaders assisted them with the sustainability of their projects. In some cases the state actors viewed the non-state actors negatively. This meant that the NGOs had to write weekly and monthly reports for the local government to monitor their activities.

For non-state actors to function fully they depend on funding from international or local donors. Policies implemented by the government have resulted in many restrictions and delays in accessing funds from the donors and government claims a percentage of donations in certain instances. Government also interferes in donations and takes credit for assistance from external donors. The government continues to interfere in situations where organisations and the donors prefer to operate independently.

Most of the programmes implemented by the organisations that were interviewed are sustainable. The organisations educate the guardians to start income-generating projects and they give the guardians livestock so that they can play a part in the upbringing of the children. As a result of this, the guardians are able to sustain themselves even when they are no longer receiving donor funding. In some cases, the organisations are able to provide school fees and food for the OVC. This shows that non-state actors that are involved in the care of OVC are able to meet the needs of the children through sustainable programmes.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussions and Synthesis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how the political environment in Zimbabwe has impacted the lives and governance of OVC by non-state actors. Migration to different cities and countries, high rates of unemployment, poverty, inflation, a lack of social services, and the abandonment of state support for poor and vulnerable groups has all added to the problems faced by OVC. The socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe has created a vacuum for the provision of social services. Diminishing provision of services by the state coupled with escalating numbers of OVC represents a crucial concern for NGOs. The support for most OVC is provided by a variety of government, community, FBOs, and NGOs but this assistance reaches only a small percentage of those who need it.

Stover *et al.* (2007:23) suggest that the increase in OVC has strained the systems which families and communities have traditionally used to provide care for OVC. The extended family system has gradually weakened, and communities are becoming more constrained due to the impact of HIV/AIDS and economic difficulties. If extended family structures are weakened and unable to care for OVC, this will lead to the formation of child-headed families or to children living in undesirable environments. In child-headed families the eldest is likely to drop out of school and look for employment so that they can take care of their siblings. Some of them will end up in prostitution, early child marriages, and even child labour.

As was discussed in chapter two, governance is about who has power, who makes decisions, how people make their voices heard, and how account is rendered. Governance involves individuals who have power and are involved in the decision-making processes. In this specific case, the non-state actors act as the voice of the voiceless by making the needs of the poor and vulnerable people of society heard.

As will be discussed in this chapter, the actors involved in the governance of OVC are the director, staff, government, church, and funders who have the power to make decisions in an organisation. Conflicts between the funders and the head of the organisations were revealed

during the interviews that were carried out. Significantly, the analysis reveals that the actor with the least say in decision making is the child.

The government of Zimbabwe designed different policies in order for the state to have control over non-state actors. These policies include the procedures that some of the organisations have to follow when they receive donations and the registration of organisations which takes long. Some policies hinder the sustainability and progress of non-state actors through over-regulating donor funding or demanding over-reporting. The relationship between the state and non-state actors has been tense because the government has threatened to deregister some of the organisations that were not abiding by policies and regulations. Some policies are not conducive to the functioning of non-state actors and in some cases the funders might leave the country and fund organisations in other countries around Africa.

Nonetheless, some non-state actors suggest that their relationship with the government has improved because of the change in leadership. During the Mugabe regime, NGOs were viewed with a negative eye but with the new regime, some policies have changed to their advantage. The organisations have the opportunity to have a dialogue with the local government. The current leadership allows the organisations to work anywhere and challenge the local government on areas that affect human rights, provided that the organisations have evidence.

In chapter four, the background and context of each organisation were described and findings from interviews were shared. In this chapter, the following will be covered: actors involved in decision making and who makes decisions, sustainability, strategies used by non-state actors, issues of transparency and accountability, and the relationship between state and non-state actors. Government policies and the effects of the political environment on the governance of non-state actors will be considered and then recommendations will be made.

5.2 Actors Involved in the Governance of OVC

Civil society is defined as a community of people linked by common interests and collective activity. As mentioned in chapter two, civil society consists of diverse groups which include development charities, humanitarians, professional associations, labour unions, community-based organisations, and religious associations (Chikoto-Schultz & Uzochukwu 2016: 139). In

this study the non-state actors involved in the governance of OVC where community-based organisations, humanitarians, and religious associations.

Non-state actors are touted as a solution to various problems faced by the people in the community because they provide social provisions for those in need such as OVC, the elderly, and widows. Mavhinga (2014) agrees that non-state actors are often formed when people notice a problem in the community and organisations come together to do something about it. Different non-state actors are involved in the governance of OVC, including NGOs, individual donors, FBOs, orphanages, and government. Non-state actors perform different roles in assisting OVC in the city of Mutare, including providing healthcare, food, education, and social activities. These non-state actors improve the lives of OVC because the government cannot take care of vulnerable groups due to the current economic situation in the country.

Different actors are involved in the governance of OVC. As stated in chapter two, Toikka (2011) suggested that when it comes to OVC, governance refers to who has power, who makes decisions, how people make their voices heard, and how account is rendered. Governance is a decision-making process where different actors negotiate social protection packages, delivery methods, and the nature of beneficiaries (Toikka 2011). In order for the organisations to achieve a goal, different organisations exchange resources and depend on one another to achieve a collective goal (Rhodes 1997). Non-state actors are there to negotiate social protection packages for OVC and to make their voices heard through policies that are implemented by the government.

As mentioned in chapter two, Masunungure (2011:50) supports the view that CSOs advocate on behalf of vulnerable people around policy issues ranging from democratic governance to public services provisions. Skinner *et al.* (2006:620) state that:

To get a real sense of where to introduce interventions or support, a clear understanding of the community's perspective is required. Time must be spent listening to people who are doing work there already, particularly the caregivers and the vulnerable children themselves.

Therefore, non-state actors are required to interact with the people in the community so that they can understand what the needs of the people and their grievances are and for them to have a clear understanding of their perspectives. Moreover, by being the voice of the voiceless, non-state actors will be able to speak on behalf of vulnerable people to ensure that their needs are addressed and taken into consideration. As stated in chapter two, the measurement of the quality of governance depends on accountability, transparency, inclusivity, and responsiveness whereby organisations can address the concerns, needs, and priorities of the citizens (PASGR 2016). Transparency is important in organisations because it empowers the people that the organisation works with on how best they can contribute to other efforts for the development of the organisation. Kagoro (2005: 20) suggests that transparency is obtained when donor money ends up where it is intended to go, when bodies that exist for charitable purposes actually carry them out, and when money is not wasted on administration and unnecessary travel expenses. In line with this, ORG E keeps the receipts for all the money that has been spent over each year as proof of the way the money has been spent. Most donors require financial transparency from organisations because they want to know if the money they donate is being used properly.

One way in which ORG E works to ensure transparency is by requiring staff to share weekly reports from the previous week, highlighting their experiences during home visits and reporting on the difficulties faced by the OVC such as sickness or abuse. Transparency can also strengthen the bond between the donors and the organisations; no one wants to invest their money into a project that doesn't yield results or if they cannot assess how their money is being used.

In some cases donors have more power in the NGOs and FBOs because the donors give instructions on how they want the money to be used. As mentioned in chapter two, according to Haralambos and Heald (1980: 99) a group or an individual holds power to the degree that others comply with their will. Funders have power and the ability to make decisions in the organisations. For example, the participant from ORG A explained that there is an age limit of twenty-two years when it comes to vulnerable children they are allowed to fund. If the child is above twenty-two years of age, ORG A will have to find other funders for the vulnerable children to continue attending school. Funders have the right to suggest how they want their money to be used and have influence over selecting the age group and gender of recipients. This is sometimes an area of conflict between organisations and funders. Funders want to yield power

because of the money they bring to the table and the head of the organisation wants the authority and power to be centred on them as the person who started the organisation.

Masuka *et al.* (2012) suggests that the BEAM faces challenges when it comes to transparency because there are allegations of corruption when it comes to the selection of beneficiaries. It is difficult for families and OVC to depend solely on the programme as a form of social protection because it excludes OVC with learning difficulties and those that live far from their schools.

Kagoro (2005) suggests that good governance involves accountability of the leadership to the electorate, respect, protection for fundamental human rights, and respect of the constitution. The non-state actors educate OVC about their rights as stated in the constitution and offer protection from abuse by following the right procedures. NGOs are accountable to different people such as OVC, marginalised people, government, funders, and staff. The funders look at the accountability of the organisation before they even consider funding it. The participant from ORG D mentioned that a sponsor can choose to fund a child until the child finishes school, but the money will be sent directly to the organisation to ensure accountability.

Makumbe (1998:307) is of the view that the majority of foreign donor agencies are not accountable to the local communities they work with. Foreign donors provide non-state actors with financial and technical resources. NGOs are only accountable to their local communities, government, and business in their home countries. According to Makumbe (1998:307):

It becomes difficult, therefore, to require that local NGOs be transparent and accountable in their operations and they, in turn, find it even more bewildering to demand the same organisational attributes from state institutions and personal.

The relationship between state and non-state actors has historically been one of suspicion and the government reserves the right to make some decisions on behalf of non-state actors. As stated in chapter four, some organisations must submit monthly and weekly reports to the local government. They have to report to the local government and inform them if someone visits them to conduct interviews and someone from local government must be present during the interview. Because of this, it is difficult to address sensitive information and ask questions about the relationship between the state and non-state actors during interviews which can lead to the

distortion of information. This point was raised during the interview by the participant although the researcher did not experience the situation whereby the local government staff had to be present for the interview because the researcher once shared the same premises with ORG F during her internship with ORG E.

When organisations receive donations, they must follow extensive government procedures which at times takes so long that the donors withdraw their funding. Donations are sent to the Ministry of Education for assessment before the organisation receives them and donors will rather donate to organisations that do not have to follow strict protocols before accepting gifts. This is affecting the organisations because they don't receive the funding they need to carry out their work. This shows that the government implements policies that affect the governance of OVC, which gives the government control over the affected non-state actors.

ORG F has to distribute donations in the presence of local government officials. At times, members of the local government take over resources and distribute them as if they are the ones who donated them, leaving the organisation to look on as a spectator. This puts organisations in a difficult position with their funders as some funders do not appreciate having political parties or government involved. And if funders were to pull their funding it will create problems in the sense that the organisation will not be able to operate without the funding from the donors.

Bailey (2008: 130) believes that most community-based studies in Southern Africa have discovered that local religious organisations are one of the few sources of support for impoverished families outside of extended family. The researcher also points out that most organisations in Mutare are FBOs that assist OVC from poor households. They provide educational support, food, education about religion, and teach the children about personal hygiene.

The actor that is often forgotten in all of this is the child. Cullingford (1992) suggests that children are seen as passive observers. Matthews (2001:155) states that children must be involved in decision making about interventions and service developments and have the right to be involved in research that impacts their lives as individuals. Children are viewed as minors and thus it is assumed that they cannot make decisions in areas that affect their lives. In all the organisations that the researcher managed to interview, children were regarded in this way,

especially orphans under the age of eighteen. Children are not given the power to make decisions. After the death of their parents, they are sometimes separated from their siblings and this can affect them emotionally.

The participant from ORG C suggested that, in some cases, parents do not allow their children to attend workshops in which they are taught about their rights and that some children are abused because they are unaware of their rights. Some parents deny their children the opportunity to attend educational workshops on the education of child marriages where the children are taught about their rights and encouraged not to get married at a young age. Parents regard these teachings as being disrespectful to them and their community.

5.3 Sustainability and Strategies of Non-State Actors

According to the PASGR (2016), one of the most important indicators of sustainability is the capacity to pull beneficiaries out of poverty and graduate them as empowered and self-supporting members of society. Beneficiaries are expected to play a pivotal role in the sustainability of programmes. Rahman (1993) defines community participation as an active process in which beneficiaries take initiatives and actions stimulated by their thinking. The representative from ORG D explained that they designed a programme to contribute to the development of the child. The programme is conditional in that both the guardian and the organisation have a role to play. A conditional programme brings more sustainability and rewards. The organisation educates the guardians and equips them with skills to manage their own programmes. The vulnerable families are given livestock projects and the profits generated from this is used to educate the children. Police and traditional leaders monitor the projects to make such that caregivers are not misusing the money. The monitoring of the projects by the police and traditional leaders results in the sustainability of the projects and is evidence of a good relationship between the non-state actors and local government.

ORG D is averse to simply giving guardians food and education fees without any conditions; they believe that caregivers have a part to play. In conducting this research it was discovered that conditionality brings sustainability to the projects because they not only assist OVC, they also assist the children of the caregivers and guardians. This will reduce resentment towards OVC because the relatives the children live with will also benefit directly from the projects. If the

projects are operated well, they will be able to generate school fees for all of the children in the family. This not only meets the needs of the OVC but also educates and empowers caregivers by pulling them out of the poverty trap.

Non-state actors play a vital role in ensuring that the poor and vulnerable break out of poverty through the implementation of sustainable projects. Kagoro (2005: 22) suggests that, due to the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, CSOs have acted as watchdogs over political protagonists and as safety nets for millions of Zimbabweans living below the poverty line. Educating guardians and enabling them to sustain income-generating projects is sustainable because it will assist the families in breaking out of poverty. If children are educated and successful in life they will be able to take care of their families rather than having a whole generation depending on external aid.

ORG D meets with other organisations to negotiate social protection programmes to assist several OVC in Mutare. If ORG D is not able to assist certain OVC, they make a referral to other organisations. They also discuss these beneficiaries on a monthly basis. The organisations specialise in different areas, for example education or health, and in working together they make sure that the children they assist receive all the resources they need. The interaction of different organisations with the aim to exchange information on the beneficiaries helps in the development of the country because the needs of the children will be fulfilled and the organisations will be able to achieve their goals and visions. This also enables them to swap ideas on how to improve their interventions and make their programmes sustainable.

During the interviews, the researcher discovered that psychosocial support camps were used as a strategy to provide emotional support to vulnerable people affected by natural disasters. ORG D provides psychosocial support camps. For example, in Chimanimani when cyclone Idai left people devastated, children were sent to psychosocial camps to come to terms with what had happened to their families. The organisation also provided food and clothing to the families. Providing psychosocial support to people teaches them how to overcome and manage tragedy.

As mentioned in chapter two, extended families traditionally used to be the safety nets of OVC. Mushunje and Mafioso (2010: 265) agree that orphans used to be absorbed into the extended family networks but due to the increase in poverty, it has become a challenge for extended

families to absorb orphans when they cannot afford the basic necessities to survive themselves. As a result, many children are forced to head families at a younger age. In some cases, children prefer living in institutions to living with nuclear or extended families.

Some children are abused by their caregivers and often, even if the abuse is reported to the police, the children will continue living with these abusive caregivers because government, NGOs, and FBOs do not have the capacity to provide the protection and support they require. If the abusers aren't charged, these children may learn to mistrust the police and may develop hatred towards their perpetrators. It is imperative that non-state and state actors create sustainable measures for the protection of OVC who are being abused.

School feeding programmes are regarded as a safety net because it encourages OVC to attend school. ORG E provides a nutritious lunch for the children they support every day and ORG B and ORG H provide porridge for the children they support every morning. This is important because if children are not fed they struggle concentrating in class and some of them may even fall asleep during class. Furthermore, those that take HIV tablets are required to drink their pills after eating something. Drinking these tablets on an empty stomach may result in stomach pains and the children may stop taking the medication as a result of this. If children don't finish their food, they can take it home.

Chapter two outlined how some NGOs shift to other projects and register new beneficiaries without any guarantee that the previous beneficiaries they assisted are no longer considered to be vulnerable. According to information provided by ORG H, most of their projects take up to three years and they educate children on how to continue the projects. School fees are only paid once and, after that, the children are required to sustain their projects to generate money for school fees and food. ORG H returns to the villages after six months to monitor the development of the projects and often finds that guardians or the extended family have misused the money which was supposed to generate profits. In these cases, the children will suffer because of the carelessness of their guardians. The fact that these projects may take up to three years indicates that some of the beneficiaries don't move out of a position of vulnerability.

One of the key challenges facing social protection services in developing countries is long-term sustainability without being dependent on external donor funding (Masuka *et al.* 2012). A

representative from ORG E said they are registered as a community-based organisation and cannot accept funding from other countries. If they accept funding from other countries, they will be regarded as an NGO and will have to pay a certain percentage to government each month for operating in the country. However, for the organisation to run successfully, it requires funding from external donors. Some of the organisations might have been registered as FBOs because they are not able to afford to pay monthly fees to government.

5.4 Relationship between State and Non-State Actors

The crisis faced by Zimbabwe is a result of the failure of leadership and the political party system (Kagoro 2005: 25). It was caused by the dysfunctional transition from colonial rule to independence and partly because of the failure of ZANU-PF to transform itself into a party capable of democratic government. According to Kagoro (2005: 25), "... the real problem with the post-independence state is that its politics have been transacted largely in the ethical vacuum, with no clear baseline to establish right and wrong." Furthermore, the relationship between state and non-state actors has historically been tense as the government has often suspected non-state actors of being involved in the politics of the country.

As stated in chapter four, non-state actors are sometimes suspected of supporting the opposition and are viewed with a negative eye. Suspicion of non-state actors did not initially start with the government but can be traced back to the period of colonisation. Makumbe (1998:307) points out that colonial groups throughout Africa destroyed civic groups and organisations. These civic groups and organisations were viewed with suspicion by the colonial rulers who feared that the groups could be instrumental in mobilising the colonised against the colonisers. Moreover, civic groups are threats to the ruling party because some of the political parties were formed in civil societies.

Dorman (2001) suggests that NGOs made various efforts to discuss the problems faced by OVC in Zimbabwe with the government, but this relationship was undermined due to various political differences. Dorman further argues that the government of Zimbabwe suspected the activities of NGOs whereas NGOs accused the government of having a negative human rights record which was characterised by a culture of impunity that contradicted the elementary values of democracy. This reduced the opportunities for state and non-state actors to work together.

According to Mavhinga (2014), the confusion that arises concerning the role that non-state actors play explains their relationship with the government which is marked by continuous mutual suspicion and harassment by agents of the state. To make matters worse, Betts (2013) argues that the economic crisis that has resulted from widespread political violence and persecution has undermined the majority of the people's access to basic services, food, and livelihood opportunities.

Kagoro (2005: 22) points out that controls are maintained over the operation of all social movements, NGOs, and organised groups in civil society. Kagoro further suggests that this is often achieved through a complex system of criminalisation, licensing, supervision, and surveillance. As mentioned in chapter two, the relationship between state and non-state actors has been categorised by benign neglect because most governments in Africa perceive non-state actors as a threat to their power and influence.

The increase in the number of OVC has required non-state actors to cover the gaps left by the state by providing social services. Mavhinga (2014) suggests that non-state actors play different roles in the governance of OVC such as providing food, education, and health services and practicing good governance and human rights. Different organisations have different perspectives when it comes to the relationship between state and non-state actors. Some organisations describe having a good relationship with state actors because they are given access to proceed with research processes in various areas. Chiefs and police assist them by keeping records of the projects. Traditional leaders act as gatekeepers during the fieldwork which makes it easy for the organisation to obtain information and complete their fieldwork in a short amount of time.

The NAP III recognises the role of traditional leaders in the care and support of OVC in programmes such as the Zunde raMambo. As mentioned in chapter two, this is a safety net at the community level. "Dura raMambo" is a granary where proceeds from Zunde raMambo are stored. The community members store maize, beans, peanuts, and dried vegetables in the Dura raMambo granary for the OVC in the community. This is a collective project that is kept for the purposes of assisting poor members of the community.

The participant from ORG D mentioned that both the community leaders and police play a major role in monitoring the projects that are carried out by community members who assist OVC. They keep records of the livestock that were being taken care of and the community leaders and police receive reports about the progress of the projects every week. This shows a respectable relationship between state and non-state actors because the community leaders and the police have recognised the importance of non-state actors in the community and work with them towards the development of the community and assistance of OVC.

The relationship between ORG B and the state is stable because they work closely with various ministries such as the Ministry of Youth, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Women Affairs. These ministries develop the organisation in various ways. ORG B works closely with the government to show their support. Before going into an area, the organisation must ask for permission from the local government to be able to talk to the community.

The government has threatened to deregister some of the organisations that it perceived to be a threat to the ruling party. A representative from ORG E mentioned that they face difficulties with registration as a non-state actor and that the process of registration is too long. At times, the local government monitors people intensively by following them home and asking them questions concerning the organisation to verify whether or not they are a threat to the ruling party. If government threatens to deregister organisations they will not be in a position to operate peacefully and will be left unsure as to how long they will be able to continue operating. This is unfavourable for non-state actors and some of them might shift their focus to neighbouring countries. As a result, the OVC will be left suffering without organisations to assist them.

The respondent from ORG F said that state actors hinder the progress of non-state actors when the organisations force themselves into situations that can endanger the organisation for them to provide assistance to the vulnerable people in the community. ORG F is supposed to follow a certain procedure when it receives funding. If the organisation accepts donations without informing the local government this is an offence and the organisation can receive a fine. Sometimes opportunities to brainwash communities arise. Local government members are supposed to be there when donations are distributed and often they take control of the resources and distribute them as if they are the ones who donated them.

5.5 Effects of the Political Environment and the Policies Implemented by Government

The government has found ways of controlling non-state actors' involvement in the governance of OVC by formulating policies for registration and monitoring of non-state actors. These policies were developed to reflect Zimbabwe's strengths and traditions through collaboration between government and civil society. What becomes clear is that the political environment in Zimbabwe has a huge impact on the governance of organisations that assist OVC.

The development of a country requires impartial implementation of sound policies. Kaviraj and Khilnani (2001) posit that:

These can only be delivered by governments that are held accountable for their actions. Accountability, in turn, depends upon the existence of autonomous centres of social and economic power that can act as watchdogs over the activities of politicians and government officials. Civil society consists of both the associations that make up these centres and the enabling environment that permits them to operate freely.

Hence, the policies implemented by the government should enable civil society to function freely in a secure environment that does not threaten the closure of any organisation run by non-state actors. In order to strengthen the leadership of social services and governance of OVC, leaders must be fully committed to effective, inclusive, and accountable governance structures to generate a sustainable social service system.

The government has created many policies to assist OVC, including NAP I, NAP II, and NAP III. Zimbabwe's NAP I plan was approved in 2005. A conference was held to develop a draft of NAP I which consisted of the OVC working group of government officials, NGOs, and donor organisations (Fanelli *et al.* 2007: 125). The vision of NAP I "is to reach out to all orphans and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe with basic services that will positively impact on their lives" (Government of Zimbabwe 2004).

One of NAP I guiding principles is that children have the capacity and right to participate in decisions that affect them (Government of Zimbabwe 2004). The vision of the NAP I exists only on paper because only two children were able to attend the meeting but were not given the opportunity to speak. In 2010 government representatives changed the timing and scheduling of

the meetings despite knowing that the children will be unable to attend because the meetings were scheduled to take place in the middle of the school term. This is contrary to the vision of NAP I.

According to NAP II, the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy identifies opportunities to provide care and support for OVC based on the country's laws. NAP II also has a cultural approach that involves a partnership between government ministries and PVOs, communities, FBOs, and NGOs. These partners collaborate to monitor the children, advocate on their behalf, and respond to their needs through a Child Protection Committee which was established by the government.

In NAP III the government had to ensure that they expanded existing programmes to address child labour problems. As such, NAP III provided funding to programmes that reduce child labour. This policy consisted of three focus areas which were health assistance, poverty assistance through cash transfers, and education assistance. The programmes detailed in NAP III also had to ensure that children with disabilities that experience stigma and abuse have access to education.

According to Mushunje and Mafioso (2010: 268), support for formal education for OVC in Zimbabwe is provided through BEAM which assists OVC by paying their fees. However, sometimes it may take long for the fees to be paid out which negatively affects school attendance.

The state requires non-state actors to register before they start operating in the country. Makumbe (1998:308) points out that:

So successful was this approach in fulfilling the civic needs of the colonised Africans that in some countries, soon after the attainment of national independence, the new black majority governments sought to control these civic groups through legislation, registration and various other measures which would enable the regime to know what was going on in these organisations.

The organisations that were interviewed suggested that they were required to follow a procedure to registration and that it is mandatory to advertise the organisation in newspapers at least three times in case people are objected to the registration.

Instead of taking as its vital purpose the free flow of ideas from people to government, the government constructed barriers that restricted these ideas (Kagoro 2005). The government must approve any projects proposed by non-state actors before they can operate. The process of registration furthermore delays the implementation of programmes. NGOs are required to register at the provisional level, after which they are required to go to the district administration and then to the district council to register. This process can take three months to a year and results in a delay in the implementation of projects. Pierre and Peters (2020) argue that the actors that are involved in the state environment are increasingly becoming reluctant to conform to the state's objectives and interests because some of the laws disrupt the functioning of non-state actors in a peaceful and satisfying environment.

Kagoro (2005) suggests there have been incidents of indirect threats and state-sponsored attacks on individuals and organised elements of civil society. Several government ministers have threatened unspecified harmful action against NGOs and civil society in general. According to Kagoro (2005), the Minister of Public Service, Labour, and Social Welfare, Paul Mangwana, was quoted in Herald Newspaper on 5 April 2004 as saying:

Some NGOs and churches are causing too much confusion because they are converting their humanitarian programmes into policies ... The government cannot allow that to happen, so we are saying they should go under scrutiny where we revise all modalities of their operations in the country.

In addition, the Non-Governmental Organisations Act (NGO Act) was drafted in 2004 as an attempt by the state to shield itself from scrutiny by its own citizens (Kagoro 2005). It targets organisations that promote and protect human rights. The Act gives the government power to interfere with the operations of any NGO in Zimbabwe through a government-appointed NGO council. This led to the withdrawal of aid to vulnerable social groups that the government has not been able to support over the last two decades (Kagoro 2005: 21).

Operating in Zimbabwe has become difficult which has forced aid agencies and their partners to shift their activities to more discreet arrangements (Kagoro 2005: 22). Several donor aid agencies had to decide whether to stay and continue operating in Zimbabwe. There is pressure on the donor agencies that have remained they seek to strengthen Zimbabwean its civil society. The pressure on the remaining donors will most likely eventually force them to shift their activities to other countries and which will have adverse effects on OVC who are not adequately supported by the government. Kagoro (2005: 22) suggests that donor agencies that remain are faced with a government that intends to exercise greater control over their activities.

As mentioned in chapter two, the urban clean-up campaign known as Operation Murambatsvina impacted negatively on most people in the city of Mutare. This was a house demolition campaign launched by the Government of Zimbabwe in 2005 that destroyed houses and structures considered to be illegal (Muchadenyika 2015: 10). When owners protested that they had paid for the stands and were given building rights by the council, police claimed they had been illegally issued by corrupt officials and the structures had to be demolished. The UN described the clean-up as an effort to make people homeless in massive sections of the urban and rural poor, who comprised much of the internal opposition against the Mugabe administration.

Benyera and Nyere (2015: 6525) posit that some of the OVC that were benefiting from donor funding had to relocate to other areas and this created challenges such as accessing their school fees and food parcels from the organisations. Some of the organisations that were interviewed explained that they target a certain geographical area and if the children move, they will no longer be able to assist them. Benyera and Nyere (2015: 6530) further state that, because of the circumstances that the OVC were exposed to, they suffered a triple tragedy: the loss of parents, the loss of housing, and the loss of support from donor agencies. Some children relocated to different cities which furthermore affected their education because the operation happened in the middle of the school term.

The abuse of women has a negative impact on OVC because some of the children live with single mothers. This is as a result of the victimisation of women by systems of governance, including the police and other security agents, that are meant to protect people and uphold human rights (Benyera & Nyere 2015: 6530). The ZimOnline (2005) newspaper confirmed that several

women were brutally repressed by the police and arrested when they demonstrated against the negative effects of Operatoin Murambatsvina. This directly affected the children that were in the care of the women who were abused.

The NAP defines orphans as children under the age of eighteen years (Hlatywayo *et al.* 2015: 7). However, the use of chronological age in defining who orphans are ignores OVC who are older than eighteen and still vulnerable. This age restriction has made orphans that started school at a later age suffer. As indicated in chapter four, ORG A suggested that some sponsors have an age limit of twenty-two years and if the child is above that age group the OVC will not receive funding for school fees. These restrictions affect the running of the organisation and the continuation of their support for children in need.

5.6 Recommendations

Government and non-state actors should work together to ensure the sustainability of projects. The sustainability of the projects will ensure that the basic needs of OVC are met. The government should minimise its supervision of the activities of non-state actors which will give them the power to work as independent organisations and the freedom to explore different ideas that can bring sustainability to OVC projects.

In some of the organisations, research made clear that government-NGO relations were necessary to enable the non-state actors to remain in touch with the OVC. In an era in which the state is collaborating with non-state actors even more, the research showed that healthy relations between some sectors actually worked to the benefit of the local people. It is thus recommended that, instead of seeking to compete with each other, government departments and non-state actors should seek a complementary relationship. Non-state actors need to work closely with the Department of Social Welfare and ChildLine to ensure that caregivers and children are educated about their rights on child abuse, child marriages, the right to be educated, and that harmful and exploitative labour is prohibited for children.

In the research it was shown that vulnerable children need someone to represent them who is also in their situation, for example disabled children. The representative will be their voice because they actually know the situations that the vulnerable people face. Hence, it is recommended that

the government include all groups of people in decision making such as OVC; children living with disabilities; children living with HIV/AIDS; youths; and the development, design, and implementation of different strategies that meet the needs of the children.

Non-state actors should have power when it comes to donations and funding for the sustainability of the OVC programmes. Some funders might not want the government to be involved in the distribution of resources which might cause problems between the organisations and funders.

The government should challenge social norms and cultures that increase the risk of child marriages using methods such as drama, songs, and role play. The government should collaborate with civil society to fight against child marriages in communities. Action such as being sentenced to prison should be taken against men who marry younger girls and against parents who allow their daughters to be married at a young age.

NGOs should employ qualified employees who understand the situation faced by OVC and who can resolve conflict so that strong relationships are built between the employees and the OVC rather than torn down. Caregivers are required who genuinely like children, are family-oriented, are good listeners, and are able to keep information confidential.

5.7 Conclusion

Qualitative research methods in the form of interviews were used to answer the research question “How does the political environment in Zimbabwe affect the governance of OVC by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe?” The findings suggest that the political environment, although in some instances supportive, largely undermines the care of OVC.

The increase in the number of OVC has led non-state actors to intervene in the governance of OVC. Although the government created various policies to support the care of OVC, they have also created an undesirable political environment that affects the governance of OVC. Some policies are created to control and monitor the functioning of non-state actors which has resulted in most of the organisations leaving the country which has affected the OVC who have been left without sustainable projects that can pull them out of poverty.

BEAM is a policy that was implemented by the government to support the education of OVC. Because of the socio-economic situation in the country, the funding of BEAM has often been delayed which has led to OVC being chased away from schools because they defaulted on paying their school fees. Furthermore, the selection of the beneficiaries for the programme led to corruption and nepotism and the increase in the number of OVC has meant that most OVC who are in need have not received assistance from BEAM.

The relationship between state and non-state actors differs depending on various organisations. For some organisations, the relationship brings opportunities to work with police and traditional leaders towards the sustainability of projects that are operated by the caregivers of OVC. In other cases the local government grants non-state actors the opportunity to visit various areas for their fieldwork. Other organisations reported that the relationship between state and non-state actors is full of suspicion, evidenced in the way the organisations are monitored in their day-to-day activities. Various policies have been put in place to control and monitor non-state actors such as the process to register an organisation.

Power is an important concept in the governance of OVC. State actors have power over non-state actors because they are required to follow certain procedures when it comes to funding, registration, and operation procedures. The funders have power over the organisations because they require the organisations to submit to their requirements in order to continue receiving financial assistance. The organisations have the power to map out their vision and set goals that the staff and caregivers of OVC should follow for the development of the organisation.

Many OVC were affected during Operation Murambatsvina. Most of the OVC and child-headed families were left homeless. This affected a large number OVC who were forced to relocate to other areas and whose education was disrupted as they were forced to move schools in the middle of the school term and were unable to receive transfer letters from their previous schools. The children had to search for new donors because the majority of organisations assist OVC operate a particular geographical catchment area.

Bibliography

Afegbua, S.I. & Adejuwon, K.D. 2012. The Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa. International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences, 2 (9): 141-157.

Armstrong, S. 2000. Caring for Careers: Managing stress in those who care for people with HIV and AIDS. Internet: http://data.unaids.org/publications/irc-pub02/jc717-caringcarers_en.pdf. [Accessed 14 June 2019].

Arruda, P. 2018. Zimbabwe's Social Protection System and its Harmonized Social Cash Transfer Programme. Working Paper 175, International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth. Internet: <https://ideas.repec.org/p/ipc/wpaper/175.html>. [Accessed 20 April 2020].

Arts, B. 2003. Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three faces of power. Internet: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/85112/1/2003-04_online.pdf. [Accessed 26 February 2020].

Babbie, E. 1999. The Basics of Social Research. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Bachrach, P. & Baratz, M.S. 1962. Two Faces of Power. The American Political Science Review, 56 (04): 947–952.

Bailey, J. 2008. First Steps in Qualitative Data Analysis. Transcribing, 25 (2): 127-131.

Baldwin, D. 2002. Power and International Relations. In Handbook of International Relations, edited by W. Carlsnaes, *et al.* London: Sage.

Banda, P. & Ngwerume, C. 2014. A Generation in Transition: The dynamics of social services provisions in Zimbabwe. In Promoting Social Work for Zimbabwe's Development, edited by A. Nyanguru & C. Nyoni. Bindura: Bindura University Press.

Barnard, A. 2003. A Situational Analysis of Children Caring for Terminally Ill Parents in Ingwavuma District. Paper presented at the South African AIDS Conference, 3-6 August Durban.

- Baxter, P.E. & Jack, S.M. 2010. Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. Qualitative Report, 13 (4): 1-17.
- Benyera, E & Nyere, C. 2015. An Exploration of the Impact of Zimbabwe's 2005 Operation Murambatsvina on Women and Children. Gender and Behaviour, 13 (1): 6522-6534.
- Betts, A. 2013. Survival Migration: Failed governance and the crisis of displacement. Illustrated, reprint edition. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Biemba, G. *et al.* 2010. The Scale, Scope and Impact of Alternative Care of Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Developing Countries. Internet: <https://hdl.handle.net/2144/26994>. [Accessed 11 June 2018].
- Blaike, N. 2010. Designing Social Research. 2nd edition. Malden, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boler, T. & Carroll, K. 2003. Addressing the Education Needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children. Policy & Research: Issue 2. Internet: <http://www.hivpolicy.org/Library/HPP001284.pdf>. [Accessed 3 Feb 2019].
- Bourdillon, M. 1995. The Children on Our Street. The Childcare Worker, 13 (3): 12-13.
- Bourke, B. 2014. Positionality: Reflecting on the research process. The Qualitative Report, 19 (33): 1-9.
- Boyden, J. & Ennew, J. 1997. Children in Focus: A manual for experimental learning in participatory research with children. Stockholm: Radda Barnen.
- Bratton, M. 1989. The Politics of Government-NGO Relations in Africa. World Development, 17 (4): 569-587.
- Brewer, J. & Miller, R. 2003. The A-Z of Social Research. London: Sage.
- Cavanagh, S. 1997. Content Analysis: Concepts, methods and applications. Nurse Researcher, 4 (3): 5-13.
- Library of Congress. 2015. Children's Rights: International Laws. Internet:

<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/child-rights/international-law.php>. Access: 3 May 2020.

Chikoto-Schultz, G. & Uzochukwu, K. 2016. Governing Civil Society in Nigeria and Zimbabwe: A question of policy process and non-state actors' involvement. Nonprofit Policy Forum, 7 (2): 137-170.

Chikova, H. 2013. Social Protection in Zimbabwe: Social and income (In) Security in the informal economy. Paper presented at the SASPEN-FES International Conference on Social Protection for Those Working Informally, September 16-17 Birchwood Hotel, Johannesburg.

Chitiyo, M. *et al.* 2008. Providing Psychosocial Support to Special Needs Children: A case of orphans and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe. International Journal of Educational Development, 28 (4): 384-386.

Christensen, D.H. & Dahl, C.M. 1997. Rethinking Research Dichotomies. Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal, 25 (3): 269–285.

Christensen, L.B. *et al.* 2014. Research Methods, Design, and Analysis. 12th edition. Boston: Pearson.

Coetzee, T. 2018. The Contribution of Governance towards Political Sciences Research. Journal of Public Administration, 53 (1): 24-38.

Creswell, J.W. 2007. Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five approaches. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. 2009. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach. 3rd edition. Los Angeles: Sage.

Crowl, T. 1993. Fundamentals of Educational Research. Dubuque: Brown & Benchmark.

Cullingford, C. 1992. Children and Society: Children's attitudes to politics and power. London: Biddles Ltd.

Dapira, N. 2014. Mutare manufacturing industry dead. Internet: <https://www.manicapost.co.zw/mutare-manufacturing-industry-dead/>. [Accessed 29 January

2020].

Darling, J. 2014. Emotions, Encounters and Expectations: The uncertain ethics of “The Field”. Journal of Human Right Practice, 6 (2): 201-212.

De Vos, A. 1998. Conceptualisation and Operationalisation. In De Vos A.S (ed). Research at Grass Roots: A primer for the caring professions, Pretoria: J.L Van Schaik Publishers.

De Vos, A.S. *et al.* 2005. Research at Grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions. 3rd edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Domegan, C. & D. Fleming. 2007. Marketing Research in Ireland: Theory and practice. 2nd edition. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Denscombe, M. 2002. Ground Rules for Good Research: A 10 point guide for social researchers. 3rd edition. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Denzin, K. & Lincoln, S. 1994. Handbook of Qualitative Research. 1st edition. London: Sage.

Desmond, C. & Glow, J. 2002. Impact and Interventions: The HIV/AIDS epidemic and the children of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Deters, L. 2008. Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Ghana: A Contextual Analysis: ECCD Stakeholders Adapting the Safety Nets. Masters Dissertation: Columbia University.

Dibie, R. 2008. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Dlamini, P. 2004. A Description of Selected Interventions for the Care of Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Botswana, South Africa and Botswana. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Donahue, J.D. & Zeckhauser, R.J. 2011. Collaborative Governance: Private roles for public goals in turbulent times. Illustrated, reprint edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Dorman, R.S. 2001. Inclusion and Exclusion: NGOs and politics in Zimbabwe. Masters Dissertation: Oxford University.

- Downe-Wamboldt, B. 1992. Content Analysis: Method, applications, and issues. Health Care for Women International, 13 (3): 313–321.
- Dupuy, K.E. *et al.* 2014. Who survived? Ethiopia’s regulatory crackdown on foreign-funded NGOs. Review of International Political Economy, 22 (2): 419–456.
- Elone, J. 2010. Backlash against Democracy: The regulations of civil society in Africa. Democracy & Society, 7 (2): 1–10.
- Ewalt, J.A.G. 2001. Theories of Governance and New Public Management: Links to understanding welfare policy implementation. Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, March 12 Newark, New Jersey.
- Fanelli, C.W. *et al.* 2007. Child Participation in Zimbabwe’s National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children: Progress, challenges and possibilities. Children, Youth and Environments, 17 (3): 122-130.
- Felsman, K. 2006. Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children in Zimbabwe: A commentary. Journal of Social Development in Africa, 21 (1): 6-11.
- Fenge, L.A. *et al.* 2019. The Impact of Sensitive Research on the Researcher: Preparedness and positionality. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 18 (1): 1-18.
- Flick, U. 2014. An Introduction to Qualitative Research. 5th edition. London: Sage.
- Foster, G. *et al.* 1997. Perceptions of Children and community members concerning the circumstances of orphans in rural Zimbabwe. AIDS Care, 9 (4): 391-405.
- Foster, G. 2006. Children Who Live in Communities Affected by AIDS. Lancet, 367 (9511): 700-720.
- Ganga, E. & Maphalala, M.C. 2014. Helping Orphaned and Vulnerable Children to Manage Cognition and Learning Crises through Policy: The case of Zimbabwe. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 5 (1): 1-8.

Gibson, R.B. 2009. Covert Relationship: American foreign policy, intelligence and the Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.

Giddens, A. 1997. Sociology. 3rd edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Golafshani, N. 2003. Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. The Qualitative Report, 8 (4): 597-606.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2004. National Plan of Action for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children. Harare: Harare Press.

Gubrium, J.F. & Sankar, A. 2005. Qualitative Research. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gutsa, I. 2012. Local Government and Access to Education for Orphans and Vulnerable Children under Zimbabwe's NAP for OVCs. Masters Dissertation: University of Zimbabwe.

Haralambos, M. & Heald, R. 1980. Sociology Themes & Perspectives. Slough: Tutorial Press Limited.

Hlatywayo, L. *et al.* 2015. Challenges of Coping with Orphans and Vulnerable Children at Household Level: A caregiver's perspective. International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications, 5 (1): 1-11.

Howard, B. *et al.* 2006. Barriers and Incentives to Orphan Care in a Time of AIDS and Economic Crisis: A cross-sectional survey of caregivers in rural Zimbabwe. BMC Public Health, 6 (27).

Hsieh, H.F & Shannon, S.E. 2005. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. Qualitative Health Research, 15 (9): 1277–1288.

Iwelunmor, J. *et al.* 2015. Toward the sustainability of health interventions implemented in sub-Saharan Africa: a systematic review and conceptual framework. Implementation Science, 11 (43).

Kagoro, B. 2005. The Prisoners of Hope: Civil society and the opposition in Zimbabwe. African Security Studies, 14 (3): 19-29.

Kalembe, E. 1998. The Development of an Orphan Policy and Programming in Malawi: A case study. Paper presented at the Conference of Raising the Orphan Generation, 9-12 June 1998 Pietermaritzburg.

Kanyinga, K. *et al.* 2013. The Non-profit Sector in Kenya : Size, scope and financing. Internet: <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/37838>. [Accessed 20 August 2019].

Kaseke, E. & Dhemba, J. 2006. Five-Country Study on Service and Volunteering in Southern Africa: Zimbabwe country report. Internet: <https://www.issuelab.org/resources/19890/19890.pdf>. [Accessed 4 August 2019].

Kaseke, E. & Dhemba, J. 2007. Community mobilization volunteerism and the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe. In: Research Partnerships Build the Service Field in Africa: Special issue on civic service in the Southern African Development Community, edited by L. Patel & R. Mupedziswa. Johannesburg: Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa.

Kaviraj, S. & Khilnani, S. 2001. Civil Society: History and possibilities. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keping, Y. 2017. Governance and Good Governance: A new framework for political analysis. Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 11: 1–8.

Kirk, J. & Miller, M.L. 1986. Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Kondracki, N.L. & Wellman, N. 2002. Content Analysis: Review of methods and their applications in nutrition education. Journal of Nutrition Education and Behaviour, 34(4): 224–230.

Kvale, S. 2017. Doing Interviews. London: Sage.

Long, T. & Johnson, M. 2000. Rigour, Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. Clinical Effectiveness in Nursing, 4 (1): 30-37.

Makumbe, J. M. 1998. Is There a Civil Society in Africa? International Affairs, 74 (2): 305-319.

Malema, C. 2008. Does Civil Society Exist? In Civicus Global Survey of the State of Civil Society, edited by V.F. Heinrich & L. Fioramonti. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.

Manyonganise, M. 2013. Education for All: Myth or reality for orphaned and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe? International Journal of Social Sciences and Education, 3 (2): 476-484.

Masuka, T. *et al.* 2012. Preserving the Future: Social protection programmes for orphans and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 2 (12): 60-65.

Masunungure, E.V. 2011. Zimbabwe's Militarized, Electoral Authoritarianism. Journal of International Affairs, 65 (1): 47-64.

Matanga, F. 2000. Civil Society and Politics in Africa: The case of Kenya. Paper presented at the Fourth International Conference of ISTR, 5-8 July 2000 Dublin.

Matthews, H. 2001. Participating Structures and the Youth of Today: Engaging those who are hardest to reach. Ethics, Place and Environment, 4 (2): 153-159.

Mavhinga, D. 2014. Zim Civil Society Misunderstood. Zimbabwe Independent. Internet: <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/2014/05/23/zim-civil-society-misunderstood/>. [Accessed 16 September 2019].

Mbiti, J. 1994. The Role of the Bible in the Daily Living of African People Today. In From Text to Practice: The role of the Bible in the daily living of African people today, edited by J. Kugler, *et al.* Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press.

McMillan, J.H. & Schumacher, S. 2001. Research in Education: A conceptual introduction. New York: Longman.

Meinck, F. *et al.* 2016. Physical, Emotional and Sexual Adolescent Abuse Victimization in South Africa: Prevalence, incidence, perpetrators and locations. Epidemiology and Community Health, 70 (9): 910-916.

Merriam, S. 2009. Qualitative Research: A guide to design and implementation. San Francisco:

Jossey-Bass.

Miller, C. 2007. Children Affected by AIDS: A review of the literature on orphaned and vulnerable children. Internet: [Accessed 5 September 2018].

Zimbabwe Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare. 2013. National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children. Internet:
http://www.africanchildforum.org/clar/policy%20per%20country/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_ovc_2004-2010_en.pdf. Access: [28 May 2020].

Morgan, D.L. 1993. Qualitative Content Analysis: A guide to paths not taken. Qualitative Health Research, 3 (1): 112–121.

Morley, C., Skovdal, M., Campbell, M., Madanhire, C. and Nyamukapa, C. (2011). Community Sources of Support for AIDS Affected, AIDS Infected and Orphaned Children in Zimbabwe. In: *Social capital and AIDS competent communities: evidence from eastern Zimbabwe*. [online] (Unpublished) HCD Working Papers Series, pp.132–146. Available at:
<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/44185/1/Social%20capital%20and%20AIDS%20competent%20communities%20%28LSERO%29.pdf> [Accessed 23 Jan. 2020].

Mouton, J. & Marais, H.C. 1990. Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Mouton, J. 1996. Understanding Social Research. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Mtsetwa, E. & Muchacha, M. 2013. Towards a National Social Protection Policy: Knowledge and lessons from comparative analysis of the design and implementation of public assistance and harmonised social cash transfer programmes in Zimbabwe. Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 11 (3): 18-24.

Muchadenyika, D. 2015. Slum Upgrading and Inclusive Municipal Governance in Harare, Zimbabwe: New perspectives for the urban poor. Habitat International, 48(3): 1-10.

Mugabe, T. 2015. NGOs Law Monitor: Zimbabwe. Washington, DC: The International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL)

- Munashe, F. 2014. Caring for Children in Need: Addressing gaps in current programming. In Promoting Social Work for Zimbabwe's Development, edited by A. Nyanguru & C. Nyoni. Bindura: Bindura University Press.
- Mushunje, M.T. & Mafioso, M. 2010. Social Protection for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Zimbabwe: The case for cash transfers. International Social Work, 53 (2): 261-275.
- Musiwiwa, K. 2008. Eschatology, Magic, Nature and Politics: The responses of people of Epworth to the tragedy of Operation Murambatsvina. In The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe, edited by M Vambe. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Ncube, X. 2018. ED threatens to de-register NGOs. NewsDay. Internet: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/12/ed-threatens-to-de-register-ngos/>. [Accessed 5 February 2019].
- Ndegwa, S. 1996. The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and politics in Africa. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- Newton, K. 2001. Trust, Social Capital, Civil Society, and Democracy. International Political Science Review, 22 (2): 201–214.
- Noble, H. & Smith, J. 2015. Issues of Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research. Research Made Simple, 18 (2): 34-35.
- Nomdo, C. 2011. Child and Youth Care Work. A journal for those who work with orphaned, vulnerable and at risk children, youth and their families, 29 (5): 18-25.
- Nyamukapa, C. & Gregson, S. 2005. Extended Family's and Women's Roles in Safeguarding Orphans' Education in AIDS-afflicted Rural Zimbabwe. Social Science & Medicine, 60 (10): 2155–2167.
- Nyathi, D. 2012. An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Strategies Implemented by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) in Zimbabwe: A case of Binga Rural District. Masters Dissertation: University of Fort Hare.

- Oleke, C. *et al.* 2007. Experiences of Orphan Care in Amach Uganda: Assessing policy implications. Journal of Social Aspects of HIV and AIDS, 4 (1): 533-537.
- Orme, J. & Seipel, M.M.O. 2007. Survival Strategies of Street Children in Ghana. International Social Work, 50 (4): 489–499.
- Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR). 2016. Features, Governance Characteristics and Policy Implications of Non-State Social Protection in Africa: A synthesis report on nine studies in six countries. Internet: https://www.pasgr.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Features-governance-characteristics-and-policy-implications-of-non-state-social-protection-in-Africa_Synthesis-report.pdf. [Accessed 14 April 2020].
- Patton, M. Q. 2001. Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods. 3rd edition. California: Sage.
- Peek, L. 2008. Children and Disasters: Understanding vulnerability, developing capacities and promoting resilience. Children, Youth and Environments, 18 (1): 1-29.
- Peters, B.G. 1998. R.A.W. Rhodes, Understanding Governance: Policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability. Public Administration, 76 (2): 408–409.
- Peters, G. & Pierre, J. 2016. Comparative Governance: Rediscovering the functional dimension of governing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peters, G. 2012. Governance as Political Theory. In Civil Society and Governance in China, edited by J, Yu & S. Guo. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pierre, J. 2000. Debating Governance : Authority, steering and democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pierre, J. & Peters, G.B. 2020. Governance, Politics and the State. 2nd edition. United States of America: Red Globe Press.
- Pridemore, P. & Yates, C. 2005. Combating AIDS in South Africa and Mozambique: The role of open, distance, and flexible learning (ODFL). Comparative Education Review, 49 (4): 490-511.

- Punch, K. 2006. Developing Effective Research Proposals. 2nd edition. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Radley, B. 2008. The NGO Sector and Civil Society in Kenya: A literature review. Internet: <https://repub.eur.nl/pub/77082>. [Access 10 Mar. 2020].
- Rahman, M.A. 1993. People's Self-Development: Perspectives on participatory action research. Dhaka: University Press Limited.
- Rhodes, R.A.W 1997. Understanding Governance: Policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability. Philadelphia: US. Open University.
- Robertson, L. *et al.* 2012. Household-Based Cash Transfer Targeting Strategies in Zimbabwe: Are we reaching the most vulnerable children? Social Science and Medicine, 75 (12): 2503-2508.
- Rosenberg, A. *et al.* 2008. Government-NGO Collaboration and Sustainability of Orphans and Vulnerable Children Projects in Southern Africa. Evaluation and Programme Planning, 31 (1): 51-60.
- Rowe, W.E. 2014. Positionality. In: The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research, edited by D. Coghlan & M. Brydon-Miller. London: Sage.
- Rowley, J. 2002. Using Case Studies in Research. Management Research News, 25 (1): 16–27.
- Ruane, J. 2005. Essentials of Research Methods: A guide to social science research. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ryen, A. 2016. Qualitative Research. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Saito, S. *et al.* 2007. Baseline for the evaluation of a National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children using the UNAIDS core indicators: A case study in Zimbabwe. Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies, 2 (3): 198–214.
- Sama, T. 2009. Conceptualizing Non-Governmental Organisations: Still searching for a theory. Journal of Social and Psychological Sciences, 15 (3): 267-284.

- Sandelowski, M. 1993. Rigor or Rigor Mortis: The problem of rigor in qualitative research revisited. Advanced Nursing Science, 16 (1): 1-8.
- Sathpathy, A. 2006. HIV/AIDS and Orphans. Economic and Political Weekly, 41 (34): 362-374.
- Schenk, K. *et al.* 2010. Improving the Lives of Vulnerable Children: Implications of horizons research among orphans and other children affected by AIDS. Public Health Reports, 125 (2): 325-336.
- Seale, C. 1999. Quality in Qualitative Research. Qualitative Inquiry, 5 (4): 465-478.
- Seidman I. 2013. Interviewing as Qualitative Research. 4th edition. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Siwela, J. & Germann, S. 1996. Mobilising community coping mechanisms to cope with rising numbers of orphans: An integrated approach. Presented at the International Conference on AIDS, 7-12 July 1996. Vancouver.
- Sjogren, A. 1998. Civil Society and Governance in Africa. An outline of the debates. Internet: <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1219011/FULLTEXT01.pdf>. [Accessed 30 January 2020].
- Skinner, D. *et al.* 2004. Defining Orphaned and Vulnerable Children. 2nd edition. Cape Town: HRSC Publishers.
- Skinner, D. *et al.* 2006. Towards a Definition of Orphaned and Vulnerable Children. AIDS and Behavior, 10 (6): 619-626.
- Stover, J. *et al.* 2007. Resource Needs to Support Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Sub-Saharan Africa. Health Policy and Planning, 22 (1): 21-27.
- Strebel, A. 2004. The Development, Implementation and Evaluation of Intervention for the Care of Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe: A literature review of evidence-based interventions for home-based child-centered development. 1st edition. Cape Town: HSRC publishers.

- Stromquist, N. *et al.* 1998. Focus on Girls: USAID programmes and policies in education. A Guatemala Case Study. Washington, DC: USAID.
- Subbarao, K. *et al.* 2001. Social Protection of Africa's Orphans and Vulnerable Children: Issues and good practices program options. Internet: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/663381468767408113/Social-protection-of-Africas-orphans-and-vulnerable-children-issues-and-good-practices-program-options>. [Accessed 8 November 2019].
- Subbarao, K. & Coury, D. 2004. Reaching Out to Africa's Orphans: A framework for public action. Internet: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/14909>. [Accessed 1 March 2020].
- Taruvinga, M. *et al.* 2015. Child Protection Committees (CPCs) and National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (NAP for OVC) Phase 1 and 11 in Rural Zimbabwe: Issues yesterday, today, tomorrow. Journal for Studies in Management and Planning, 1 (7): 572-588.
- Tesch, R. 1995. Qualitative Research: Analysis types and software tools. New York: The Falmer Press.
- Thorne, S. 2000. Data Analysis in Qualitative Research. Evidence-Based Nursing, 3 (3): 68–70.
- Toikka, A. 2011. Governance Theory as a Framework for Empirical Research: A case study on local environment policy-making in Helsinki, Finland. Masters Dissertation: University of Helsinki.
- Tutu, D. 2004. God Has a Dream: A vision of hope for our time. New York: Doubleday.
- UNESCO. 2000. The EFA 2000 Assessment: Country reports, Zimbabwe. Internet: <https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/fr/2000/efa-2000-assessment-country-report-zimbabwe-3841>. [Accessed 28 June 2019].
- UNICEF. 1998. Education for all? Regional Monitoring Report. Internet: https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/monee_educationforall.pdf. [Accessed 24 April 2019].

- UNICEF. 2003. Africa's Orphaned Generations. Internet:
<https://www.unicef.org/media/files/orphans.pdf>. [Accessed 24 April 2018].
- UNICEF. 2004. The framework for the protection, care and support of orphans and vulnerable children living in a world with HIV and AIDS. Internet:
https://www.unicef.org/aids/files/Framework_English.pdf. Access: 14 May 2018.
- UNICEF. 2011. UNICEF for Every Child. Internet: www.unicef.org/education/bege_59826html.
[Accessed 10 May 2018].
- Weber, R.P. 1985. Basic Content Analysis. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Werker, E. & Ahmed F.Z. 2008. What do Non-governmental Organizations do? Journal of Economic Perspectives, 2 (22): 73-92.
- World Vision. 2002. Programmatic Entry Criteria OR Summary of OVC Programming Approaches. Geneva, Switzerland: World Vision International.
- Yates, J. & Leggett, T. 2016. Qualitative Research: An introduction. Radiologic Technology, 88 (2): 225–231.
- Yin, R. 2003. Case Study Research: Design and methods. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage.
- Zainal, Z. 2007. Case Study as a Research Method. Kemanusiaan: The Asian Journal of Humanities, 9 (2): 1-6.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide

1. What are the challenges faced by OVC?
2. What criteria are used by your organisation to select OVC?
3. What programmes do you run for OVC?
4. In your opinion, are the needs of the children met by these programmes?
5. In your opinion, are these programmes sustainable?
6. Where is the funding for OVC the programmes coming from?
7. How is the relationship between yourself and state and non-state actors in assisting the OVC?
8. Do you think that the political environment presents any opportunities or limitations to the functioning of non-state actors in the governance of OVC?

APPENDIX B: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT (ENGLISH VERSION)



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Dept. of Political Sciences

Humanities Building 21

<http://www.up.ac.za/>

Tel.: +27 12 420 2464

March 2019

RESEARCH PROJECT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE GOVERNANCE OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN BY NON-STATE ACTORS IN MUTARE, ZIMBABWE

My name is Adelaide Chikova, I am a postgraduate student (u18267522) in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria and I am conducting field research on the above topic in Zimbabwe. Permission to conduct the field research has been granted by the University of Pretoria. Data for the research will be obtained through a month-long fieldwork process. The data will be gathered using qualitative ethnographic case study research techniques. An audio device will be used to enhance data capturing as well as cross examination of data at later stages of the research.

My research findings will eventually appear in my dissertation and in journal articles.

Will you please participate in my research project by joining in the discussions and interviews?

I will do my utmost to ensure your confidentiality in all my written reports by using either code names or pseudonyms. I do not expect you to divulge any information that might compromise you or your organisation in any way. All information will be treated as confidential and you may withdraw from discussions or interviews at any time without any consequences. My aim, objectives, and research methods are summarised above. I will provide you, upon request, with any additional information on my research project and answer any questions about my studies, my research methods, and myself. You are welcome to request a copy of my research and I am willing to make suggested changes to those parts that involve your contribution until my research is submitted to the department for examination. All the information gathered will be stored safely at the University of Pretoria, Department of Political Sciences for a minimum of fifteen years.

You may also contact me at the following telephone number: +27 65 399 1934. My supervisor is Dr. C. Wielenga. Dr. Wielenga is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria and she may be contacted via telephone (+27 12 420 4486) or e-mail (cori.wielenga@up.ac.za).

I, the undersigned, have read the above and I understand the nature and objectives of the research project of *Adelaide Chikova* as well as my potential role in it and I understand that the research findings will eventually be placed in the public domain.

I voluntarily consent to participate in all discussions and to give my expert opinion and will keep in mind that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any stage.

I also grant the researcher the right to use my contribution to the research project in completing this project as well as other projects that may emerge from it in future.

Full name of participant	Signature of researcher	Signature of participant	Date

APPENDIX C: ETHICS APPROVAL



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

26 June 2019

Dear Ms Chikova

Project: An analysis of the effects of the political environment on the governance of orphans and vulnerable children by non-state actors in Mutare, Zimbabwe
Researcher: A Chikova
Supervisor: Dr C Wielenga
Department: Political Sciences
Reference number: GW20181008HS (18267522)
Degree: Masters

Thank you for your response to the Committee's correspondence.

I have pleasure in informing you that the Research Ethics Committee formally **approved** the above study at an *ad hoc* meeting held on 26 June 2019. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should your actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

cc: Dr C Wielenga (Supervisor)

Prof S Zondi (HoD)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotheo

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr L Blokland; Dr K Booyens; Dr A-M de Beer; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fasselt; Ms KT Govinder Andrew; Dr E Johnson; Dr W Kelleher; Mr A Mohamed; Dr C Puttergill; Dr D Reyburn; Dr M Soer; Prof E Taljard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa