

**ASSET-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CHILD POVERTY  
REDUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF BINDURA DISTRICT, ZIMBABWE**

**By**

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## Declaration

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I understand what plagiarism is and I am aware of the university policy and implications in this regard.

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## **Abstract**

### **Asset-based community development and child poverty reduction: A case study of Bindura district, Zimbabwe**

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Child poverty remains a global challenge with millions of children living in extreme income poverty in multidimensionally poor households (UNICEF, 2019a:20). This prompted the international call under the Sustainable Development Goals to end extreme child poverty and reduce by half children living in multidimensional poverty by 2030 (UNICEF, 2016a:85). In Zimbabwe, Mushunje and Mafico (2010:261) emphasise the need to find innovative ways to reduce child poverty.

The goal of the study was to explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe. The study employed the explanatory sequential mixed methods research design, which combined quantitative and qualitative research approaches in a two-phased study. Survey and case study designs were adopted in the respective phases. Quantitative data was first collected by means of a survey from a sample of 73 heads of households. Qualitative data which explained and interpreted the quantitative findings was then gathered through field observations, document analysis and semi-structured interviews with 23 participants, namely nine heads of households, three key informants and 11 children.

The findings show that the multidimensional and overlapping manifestations of child poverty in the health, education and child protection domains are rooted in the multiple deprivations that characterise the households in which children live, namely constrained

income sources, low income, low consumption expenditure, overcrowded housing conditions, constrained access to water and sanitation, limited ownership of durable household goods, and lack of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets.

The study concludes that assets are central to child poverty reduction in the study area. In this regard, asset-based community development is identified as a strategy that can be employed to combine assets to reduce child poverty. In this context, the study recommends guidelines for an asset-based community development approach embedded in the principles of the sustainable livelihoods approach to reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

### **Key words**

Assets

Asset-based community development

Sustainable livelihoods approach

Child

Child poverty

Bindura district

Zimbabwe

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## **Dedication**

To my ailing mother, Fungisai Pfungwa Masuka (nee Kappitau) and late father, Shumba ZESA for bringing me on this planet.

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## Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABCD	Asset-based community development
ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ASCrAs	Accumulating Savings and Credit Associations
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
BUCST	Bindura Urban Community Support Trust
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
ECD	Early Childhood Education
ENSURE	Enhancing Nutrition Stepping Up Resilience and Enterprise
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGT	Foster-Greer- Thorbecke indices
FPL	Food Poverty Line
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HDI	Human Development Index
HSCT	Harmonised Social Cash Transfers
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IHDI	Inequality-Adjusted Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MICS	Multi Indicator Cluster Survey
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NAP for OVC	National Action Plan for Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PICES	Poverty and Income Expenditure Survey
RISDP	Revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
ROSCAs	Rotating Savings and Credit Associations

SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sustainable livelihoods approach
SOS	SOS Villages International
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
TCPL	Total Consumption Poverty Line
TSP	Transitional Stabilisation Programme
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZNCWC	Zimbabwe National Council for the Welfare of Children

## CHAPTER 1

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

---

#### 1.1 Introduction

The world has recorded major strides in poverty reduction and a child's chance to survive and thrive is brighter in today's world compared to over a decade ago. However, this commendable progress has left some children behind, as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2019a:20) states that 385 million children, or one in five, are living in extreme income poverty. In addition, 665 million children are living in multidimensionally poor households (UNICEF, 2019a:20). Data on child poverty in Zimbabwe is hard to find, but UNICEF (2019a:20) emphasises that generally children are overrepresented in poverty statistics. In Zimbabwe, poverty is endemic as the World Data Lab (2020) estimates that 35 per cent or 6,100,009 people out of a total population of 17,562,100 are living in extreme poverty. In the wake of the global Coronavirus pandemic, Bhoroma (2020:6) notes that the poverty situation in the country will worsen as the government in 2020 expects the economy to decline by 4,5 per cent while the World Bank puts the figure at 10 per cent. Even though poverty is considered a threat to virtually every person, there is growing consensus that the adverse effects of poverty are more acute and irreversible on children than adults (Hardgrove, Enenajor & Lee, 2011:4; Ortiz, Daniels & Engilbertsdóttir, 2012:1; UNICEF, 2016a:69). For instance, emerging research on brain development, as noted by Lake and Chan (2014:1816) as well as UNICEF (2016a:26), sheds light on the fact that children exposed to poverty during the critical stage of early childhood are likely to suffer permanent damage to their cognitive development.

Traditionally, poverty has been associated with rural areas. However, as UNICEF (2012:8) posits, urban areas have emerged as hot spots for poverty. Although rapid urbanisation has presented great opportunities for children, UNICEF (2019b:38) states that the emerging picture reveals that some children in urban centres, particularly from extremely poor households, are living in worse conditions than their counterparts in rural

areas. An estimated 43 million children in urban areas face a heightened risk of mortality before their fifth birthday compared to their rural counterparts (UNICEF, 2019b:41). In many parts of the world children in urban areas are living in difficult conditions characterised by among other factors, limited access to health and education, lack of decent and secure housing, and poor water and sanitation, all of which curtail their chance to survive and thrive (Todaro & Smith, 2015:518; UNICEF, 2019b:42). Urban child poverty, as Lall (2017:17) argues, stems from the rapid urbanisation of the poor, mainly in sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries such as Zimbabwe. UNICEF (2019a:26) asserts that most SSA countries are rapidly urbanising at a lower level of income compared to other regions. This trend makes it difficult to develop efficient and sustainable urban systems (UNICEF, 2012:42). As a result, millions of children in poor urban settings are experiencing multiple and overlapping deprivations (UNICEF, 2012:1). Swinkels, Norman, and Blankespoor (2019:3) observe that in Zimbabwe, urban multidimensional poverty has not dropped since 2007, which implies that many urban children are trapped in multidimensional poverty. Nyamanhindi (2014:1) postulates that urban child poverty is a growing concern in Zimbabwe and deserves increased attention by policymakers and scholars. However, because of the notion of urban advantage, the growing challenge of children living in urban poverty has been overlooked (Bartlett, 2012:139; UNICEF, 2012:8). This is despite projections that by 2030, 60 per cent of the world population will be urbanised, with nine out of ten children from SSA living in extreme poverty (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), 2014:2; UNICEF, 2016a:70). In this regard, UNICEF (2019a:26) emphasises the urgent need for solid research and action to better understand and reduce urban child poverty.

Research should focus on the growing challenge of urban child poverty in line with the first of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) under which a total of 193 countries, including Zimbabwe, committed to "... end extreme child poverty and halve multidimensional child poverty by 2030" (UNICEF, 2019a:20). To achieve the targets of SDGs such as child poverty reduction, Satyarthi (2016:86) is of the view that "...what matters is the will in the words, [and] not the words in the will". However, the will is to significantly reduce child poverty but the challenge, as pinpointed by Chirisa

(2013:128), is the lack of innovation to cushion households against urban child poverty. Conventional approaches to reducing urban child poverty, as Sundaram (2012:64) rightly notes, have turned out to be insufficient and need a “rethink”. Innovation as defined by UNICEF (2016a:94) is the process of experimenting with new approaches to solve difficult and known problems such as urban child poverty. Innovative thinking by way of creating better methods for community engagement and stronger systems for health, education and protection can go far in reducing child poverty (UNICEF, 2015a:5). In Zimbabwe, Mushunje and Mafico (2010:261) support the urgent need to create innovative ways to meet the needs of children living in extreme poverty. Conley (2010:39) suggests a new approach which focuses on building capacities of families and children.

Developmental social work strategies with their focus on poverty reduction, as Midgley (2010:167) points out, are particularly relevant in the Global South because of the high incidence of poverty. These strategies include microenterprise, social protection, community development and asset building (Midgley & Conley, 2010:xiii). Conley (2010:39) asserts that “by linking child protection with... asset accumulation, among other practices, the developmental approach seeks to address some of the challenges facing children and families in ways that differ significantly from the conventional [needs-based] child protection approach.” Also, Boguslaw, Behe and Taylor (n.d.:8) allude to the idea that the greatest impact of asset-building can be realised when integrated into the expected outcomes, which in the case of this study are community development and child poverty reduction. Butterfield, Scherrer and Olcon (2017:321) argue that little attention has been given to the integration of ABCD and child welfare which can innovatively reduce poverty and also improve the well-being of children. To build developmental social work theory and practice, Patel and Hochfeld (2012:700) emphasise the need for research on the approach in diverse social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. As asserted by Ssewamala, Sperber, Zimmerman and Karimli (2010:433), there is limited research on asset-based development strategies in SSA. This study is a contribution to the first SDG which seeks to end extreme child poverty and halve multidimensional child poverty by 2030. The study used the SLA and asset-building lenses to explore the manifestations of child poverty and how assets can be

combined for child poverty reduction among extremely poor urban households in Bindura district, Zimbabwe. The intended outcome of the study was to propose guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction for extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

### **Key concepts**

The following key concepts are core to the study:

#### **Assets**

Assets are the accumulation of human, social, physical, financial and natural capital that can be combined and utilised by people to support livelihoods and thereby reduce poverty (Department for International Development (DFID), 1999a:para.5; Midgley, 2014:156). According to Moser (2006:5), “in the poverty-related development debates, the concept of assets includes both tangible and non-tangible assets.” For the researcher, mobilisation and integration of a range of all the assets mentioned by DFID is central to reducing child poverty among extremely poor urban households.

#### **ABCD**

In this study, ABCD refers to an approach to community development that involves community organisation and community economic development based on harnessing assets inherent in the community, particularly the social capital, and that emphasises combining community strengths – such as social networks and relationships – into organised community programmes that address issues of common concern in promoting social development (DFID, 1999a:para.18; Gray, 2002:10; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:5).

#### **Child**

A child is any person below the age of 18 years (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:3). The Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2016:12) acknowledges that poverty in Zimbabwe is mainly affecting children living in poor households, which exposes them to all forms of abuse. This study focuses on children of all ages living in extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.



## **Child poverty**

This term can be defined in various ways that highlight the differences between child and adult poverty (Jones & Sumner, 2011:8). In the study, child poverty is understood as the deprivation of a range of material, spiritual and emotional resources as well as exclusion from accessing essential services (De Milliano & Plavgo, 2014:4; Minujin, 2012:14). This deprivation is experienced during childhood because of living in households whose income is below the poverty line of United States (US) \$1.90 per day leading to the non-fulfilment of the children's rights to survival, development, protection and participation, the impact of which can be felt throughout the course of the child's life (Minujin, Delamonica, Davidziuk & Gonzalez, 2006:485; Pierson & Thomas, 2010:81; UNICEF, 2019a:20). In the study, the term child poverty is used interchangeably with children living in extreme poverty.

## **Bindura district**

The study was conducted in Bindura district, specifically in Bindura town which is situated 89 kilometres north-east of Harare (Helliker & Bhatasara, 2018:1). Bindura town is the administrative capital of Mashonaland Central province, is located in the middle veld and within agro ecological region number two (Mashange, Munyati, Chandiwana, Mahati, Gwini & Rusakaniko, 2008:49). Agro ecological region two, as Chikodzi, Zinhiva, Simba and Murwendo (2013:108) note, receive reliable rainfall of between 750 to 1000mm per year which is suitable for intensive farming of crops such as tobacco, maize and cotton as well as livestock production. The primary sources of income in the district are commercial and subsistence farming, large-scale and artisanal gold mining, casual labour and petty trading (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011:3). According to the 2012 Population Census Results Report, Bindura district was home to 168,894 people of which 46 per cent were children (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), 2014:2). A total of 24 per cent of the children were orphans (ZIMSTAT, 2013a:121). The district currently has a total of 21 wards including nine communal wards and 12 urban wards (Helliker & Bhatasara, 2018:1). The study only focuses on the 12 urban wards of the district. In the urban wards of Bindura district, ZIMSTAT (2016:52) found that out of 10,921 households, 3,624 of them were poor. It is

plausible that the figures have increased as Swinkels et al. (2019:3) assert that the country is currently experiencing economic decline.

## **1.2 Theoretical Framework**

Within the overarching framework of developmental social work, the theoretical frameworks for the study are sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) and asset-building. The central theme of SLA is livelihoods and is premised on the notion that a range of assets are needed for people to realise positive livelihood outcomes such as child poverty reduction (Moser, 2008:51). The asset-building framework is concerned with assets and the strategies for asset accumulation (Moser, 2008:57).

Applied to the study, the SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks guided the researcher in exploring and describing how assets could reduce child poverty, inequality and vulnerability, support sustainable livelihoods and promote resilience in Bindura district. Concern Worldwide (2010:9) acknowledges the importance of understanding the interconnection and mutual reinforcement of poverty, inequality, lack of assets, vulnerability, sustainable livelihoods, and resilience. Poor people, as noted by Concern Worldwide (2010:3) and Singh and Falerio (2013:7), are characterised by their lack of assets or limited assets; hence, they cannot generate sufficient returns that are adequate to meet their basic needs, which limits their options for sustainable livelihoods and results in increased vulnerability. DFID (1999b:para.4) states that the SLA view poor people as operating in a context of vulnerability but with certain assets that can be utilised to reduce poverty. This perspective of SLA was critical to the study because it provides a different lens to look at child poverty reduction, namely from an assets rather than needs perspective. Thus, the focus on assets rather than needs marks a major shift from the starting point of “needs, problems and deficits” in poverty reduction (Mathie & Peters, 2014:406). This suggests that the extreme poverty among some urban households in Bindura district could be as a result of their lack of or limited assets.

In the study, the asset-building framework proposes ABCD (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) as the strategy that could be explored for accumulating assets and achieving child poverty reduction (Mathie & Cunningham, 2002:2; Moser, 2008:8). This is because

ABCD offers the practical strategy of operationalising the SLA and associated poverty reduction (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005:180; Moser, 2008:43). The premise of ABCD is that every community possesses inherent and extensive assets, some of which need to be discovered and used in building its future through addressing problems such as child poverty (Homan, 2011:8; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1996:25). The five steps of the ABCD strategy (see chapter 3, sub-sections 3.6.1 to 3.6.5 for detailed discussion of the steps) guide how assets can be mobilised and combined for child poverty reduction (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:345). The SLA complements the asset-building framework by outlining the categories of core assets required for poverty reduction under the banner of the “asset pentagon” namely, human, social, physical, financial and natural assets (DFID, 1999b:para.11). These assets, when mobilised and combined, lay the foundation for varied sustainable livelihoods, which in turn, can reduce child poverty through ABCD (Moser, 2008:54).

### **1.3 Rationale and problem statement**

In Zimbabwe, poverty is widespread, and children are bearing the brunt of it (Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) & United Nations Zimbabwe, 2016:23; ZIMSTAT, 2015a:xiii). Zimbabwe is experiencing a gradual intensification of child poverty in urban areas, which current responses are failing to reduce. Consequently, poor households and children are resorting to erosive coping mechanisms as a result of limited access to essential services leading to the violation of children’s rights to survival, development, protection and participation (UNICEF & Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011:2). In one of the widely circulated daily newspapers in Zimbabwe, The Herald, Guvamombe (2011:1) notes:

In Bindura’s MaOne section [impoverished area in one of the urban wards of Bindura district] during the night a family of up to seven people, huddles in one room. A 14 year old school girl said she was always milling around the shops at night as she finds it difficult to sleep in their one-roomed house together with the parents and has fallen prey to prostitution.

The researcher, as a social worker and resident of Bindura district, was touched by disturbing media reports on child poverty and decided to embark on a doctoral research study that can raise awareness on the plight of children living in extremely poor urban households and identify strategies that can innovatively reduce child poverty in the

district. Chirisa (2013:121) posits that formal and informal social safety nets are one of the broad pillars of social protection being implemented in the country. In Zimbabwe, the social welfare services sector is reeling from underfunding, administrative challenges and low coverage, as is the norm in many countries of the Global South (Midgley, 2014:187). In light of increasing poverty and vulnerability, the need for safety nets is substantial but also consistent with decline in financial resources as the coverage of the main interventions such as Harmonised Social Cash Transfers (HSCT) and the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) is limited (GoZ & United Nations Zimbabwe, 2016:28). Factors such as rising poverty, urbanisation, increased individualism, HIV and AIDS, and migration have transformed and weakened the informal safety nets such as the traditional family and community support structures and they no longer provide reliable care and protection to children (Mushunje, 2014:92; National AIDS Council, 2011:1). To significantly reduce child poverty, Ortiz et al. (2012:12) advocate for a distinct shift from the narrow safety nets that serve as adjuncts of the neoliberal economic development model. The major challenge is the failure of the current and dominant needs-based approach to reduce child poverty (Ssewamala et al., 2010:440; ZIMSTAT, 2015a:xiii). Hence, the “current approach to child poverty requires refocusing” (Harper, Marcus, Wordofa, Rebelo, Oulanyah, Sezikenye, Desmond, Robinson, Mnisi, & Mwanza, n.d.:i).

One of the approaches to consider in the “refocus” is ABCD, which fits within the SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks. ABCD shifts attention from needs to assets that provide a solid economic foundation of resources, create pathways for human capability, and opportunities for households and communities to address their day-to-day challenges such as child poverty reduction (Boguslaw et al., n.d.:3; Chowa & Sherraden, 2009:2). ABCD has not been rigorously tested in Zimbabwe as an approach that can innovatively reduce child poverty (Ssewamala et al., 2010:441). Research studies conducted in Zimbabwe on child poverty indicate a gap in relation to ABCD and child poverty reduction (Justice for Children Trust, 2007; Katungu, 2013; Mashange et al., 2008; SOS, 2014). This is in contrast with other countries in SSA, such as Ethiopia and South Africa, which have researched ABCD (Thurman, Yu & Taylor, 2009; Yeneabat & Butterfield, 2012).

In summary, the study explored how the ABCD approach, underpinned by SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks, can reduce child poverty in Bindura district. It is envisaged that the outcome of the study could influence social policy as well as social work practice and research in relation to ABCD as an innovative approach to reduce child poverty, uphold children's right to protection, and within this context, contribute new knowledge to developmental social work.

### **Research question and sub-questions**

The main research question that guided the study was:

- How can ABCD reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe?

The main research question was further guided by the following sub-questions:

- How does child poverty manifest in Bindura district?
- Which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets are being used in current responses to child poverty in the district?
- How can the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) be applied to child poverty reduction in the district?
- Which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets can be combined for child poverty reduction in the district?
- Which principles of SLA can guide an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction?

### **1.4 Goal and objectives of the study**

The goal of the study was:

- To explore and describe how ABCD as an approach can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- To conceptualise child poverty and poverty reduction in the theoretical frameworks of SLA and asset-building;
- To explore and describe how child poverty manifests in Bindura district;
- To explore and define which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets are being used in current responses to child poverty in the district;

- To explore and describe the extent to which the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) can be applied to child poverty reduction in the district;
- To explore and describe which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets can be combined for child poverty reduction in the district;
- To propose guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district.

### **1.5 Research methodology**

The study was conducted within the pragmatism paradigm which underpins mixed methods research (Creswell, 2014:19). Given the multidimensional nature of poverty (Barrientos, 2013:50) and assets (Sparr & Moser, 2007:7), the researcher adopted the explanatory sequential mixed methods research design (Creswell, 2014:224) due to its emphasis on using qualitative research to explain and interpret the quantitative findings, which added depth to the study findings. The quantitative data was first collected from 73 heads of households by means of a survey questionnaire (Babbie, 2014:262). In the survey, the saturation survey option was used, which in theory involved studying the entire target population (Sarantakos, 2013:167). This meant that all the 106 heads of households had an equal chance to participate in the survey. However, 73 of the 106 heads of households were available and consented to participate in the survey phase of the study. The quantitative data was analysed using the Microsoft Excel and IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences Version 24 computer packages.

Subsequently, to verify the quantitative results, rich qualitative data was gathered from:

- Face-to-face semi-structured interviews (Kumar, 2014:195) with nine heads of households and three key informants;
- Two focus group discussions (Berg, 2009:159) with groups of six and five children respectively;
- Field observations (Neuman, 2012a:228) by the researcher;
- Document analysis (Berg, 2009:365) of reports from the Bindura Urban Community Support Trust (BUCST) for the period 2015 to 2017.

The study samples were selected by means of availability and judgmental sampling methods (Engel & Schutt, 2013:123; Sarantakos, 2013:178). The sample sizes of heads of households, groups of children, key informants and BUCST reports were determined by data saturation (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013:164). The qualitative data was analysed using the thematic analysis method (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2013:237). A detailed discussion of the study's research methodology, the criteria adopted to enhance the reliability, validity and trustworthiness of the findings, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study is provided in chapter four.

## **1.6 Division of the research report**

The thesis is divided into six chapters.

Chapter one provides a general introduction and orientation of the study, defines the key concepts, gives an overview of the theoretical framework, formulates the research questions, goal and objectives of the study, discusses the rationale and problem statement, and presents a brief overview of the research methodology of the study.

Chapter two first presents the sustainable livelihoods and asset-building theoretical frameworks and their links to child poverty, ABCD and child poverty reduction. This is followed by a literature review on the income and multidimensional approaches to child poverty, forms of child poverty, and the manifestations of child poverty in the health, education and child protection domains.

Chapter three explores the legal, policy and programme frameworks that underpin child poverty reduction from a global, African and Zimbabwean perspective. It also reviews literature on the formal and informal responses to child poverty in Zimbabwe as well as ABCD and child poverty reduction.

Chapter four discusses the research methodology of the study. It starts with the research paradigm, followed by the research approach, type of research, research design, research methods, pilot study, trustworthiness of the data, ethical considerations applicable to the study, and finally limitations of the study.

Chapter five presents, discusses, and interprets the empirical findings of the study. It begins by presenting the demographic details of the study participants. This is followed by a presentation, discussion and interpretation of the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the quantitative and qualitative findings.

Chapter six concludes the research report. It first looks at the key findings and conclusions of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which the goal and objectives of the study were attained. Then, the proposed guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district are presented. It ends with recommendations for social policy, social work practice and research.



## CHAPTER 2

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS, CHILD POVERTY AND CHILD POVERTY REDUCTION

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### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will first conceptualise and contextualise child poverty and its reduction within the SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks. Discussions of the income and multidimensional approaches that underpin how child poverty is perceived as well as a review of the varied forms of child poverty will follow.

The different forms of child poverty manifest in multiple ways. To this end, the discussion will then shift to the manifestations of child poverty in the domains of health, education and child protection. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

### 2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

Within the overarching framework of developmental social work, the two theoretical frameworks for the study are the SLA and the asset-building framework. The two theoretical frameworks guided the researcher in exploring and describing how assets could reduce child poverty and support sustainable livelihoods in Bindura district. Moser (2008:49) views the two frameworks as complementary as they have a number of similarities and differences. Both are poverty reduction approaches (Moser, 2008:49). The major difference is that the SLA is about asset-based livelihood strategies while the asset-building framework focuses on asset accumulation strategies (Moser, 2008:57). This section will first give a historical context of the theoretical frameworks and then explore the concepts embedded in the two frameworks, which were relevant to the study.

#### 2.2.1 Historical context of the SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks

The SLA has evolved from the robust debates on a range of issues such as poverty, vulnerability, participation, rural development, and sustainable development, and the

outcome is a sizeable scholarship about the approach (Hall & Midgley, 2004:97; Scoones, 2015:1). The debates can be traced from the early works by Chambers and Conway (1991) who explored and elaborated the notion of sustainable livelihoods. Working under the auspices of the Institute of Development Studies in the United Kingdom the two scholars in 1991 co-authored the classic paper titled *Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21<sup>st</sup> century* from which emerged the conceptualisation of SLA and the widely used definition of sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 2015:6). Chambers and Conway (1991:6) define a sustainable livelihood as:

A livelihood which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.

Although Chambers and Conway popularised the notion of sustainable livelihoods, it is important to note that the concept had been originally introduced to the development lexicon by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 and became a central theme of development courtesy of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 (Moser, 2008:51; Scoones, 2015:5). Other scholars who have further advanced the idea of sustainable livelihoods include: Carney (1998) who focused on sustainable livelihoods and its practical application in diverse contexts; Scoones (1998) who outlined a framework for analysing sustainable livelihoods; and Moser (2008) who identified the building blocks of the SLA.

The outcome from the extensive rural development research was the sustainable livelihoods framework, which at operational level has mutated into numerous approaches and models such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) approach, DFID SLA, and the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) Livelihood Model (Krantz, 2001:11). This study adopted the DFID SLA which, as pointed out by Krantz (2001:20), is an integrated way of thinking that conceptualises poverty with a focus on the livelihoods of the poor and identification of aspects, such as lack of assets, which need to be addressed to reduce poverty both at household and community levels. As posited by Moser (2008:51), the premise of the DFID SLA is that a range of assets are needed for poor people to diversify their livelihoods in order to

realise positive livelihood outcomes such as poverty reduction. The DFID SLA takes a comprehensive, integrated, systematic and asset-based view of the factors that need to be analysed and addressed to reduce poverty as presented in a five-component model. As noted by Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002:7), the components of the model include the vulnerability context, assets, structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. Krantz (2001:19) further articulates that imbued in these elements are the poverty causal factors such as lack of assets, vulnerability, and anti-poor institutions and policies.

Thus, the SLA is not only an analytical tool but is also a set of practical guidelines on how poverty can be reduced (DFID, 1999b:para.51). The available literature shows that the SLA has been applied to a wide range of development-related areas. These include: livestock, fisheries, forestry, agriculture, health, urban development (Scoones, 2015:10), agricultural research (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002:1), national level planning and living standards surveys (Carney, 1998:18), and child welfare focusing on adolescent girls leaving institutional care (Mhongera, 2015:10). However, the approach is yet to be directly applied to the field of child poverty reduction. Therefore, in this study the researcher applies concepts from the SLA to understand child poverty and how it can be reduced within a theoretical framework.

As noted earlier, assets are at the core of sustainable livelihoods. These assets need to be built or accumulated. Hence, in this study the asset-building framework complements the SLA by offering asset-based community development (ABCD) as the practical strategy for operationalising the SLA to achieve poverty reduction (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005:180; Moser, 2008:43).

Asset-building framework, as noted by Grinstein-Weiss, Curley and Charles (2007:26), emerged within the decades-old search for alternative models for social and economic development of disadvantaged populations and geographical regions such as poor households in urban areas. Towards this end, Moser (2008:60) states that the asset-building framework is a culmination of the work by Sherraden at Washington University in the United States (US). Patel (2015:89) adds that Sherraden's theory of assets and

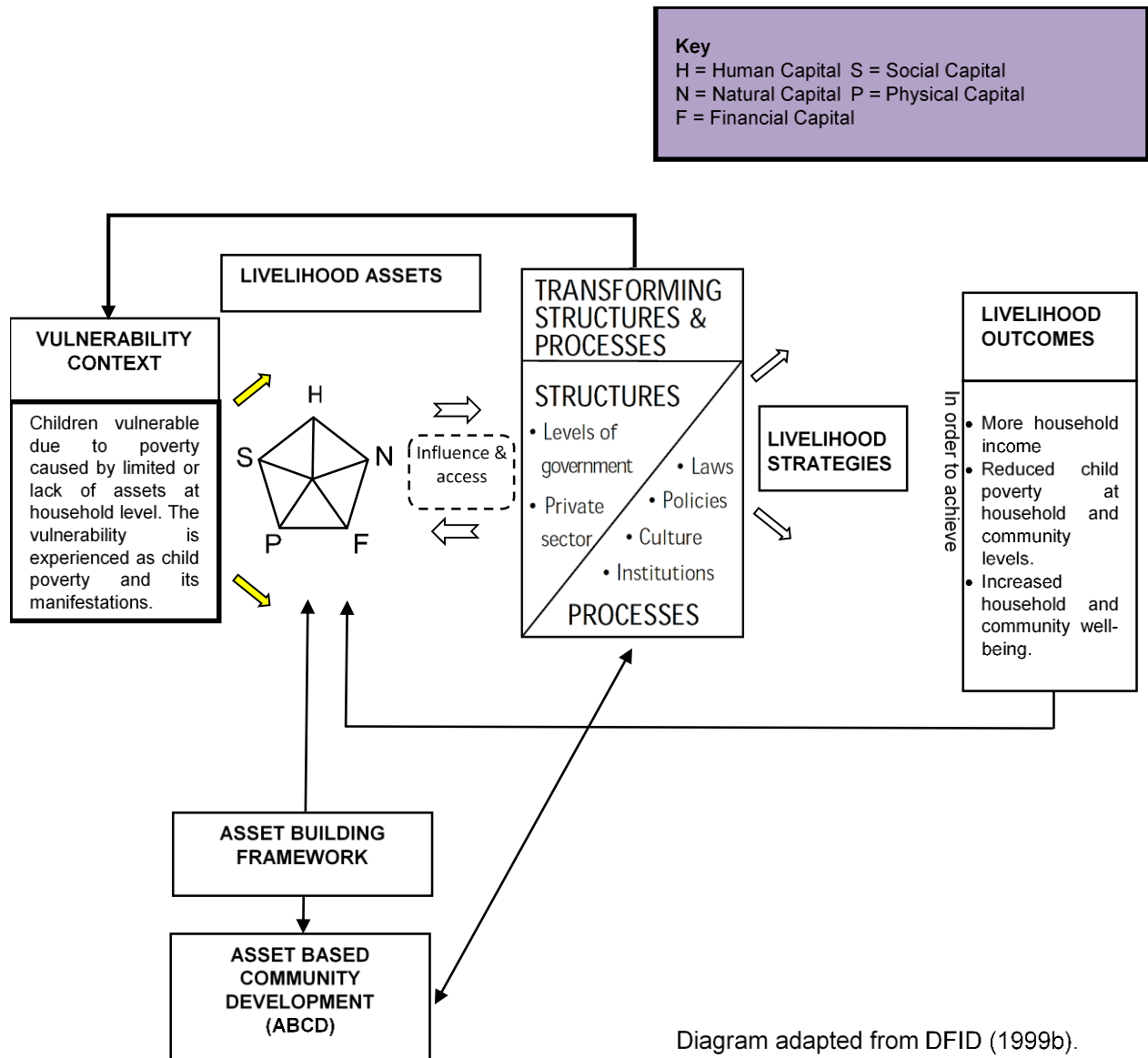
poverty reduction has informed asset-building strategies. The notion of asset-building is not new in development parlance as Midgley (2014:157) argues that people have been accumulating assets since ancient times. However, the special focus on building assets of poor people and communities is a relatively novel phenomenon (Midgley, 2014:157).

The asset-building framework has been operationalised through various strategies. Community asset-building strategies are one of the pathways for building assets of poor people and communities (Midgley, 2014:157; Moser, 2008:62). In the context of urban community development, one of the well-known community asset-building strategies is ABCD by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) (Engelbrecht & Pretorius, 2017:309; Midgley, 2014:164). This study explored and described how ABCD could reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe. The asset-building framework is appropriate for this study because it is concerned with assets and the strategies for asset accumulation (Moser, 2008:57).

This section has outlined how the theoretical frameworks of the study have been conceptualised over time and applied in the expansive field of development. It also demonstrated that the SLA and the asset-building frameworks can be combined for an asset-based approach to child poverty reduction. This is because ideas from SLA have been used by different scholars and researchers in diverse contexts which include agriculture, health, urban development, national planning and child welfare. Strategies such as ABCD from the asset-building framework have been utilised to build assets and reduce poverty in poor urban communities. The concepts from the two frameworks relevant to the study will subsequently be discussed.

### **2.2.2 Integrated conceptualisation of child poverty within the SLA and asset-building frameworks**

This section engages in coherent and detailed discussion of the concepts from SLA and asset-building frameworks and how they can be sequentially connected for child poverty reduction, as presented in schematic form in Figure 2.1.



**Figure 2.1: Child poverty embodied in the integrated SLA and asset-building frameworks**

Embedded in the components of the SLA and asset-building frameworks are interconnected concepts that assist in understanding child poverty and its reduction from an asset-based approach. The concepts include vulnerability context, livelihood assets, structures and processes, livelihood and asset building strategies, and livelihood outcomes (Krantz, 2001:19; Moser, 2008:57).

A synopsis of how these concepts are connected is that children living in extreme poverty are poor and vulnerable because their households lack or have limited

livelihood assets (UNDP, 2014:19). This suggests that the extreme poverty among some urban households in Bindura district could be a result of their lack of or limited assets. To reduce the poverty and vulnerability, their households need to mobilise a stock of livelihood assets (Concern Worldwide, 2010:7). In this context, ABCD is the strategy that can be used to mobilise the assets and transform the existing structures and processes at household, community and national levels so that they serve the interests of not only the rich, but also the poor. The transformed structures and processes create an enabling environment for the poor households to use the mobilised livelihood assets to pursue varied livelihood strategies. This will culminate in many positive livelihood outcomes and the major one in this study is reduced child poverty at household and community levels in Bindura district. The first concept as shown in Figure 2.1 is the vulnerability context which is discussed next.

### **2.2.2.1 Vulnerability context**

The vulnerability context is the entry point to understanding child poverty and its reduction. However, to understand the vulnerability context, there is a need to first discuss vulnerability as a concept. Concern Worldwide (2010:8) alludes that the state of vulnerability has common characteristics. These are subsumed in the internal and external dimensions of vulnerability (Chambers, 2006:33). Internal vulnerability entails the lack of defence against risks and shocks at individual and household levels (Chambers, 2006:33). External vulnerability, however, incorporates the risks, shocks and stresses to which individuals and households are subjected (Chambers, 2006:33). Mararike and Nyamwanza (2012:57) identify poverty as one of the drivers of vulnerability. However, Devereux (2011:93) argues that vulnerability and poverty are not synonymous because not all vulnerable people live in poverty, as evidenced by the 2008 global financial crisis. What is however central, is to acknowledge that vulnerability is generally higher among poor people because they lack assets that can cushion them against risks and shocks (Devereux, 2011:93; UNDP, 2014:3). This highlights that vulnerability and poverty are intertwined and mutually reinforcing (UNDP, 2014:19). Fotso, Holding and Ezeh (2009:175) are of the view that vulnerability is associated with poverty and neighbourhood characteristics. As espoused by Lombard (2016:1), poverty itself is at the centre of the vulnerability of children living in extreme poverty as it shapes the socio-economic context in which they live and hope to thrive. In Zimbabwe,

household income coupled with orphanhood status form core determinants of the child vulnerability context because many orphans live in extremely poor households and experience multiple deprivations (UNICEF & Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011:3). However, it is imperative to have a holistic understanding of the vulnerability context of children living in poverty. Such context, as Patnaik and Prasad (2014:353) argue, is broader because it goes beyond lack of income and encompasses other dimensions such as powerlessness, deficient capabilities and exclusion. In this regard, UNICEF and the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011:3) emphasise the need to adopt a multivariate approach to child vulnerability that considers additional dimensions such as gender, disability, discrimination, inequities, exposure to violence and various forms of child abuse. This study utilised a mixed methods research approach to have an in-depth understanding of the manifestations of child poverty and assets being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district.

The SLA, as noted by DFID (1999b:para.4), posits that because of anti-poor structures and processes, poor people operate in a context of vulnerability but with certain assets or poverty reducing factors. They manage a complex portfolio of assets within the varied strategies they adopt to cope with poverty (Chambers, 2006:36; Moser, 2008:58). This line of thinking affirms that poor people are not passive victims of poverty. Rather, as Lister (2015:6) asserts, they exercise their agency to cope with poverty. Consistent with this stance, this study explored and defined the nature of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in current responses to child poverty and those assets that can be combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

To reduce vulnerability, DFID (1999b:para.4) proposes a two-pronged approach that entails implementing interventions that ensure poor people have access to assets, and making institutions and organisations pro-poor. Asset-poor households are vulnerable, therefore asset ownership is necessary to protect people's capabilities and confer resilience against risks, shocks and stresses (Moser, 2008:58; UNDP, 2014:10). In poverty reduction discourse, as Mathie and Peters (2014:406) argue, a focus on assets rather than needs marks a major shift from the conventional approach of first looking at such issues as deficits, needs and problems. Moser (2006:7) notes that an analysis of

the assets of the poor is central in understanding how poverty can be reduced. It also broadens the definition of poverty by incorporating additional dimensions such as lack of access to assets, vulnerability and well-being (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002:5). Based on the multivariate child vulnerability approach, this study conceptualised child poverty and explored its manifestations in Bindura district using income, capabilities, well-being and assets dimensions. Such an approach to understanding child poverty, as Kanbur (2011:215) points out, is important to appreciating how assets can reduce child poverty. The following discussion will indicate the link between poverty and livelihood assets.

### **2.2.2.2 Livelihood assets**

Various scholars, including Grinstein-Weiss et al. (2007), Moser (2008) and Midgley (2014), concur that in situations of poverty, assets have preventive, promotive, protective and transformative functions. Assets tend to cushion individuals and households against risks and shocks (Moser, 2008:58). Poor people, as noted by Concern Worldwide (2010:3) as well as Singh and Falerio (2013:7), are characterised by limited or lack of assets; hence, they cannot generate sufficient returns that are adequate to meet their basic needs, which limit their options for sustainable livelihoods and heightens their vulnerability. The premise of the SLA is to understand how people convert assets into positive livelihood outcomes such as child poverty reduction (Moser, 2008:51). To achieve positive livelihood outcomes, according to Moser (2008:51), the SLA advocates for the building, mobilisation, integration and deployment of a range of assets. The importance of assets in the field of poverty reduction has recently spiked because of the increased emphasis on measuring wealth as a key indicator of sustainable development (Lange & Wodon, 2018:27). Poverty analyses in Zimbabwe, as noted by Manjengwa, Matema and Tirivanhu (2016:26), take cognisance of the nexus between poverty and assets, which are considered as measures of wealth and the capacity to avoid falling into or escaping from poverty. An assessment of different types of assets as asserted by Moser and Felton (2007:5) provides a better understanding of root causes of poverty and reduction strategies.

The five types of assets that need to be mobilised and combined for poverty reduction are human, social, physical, financial and natural capital (DFID, 1999b:para.11). Moser (2006:16) further groups these assets into three clusters, namely protective assets—



physical and human capital (health); promotive assets—financial, natural and human capital (education); and binding assets—social capital as it “glues” all capitals together. Understanding the whole range of assets is grounded in the fact that assets are intertwined to an extent that insecurity in one asset has a knock-on effect on other assets (Moser, 2006:13). It is also vital to note that the importance of different assets vary with time, which implies that households moving out of poverty accumulate assets in a sequence (Moser, 2006:16). The sequencing usually follows the principle of low-hanging fruits (Yeneabat & Butterfield, 2012:151), which in this instance entails households first mobilising and utilising already known and available assets before seeking the hidden assets. In line with this thinking, this study explored and described the human, social, physical, financial and natural assets that can be combined using ABCD to reduce child poverty in Bindura district. Based on the fact that the issue of assets was core to this study it is necessary to briefly define and explore the five types of assets, starting with human capital which is foundational to the mobilisation and utilisation of all other assets.

- **Human capital**

The primacy of human capital is widely acknowledged in social development (Midgley, 2014:83). In poverty debates, focus has shifted from income growth to investment in people, predicated on DFID’s (1999b:para.14) assertion that human capital is central to sustainable livelihoods because without human capital it is difficult to mobilise and combine the other four types of assets. Lange, Wodon and Carey (2018:14) regard human capital as the biggest component of global wealth and the primary driver of development. This is premised on the economics argument that human capacities resulting from factors such as education and health can raise productivity which results in enhanced development (Todaro & Smith, 2015:388). Human capital as a term includes acquired and useful endowments embodied in people such as gifts or talents, creativity, skills, knowledge, ability to labour, sound physical and mental health and leadership that are determinants of varied livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999b:para.14; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:6; Midgley, 2014:83; Patel, 2015:295). In addition, Kanyenze, Kondo, Chitambara and Martens (2011:297) argue that human capital encompasses intangible attitudinal and behavioural traits such as self-discipline, morals

and ethics. Todaro and Smith (2015:383) further state that human capital is a product of investments in education, on-the-job training programmes, and medical care that prepare people for the world of work. These can be promoted through a range of interventions such as early childhood development, formal and non-formal education, health and nutrition programmes (Midgley, 2014:89). However, in human capital development discourse, Midgley (2014:89) asserts that formal education is widely accepted as the central mechanism of promoting human capital. From a human capital perspective, lack of education and ill-health are regarded as core dimensions of poverty (DFID, 1999b:para.14). Moser (2006:17) notes that ill-health reduces the ability to work and earn an income, which leads to increased poverty. Thus, to ensure human capital formation and poverty reduction, Todaro and Smith (2015:382) support poor people's increased access to education and health services as these are core elements of development. Education and health equip the poor with the productive capacity to partake in and obtain dividends from economic growth, which culminates in poverty reduction (Kanyenze, et al., 2011:297).

To sustainably reduce poverty, the UNDP (2014:4) advocates for a multidimensional human capital development approach that involves increased access to health care and education opportunities. Such an approach enhances poor people's core capabilities namely, education levels and health status which in turn lead to social and economic well-being (Moser, 2008:43; UNDP, 2014:10). However, the challenge in extremely poor households is the adoption of erosive coping strategies that undermine human capital development. Poor households can cut back on food, health and education, engage in child labour and child marriages that undermine the development of children's core capabilities (UNICEF, 2010:9; UNDP, 2014:17; Zimbabwe National Council for the Welfare of Children (ZNCWC), 2011:27). Guided by the above ideas, this study explored the manifestations of child poverty in the core human capital development domains of health, education and child protection in Bindura district. United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat) (2008:7) acknowledges that despite low human capital, poor communities usually rely on strong informal support systems commonly known as social capital.

- **Social capital**

Social capital, as Hawkins and Maurer (2012:354) assert, has gained scholarly recognition as a means through which individual and collective agency is exercised in poor communities. Cox and Pawar (2013:196) note that social capital binds people together for mutual benefits. Social capital has productive value because it enables successful collective action (Todaro & Smith, 2015:342). In development circles, Lange et al. (2018:33) contend that social capital fosters cooperative behaviour that promotes economic activities and enhances overall well-being. However, Scoones (2015:39) posits that despite its popularity, social capital is a nebulous concept with no consensus on its definition. DFID (1999b:para.18) simply defines social capital as the social resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. These social resources are embedded in social relations found at household and community level, such as kinship, local social networks and connectedness, membership in organisations, informal safety nets and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges (DFID, 1999b:para.18; Hawkins & Maurer, 2012:357). Putnam (2003:167) conceptualises social capital based on its three functions of bonding, bridging and linking. UN-Habitat (2008:6) states that bonding social capital refers to the links between people who know each other that can be utilised to mobilise them for a shared cause or to address a common concern. Bridging social capital are the links that individuals and local community organisations have with those outside the locality who share similar interests (UN-Habitat, 2008:7). Thus, bridging social capital affirms the notion that community development requires the mobilisation of additional resources outside the local community (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1996:26; Midgley, 2014:108). Linking social capital is defined by Putnam (2003:167) as the linkages established between individuals and groups with differential power, social status and income levels that aim to enhance poor people's status through collective agency.

Patel (2015:294) is of the view that people with low social capital experience heightened vulnerability. However, to reduce vulnerability and promote their well-being, poor communities heavily depend on their strong social capital. Hawkins and Maurer (2012:362) assert that in the context of market and policy failures, bonding and linking social capital have been used as a springboard by low-resource individuals and

communities to build other capitals and reduce poverty. Social capital has also been used to build economic capital (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:348). For example, Zuwarimwe and Kirsten (2010:17) observe that social capital was used to establish and expand rural non-farm enterprises in the Chimanimani district of Zimbabwe. In addition, group-based lending schemes that are often used by the poor to build financial assets, capitalise on existing social relations (Chowa & Sherraden, 2009:2). As further noted by Cruz, Foster, Quillin and Schellekens (2015:60), bonding social capital has been leveraged by poor people to gain access to external financial resources to enhance their income generating capabilities through collective agency and negotiation. From a child poverty perspective, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011a:19) asserts that in many parts of Africa, Zimbabwe included, bonding social capital in the form of the extended family and community members has been used to promote human capital development through the care and protection of orphaned and other vulnerable children. It has also been utilised to build physical capital such as houses and schools (Moser, 2006:7). To this end, the next discussion point is on physical capital.

- **Physical capital**

Physical capital is the stock of basic infrastructure and other productive resources owned by individuals, businesses, not-for-profit service providers and the public institutions that sustain livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.25; Moser & Felton, 2007:7). Forms of physical capital include transport infrastructure, land, buildings, shelter, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean and cheap energy, durable household goods, and access to information (DFID, 1999b:para.25; Moser & Felton, 2007:8; Patel, 2015:295). Lack of physical capital is a central dimension of poverty as it undermines the ability of poor individuals and communities to have sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.25). In ABCD, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:352) underscore that poor neighbourhoods' physical capital in the form of beauty parlours, barber shops, and churches also serve the additional and important function of exchanging information which can promote development. However, DFID (1999b:para.14) cautions that infrastructure can only be regarded as an asset if it enables the poor to meet their needs. This stance shifts the debate to the issue of access to physical capital. As Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:348) argue, the physical presence of an institution

within a community does not necessarily mean that it serves the needs of the people. To sustain livelihoods, physical assets need to be responsive to the community agendas, which can be achieved through expanding roles for local institutions and finding new uses for underutilised assets (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:349). Local institutions, according to Homan (2011:278) can contribute towards community development through local procurement, hiring local labour, developing human capital and mobilising external assets.

The issue of costs can be a barrier to poor people's access to basic infrastructure, which undermines their livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.25). As further noted by DFID (1999b:para.25), the issues of opportunity costs such as lack of affordability, distance and poor infrastructure can prevent poor people's access to education, health care and income generation opportunities. Thus, for poor people to have sustainable livelihoods there is need to ensure availability of and improved access to basic infrastructure and services (Patel, 2015:295). However, from an ABCD perspective the starting point for poor people and communities is to "appreciate, value, enhance and mobilise" the existing physical assets (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:349). The level of physical capital is usually a function of the amount of financial capital, which is discussed next.

- **Financial capital**

Financial capital, as noted by Moser (2006:19) is widely recognised as being pivotal to building human and physical assets. Forms of financial capital include savings, such as earned income, bank deposits and liquid assets like livestock and jewellery (DFID, 1999b: para.29). Additional sources of financial assets are pensions, social transfers from governments and civil society, remittances and access to credit (DFID, 1999b:para.29; Patel, 2015:295). Savings, according to DFID (1999b:para.29), are the preferred financial assets as they have no attached liabilities and dependence. Patel (2015:335) is of the view that growing the financial assets of poor people is central to breaking the cycle of intergenerational transmission of poverty. Access to financial capital widens the livelihoods opportunities for poor and vulnerable households and helps them build other assets and resilience (GoZ, 2017:12). It also improves poor people's well-being through reducing psychosocial pathologies such as depression due

to low social status (Patel, 2015:335). However, DFID (1999b:para.30) postulates that for poor people, financial capital is the least available asset, which heightens their economic vulnerability. Patel (2015:335) further opines that poor people lack access to formal financial services that provide opportunities for building other assets needed for poverty reduction. Ironically, less vulnerable and urban-based people have more access to formal financial institutions (United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2012:40).

To counteract this financial exclusion, poor people, especially in SSA, use social capital to design informal saving and credit schemes such as Accumulating Savings and Credit Associations (ASCrAs) and Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs) to build financial capital (Chowa & Sherraden, 2009:2; Muiruri, 2013:44). In addition, Lusk (2010:170) notes that provision of microfinance to poor people is another strategy being used to promote financial inclusion. From a child poverty reduction perspective, financial capital in the form of savings and loans can strengthen the economic assets of poor households (USAID, 2008:7) that then help them to sustainably meet their children's needs. Financial capital is derived from natural capital (Homan, 2011:40), which is the next and final type of livelihood assets discussed.

- **Natural capital**

Natural capital represents the natural assets that underpin people's capabilities to earn sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.23; Patel, 2015:295). Types of natural capital include renewable and non-renewable resources such as land, forests, water, the atmosphere, biodiversity, energy and minerals (DFID, 1999b:para.23; Lange et al., 2018:3). The development of low-income countries such as Zimbabwe, as asserted by Lange et al. (2018:9), is largely driven by natural capital. However, natural assets are being used unsustainably and rapidly depleting, this as Midgley (2014:166) notes is due to factors such as population growth, climate change, increased private ownership by the elites and marketisation of natural resources in a globalised world. This poses a direct threat to the natural resource-based livelihoods such as farming and mineral extraction that are the mainstay of the economies and livelihoods of the majority of poor people in developing countries such as Zimbabwe. To buttress this notion, DFID

(1999b:para.23) posits that within the SLA there is a close association between natural capital base and the vulnerability context. This is why Midgley (2014:166) asserts that the question of how natural assets are preserved and managed has become topical in the context of sustainable livelihoods and poverty reduction. The importance of preservation and better management of natural resources has been affirmed by the international community, courtesy of the SDGs number 7, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 that unequivocally emphasise worldwide commitment to the prudent use of natural resources for the benefit of present and future generations (UNDP, 2015a:1).

In summary, the sections above defined and explored the five types of assets that need to be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty. It was noted that poor people have limited access to most of the assets, with the exception of social capital, which results in their elevated vulnerability as they have limited sustainable livelihoods options. The nature and quantum of assets that poor people have access to are informed by the structures and processes that operate at all levels and range from households to the international arena and from private to public spheres (DFID, 1999b:para.33).

### **2.2.2.3 Structures and processes**

The SLA's concepts of structures and processes as pointed by Moser (2008:54) are core to understanding poverty reduction. DFID (1999b:para.38) defines structures as the agencies, both private and public, that set and implement policy and legislation, and deliver services that can either promote or hinder livelihoods. The processes are the policies, legislation, institutions, culture and power relations which influence how organisations and individuals operate and interact (DFID, 1999b:para.43).

The challenge as DFID (1999b:para.43) posits is that the structures and processes tend to mainly serve the interests of the elite and exclude the poor, thereby limiting their livelihood opportunities. People living in extreme poverty usually have limited or no access to organisations and processes that provide essential services or promote sustainable livelihoods (Singh & Falerio, 2013:8; UNDP, 2014:19). To reduce poverty, there is a need to ensure that the structures and processes are pro-poor (DFID, 1999b:para.45). This can be achieved through modifying the existing structures and

processes. One approach that can be used in this regard is to ensure that poor people exercise their agency as either individuals or groups (Sumner, 2010:1072). Scoones (2015:58) further states that alliances or coalitions can dislodge the interests of the elite. To this end, Green and Haines (2012:13) advocate for capacitating the poor by helping them to form community-based membership organisations, which through collective action can transform the existing structures and processes to be pro-poor. In this study, the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) suggests ways for extremely poor households in Bindura district to overcome social exclusion and gain access to the public and private, and not-for-profit organisations that are reservoirs of livelihood assets (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:138). As stated by Scoones (2015:35), the structures and processes matrix also determine the livelihood strategies open to poor people.

#### **2.2.2.4 Livelihood strategies**

Livelihood strategies refer to an array of activities pursued by people and the choices they make with a view to achieve livelihood outcomes (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002:10; DFID, 1999b:para.47). Contextual factors such as demographics and the social, political, economic, and ecological environment shape livelihood strategies (Carney, 1998:18; Scoones, 1998:11). What is unique about the livelihood strategies in countries of the Global South such as Zimbabwe, is that the majority of the poor usually pursue diverse livelihood activities to meet varied needs (Conway, 2011:88). The pursuit of a battery of productive activities, as Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002:10) argue, serves to maximise income as well as provide a modicum of insurance in the event of failure or poor returns from some of the livelihood ventures. For poor households, livelihood diversification is a survival strategy (Laird, 2008:146). The SLA as noted by DFID (1999b:para.47), “seeks to promote choice, opportunity and diversity” in the activities that the poor pursue to earn a living. However, the level of diversification of sources of income is mediated by a number of determinants. Factors such as access to different types of assets and the existing structures and processes determine the opportunities available to the poor to diversify their livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.47; Scoones, 1998:8).



The livelihoods strategies as Mararike and Nyamwanza (2012:58) point out can range from positive activities such as investing in diverse assets to negative activities like cutting back on food and postponing treatment of illnesses, which deplete human capital. In addition, DFID (1999b:para.49) asserts that the nature of positive livelihood activities and outcomes is a function of the availability and access to a wide collection of assets. However, as earlier noted in sub-section 2.2.2.1, poor people usually lack or have limited assets which curtail their livelihood strategies. This suggests the need to find strategies to widen their portfolio of assets for sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.49). Livelihood strategies, as Patel (2015:295) argues, target individuals and households through group and community efforts. In this study, the asset-building framework complements the SLA by articulating the five steps of the ABCD strategy that can be used to combine assets for child poverty reduction in Bindura district. These steps are asset mapping, building relationships, mobilising assets for economic development, developing a community vision and plan, and leveraging outside resources to support locally driven development (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:345). Livelihood strategies are also connected to livelihood outcomes as the livelihood options determine livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999b:para.50; Krantz, 2001:10) as will be discussed next.

#### **2.2.2.5 Livelihood outcomes**

Livelihood outcomes are the outputs or end results of positive livelihood strategies and are measured by wide-ranging indicators (DFID, 1999b:para.52). The state of poverty, as Barrientos (2013:45) avers, basically refers to deficits in well-being that usually manifest as low income, poor nutrition, limited access to essential services, lack of voice, and reduced engagement in livelihood activities. Within the overarching goal of the SLA, namely to reduce poverty, the livelihood outcomes include inter alia: increased income, strengthened assets, reduced vulnerability and improved well-being in terms of health, self-esteem and sense of control (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002:10; DFID, 1999b:para.54). In this context, this study advocates for the adoption of ABCD as a strategy that can ensure the overall outcome of reduced child poverty in Bindura district. The reduction in child poverty will be indicated by outcomes such as current extremely poor households being able to meet the basic needs of their children and upholding children's rights to survival, development, protection and participation. This will be

underpinned by the households' pursuit of varied livelihood strategies through a range of assets combined under the ABCD strategy. The livelihood strategies are also shaped by the six core principles of SLA which are discussed in the next section.

### **2.2.2.6 The principles of sustainable livelihoods approach**

The six interlinked principles which are central to the realisation of sustainable livelihoods as outlined by DFID (1999b:para.19) are people-centred, holistic, dynamic, building on strengths, macro-micro links and sustainability. Ashley and Carney (1999:7) assert that these normative principles are applicable to any nature of development activity.

- **People-centred**

The SLA as DFID (1999b:para.19) notes is a way of thinking that puts people at the core of development. This guiding principle counteracts imposed development as it emphasises on the participation and empowerment of the poor people in the processes of development (Cox & Pawar, 2013:141). The rationale behind this principle is that when poor people exercise their agency they influence and fully benefit from the outcomes of development (Hall & Midgley, 2004:101; Scoones, 2015:54). The outcomes of people-centred development as Todaro and Smith (2015:24) posit include increased access to basic life sustaining goods, improved living standards and expanded economic and social choices. Cox and Pawar (2013:265) add that a focus on people attempts to address the long-standing challenge in the field of development, that of the poor people being bypassed by the benefits of economic growth.

- **Holistic**

The premise of the holistic principle as DFID (1999b:para.24) elucidates is that poverty reduction is a complex process which requires multiple actors such as community-based organisations, public and private sectors working together. An important idea within this principle is that effective poverty reduction is impossible through the efforts of single institutions (Hall & Midgley, 2004:102). By working together, as Cox and Pawar (2013:112) argue there is synergy as different actors bring diverse insights, experiences and capacities which enhance poverty reduction. In the same vein, Hall and Midgley

(2004:103) state that different institutions have distinct but complementary roles in poverty reduction. For instance, the government provide the overarching policy framework and local communities can bring in critical social and human capital (Hall & Midgley, 2004:103).

- **Dynamic**

The principle of dynamic is about the realisation that external shocks can adversely affect livelihoods of the poor people (DFID, 1999b:para.25). This situation calls for ongoing learning and investigation of the external shocks to be in a position to understand and mitigate their negative effects (DFID, 1999b:para.25). According to this principle the livelihoods of the poor people are always changing which requires continuous livelihood analysis in order to support positive changes and limit the adverse effects (Ashley & Carney, 1999:46; DFID, 1999b:para.25). In the context of livelihood dynamism as noted by Carney (1998:15) sustainable poverty reduction is achieved through long-term commitment and pursuit of flexible strategies.

- **Building on strengths**

A critical principle of SLA as DFID (1999b:para.26) posits is its emphasis on the initial identification and harnessing of strengths and potential of individuals, families, communities and organisations before looking at the needs. This approach of building on the strengths empowers the poor people as they realise their worth and competencies which embolden them to take action to address their situation (Homan, 2011:12). This strengths orientation is a departure from the common focus on needs, problems and deficits of poor people (Mathie & Peters, 2014:406). Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:27) assert that the challenge with this approach is that poor people are sidelined as they are labelled as needy with nothing to contribute towards reducing their poverty. However, at the heart of this principle is the need to build the capacities of individuals, families and communities for instance through skills development which enables the poor people to take an active role in development (Cox & Pawar, 2013:114; Homan, 2011:62).

- **Macro-micro links**

The principle of macro-micro links emphasises on the need for an integrated approach to development (DFID, 1999b:para.27). This approach as UNICEF (2016a:99) posits promotes inclusive development through increased cooperation, coordination and collaboration between government and grassroots structures and communities. The need for integrated development stems from the need to address the recurrent challenge in the field of development as noted by DFID (1999b:para.27) that of the gap between macro-level policy development and micro-level development or poverty reduction initiatives. At the core of this principle is the importance of forging links between macro and micro levels of development which give poor people a voice in policy and enables crafting of pro-poor policies that increase the effectiveness of micro-level development or poverty reduction initiatives (DFID, 1999b:para.27).

- **Sustainability**

Sustainability has emerged as a central concept in the field of development (Cox & Pawar, 2013:48). Tschudin (2019:10) rightly notes that there is renewed focus on the notion of sustainability because it was placed at the centre of the United Nations 2030 Agenda's 17 SDGs. DFID (1999b:para.28) define sustainability from a livelihoods perspective. The terms livelihoods and sustainability as Scoones (2015:61) asserts have been subsumed in the concept of sustainable livelihoods. According to DFID (1999b:para.28), livelihoods are sustainable when they are resilient, self-sustaining, preserve natural resources for the benefit of future generations and do not undermine livelihoods of other people. There are four dimensions to sustainability which are environmental, economic, social and institutional sustainability (DFID, 1999b:para.28).

DFID (1999b:para.28) and Scoones (2015:61) define environmental sustainability as promoting livelihoods which conserve the natural resources for the benefit of the present and future generations. Globally, there is now greater focus on environment sustainability because of the increased awareness of the interconnectedness of human activity, poverty and global environmental concerns (Cox & Pawar, 2013:257; Jones, Powers & Truell, 2018:21). To this end, SDG 12 in particular focuses on the need to promote responsible consumption and production through prudent use of natural

resources (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2017:48). Economic sustainability as DFID (1999b:para.28) posits is the ability of an economy to achieve and sustain long-term economic production for the benefit of the poor without depleting the natural resource base. The social sustainability dimension refers to reduction of social exclusion and maximisation of social equity through helping poor households to have and maintain adequate and decent livelihoods (Conway, 2011:90; DFID, 1999b:para.28). Institutional sustainability as DFID (1999b:para.28) notes is a situation when the existing structures and processes (see section 2.2.2.3 for detailed discussion) are able to serve their functions over a long period. Cox and Pawar (2013:117) are of the view that institutional sustainability is achieved through building capacity at systems and organisational levels. This as DFID (1999b:para.28) suggests can be realised through putting in place clear laws, participatory policy-making frameworks and effective public and private organisations. In such an enabling environment the livelihoods of the poor people are continuously enhanced (DFID, 1999b:para.28). The dilemma in the field of development is to strike a balance between these four equally important dimensions (Scoones, 2015:69). DFID (1999b:para.28) asserts that few livelihoods meet all the four dimensions of sustainability. The import of this principle is that to realise sustainable development and poverty reduction it is imperative to take into consideration the four overlapping dimensions of sustainability.

This section conceptualised and contextualised child poverty and its reduction within the concepts embedded in the components of SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks. It emphasised that assets are central in efforts to reduce child poverty as they underpin livelihoods. The section also discussed the six core principles of SLA which underpinned the proposed guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district. A vital step in child poverty reduction entails recognition and discussion of the nature and dimensions of child poverty (Kanbur, 2011:215; UNICEF; 2016a:71). Subsequently the next section discusses the approaches to understanding child poverty and its dimensions.

### **2.3 Approaches to understanding child poverty**

Child poverty can be understood from a variety of approaches that attempt to distinguish it from adult poverty to varying extents (Jones & Sumner, 2011:8). The

approaches as asserted by Barrientos (2013:45) focus on different dimensions of poverty. Some scholars have used the income approach (Cox & Pawar, 2013; Hall & Sambu, 2015; Minujin, 2012; Monrad, 2016; Reddy, 2009; World Bank, 2017; ZIMSTAT, 2015a), which exclusively focuses on the income dimension. However, others view child poverty from the multidimensional approach that takes cognisance of non-income dimensions such as: capabilities (Nussbaum, 2003; Sen 1999; UNDP, 2015b), well-being (Jones & Sumner, 2011, Sumner, 2010; White, 2008), and social exclusion (Desai & Solas, 2012; UNDESA, 2010). It is thus evident that over the years a number of approaches have emerged resulting in child poverty being conceptualised in varied ways (Hardgrove et al., 2011:12; Patnaik & Prasad, 2014:353). It can also be noted that in the historiography of development, child poverty is a multifaceted and contested concept with no consensus on how it should be defined and measured (Minujin, 2012:15; UNICEF, 2016a:70). However, there is agreement that from children's perspective, the choice of the approach adopted is inconsequential as all child poverty is detrimental to their well-being (UNICEF, 2016a:70).

The competing approaches primarily differ on their informational bases, as Barrientos (2013:46) notes that one group focuses on the income that individuals and households command while the other group is concerned with access to a portfolio of goods and services. However, the various approaches to understanding child poverty broadly fall into two distinct groups namely, income-centric and multidimensional (Minujin, 2012:15). The approaches determine how child poverty is measured (Oppong, 2015:25). This in turn determines the number of children who are regarded as poor and informs the design of child poverty reduction strategies (Minujin, 2012:16; Monrad, 2016:43). To this end, the researcher agrees with Oppong (2015:27) who suggests that there are objective and subjective measures of child poverty. Monrad (2016:44) refers to income measures as being objective and the non-monetary dimensions that include capabilities, well-being and social exclusion as being subjective measures. This suggests that for a better understanding of child poverty, there is a need to use both quantitative and qualitative measures. In support, UNDESA (2010:63) argues that it is not adequate to only define and aggregate poverty in abstract terms of income but there is also a need to gain an empathetic understanding of how poor people experience poverty. Patel

(2015:291) further asserts that how poor people define poverty is becoming influential in shaping how poverty is understood. This pluralistic thinking on poverty guided this study as it collected both quantitative and qualitative data with a view to have a better understanding of child poverty and its reduction in Bindura district. The two distinctive approaches will be discussed next, starting with the income approach then followed by the multidimensional approach.

### **2.3.1 The income approach**

Poverty is commonly defined and measured in terms of income per capita at household level (Cox & Pawar, 2013:259; Monrad, 2016:44). The income approach is premised on the notion that poverty is all about income deficit and thus can be defined and quantified in monetary terms (UNICEF, 2016a:70; UNDESA, 2010:61). Sen (1999:72) affirms the connection between income and other deprivations when noting that inadequate income is often associated with a myriad of deprivations. Hall and Sambu (2017:105) weigh in by noting that insufficient income compromises children's rights to basic nutrition, quality education and comprehensive health care. This implies that child poverty can be defined and measured primarily in terms of income levels or deficits. To this end, UNICEF (2016a:69) stresses that household income is a key determinant of children's life-course opportunities. This is despite the low levels of overlaps between income poverty and wider capabilities (Monrad, 2016:45; Watkins & Quattri, 2016:10). To define and measure poverty, Bartlett (2012:139) notes that the income approach relies on poverty lines set at both global and national levels as will be respectively discussed next.

#### **2.3.1.1 The global income poverty line**

At the global level, the dominant approach to defining and assessing extreme poverty is the use of the World Bank's poverty line which is aggregated using household surveys based national poverty lines of 15 poor countries (Reddy, 2009:6; UNDESA, 2010:58). The surveys calculate the average monetary value of normative basic food and non-food items required per capita for subsistence per day using the proxy indicator of consumption expenditure (Hall & Sambu, 2015:107). Although the average conceals significant variations of poverty across and within the poor countries, UNDESA (2010:49) is of the view that the poverty line separates the poor from the non-poor.

Currently the extreme poverty line stands at US\$1.90 per day (World Bank, 2017:27). UNDESA (2010:46) attests that the World Bank's dollar-a-day poverty line has become the standard approach for defining and measuring extreme poverty. To this end, the World Bank's poverty line was used to frame the first SDG target, which aims to "...eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere by 2030" (UNICEF, 2016a:85). The international extreme poverty line is informative as it enables cross-sectional comparisons of the incidence and depth of extreme poverty across and within countries and regions of the world (UNDESA, 2010:18). ZIMSTAT (2013b:40) notes that the Foster–Greer–Thorbecke (FGT) indices namely, the headcount index, poverty gap index and poverty severity index are commonly used to define and measure income poverty.

The most well-known of the FGT indices is the headcount index which refers to the number of either people or households whose consumption expenditures fall below the set poverty line as a proportion of the total population (UNDESA, 2010:42). UNICEF (2019a:20), using the US\$1.90 poverty line, found that worldwide a total of 787 million people are living in extreme poverty, with 385 million being children. The figures indicate that more children are living in extreme income poverty than adults (UNICEF, 2019a:3). The vast majority of the extremely poor people live on the African continent as World Data Lab (2020) statistics show that a total of 551,905, 691 people are living in extreme poverty, most of them being children. World Bank (2017:2) states that half of the world's extremely poor people are in SSA. Thus, the picture of extreme child poverty is increasingly becoming that of the SSA child (Watkins & Quattri, 2016:7). Given the high incidence of children living in extreme poverty in SSA, there is scope for research on innovative strategies that can contribute towards substantial child poverty reduction, such as ABCD. However, the challenge with the headcount index for children is that unlike the routine global general population counts, the child poverty statistics are aggregated and published only occasionally (Newhouse, Suarez-Becerra, Evans & Data for Goals Group, 2016:2). Furthermore, UNICEF (2016a:80) states that few countries measure and report on child poverty and half of these are inconsistent. This can be attributed to factors such as low statistical capacity and governments' low prioritisation of child welfare as well as publication and sharing of data (UNICEF, 2018b:96).



Zimbabwe is one of the countries which infrequently measures and reports on child poverty and relies on inferences from the general poverty and income consumption surveys and national population datasets (ZIMSTAT, 2015a:xi). This implies that the complete picture of children living in extreme poverty is yet to emerge at both global and country levels, which makes it difficult to design programmes aimed at reducing extreme child poverty. Such programmes, as UNICEF (2016a:85) notes, are vital to the attainment of the SDGs target of eradicating extreme poverty across the globe by 2030.

Another FGT index used to define and measure income poverty at global level is the poverty gap index. The index, as defined by Olinto, Beegle, Sobrado and Uematsu (2013:3), is calculated as the difference between the average daily incomes of the poor compared to the extreme poverty line of US\$1.90 per day. This measure indicates the depth of poverty and how far the average poor person is from moving out of extreme poverty (Olinto et al., 2013:3). When the difference is great, the poverty is also deeper (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:40). UNICEF (2018b:89) notes that globally there is a challenge of lack of data on poverty trends although SSA region is worse-off. There are regional disparities on the depth of poverty, for instance the available figures show that in 2012, the average daily incomes in Asia and SSA were US\$1.50 and US\$1.20 respectively (UNICEF, 2016a:75). These figures suggest that child poverty is much deeper in SSA and hence the need to channel more additional income to the region (Newhouse et al., 2016:19). It also reflects the urgent need to research and design strategies that stand a better chance to lift a sizeable number of children out of extreme poverty. Although the poverty gap is able to show the depth of poverty, it does not reveal the distribution of extreme poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:40). This weakness of the poverty gap index is addressed by the poverty severity index. According to ZIMSTAT (2013b:40), this is because the poverty severity index is sensitive to the variations in poverty among the poor.

The poverty severity index, by definition, is the weighted sum of the income of the bottom 10 or 20 per cent of the population as a proportion of the poverty line (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:40). This index reveals the income inequality which is vital information for the design of policies to improve the condition of the poorest of the poor (UNDESA,

2010:42; ZIMSTAT, 2013b:40). Based on the poverty severity index, UNICEF (2016a:75) notes that in 2012, 89 million people or 10 per cent of the SSA population lived on less than US\$0.80 cents per day against an average of US\$1.20 per day. The figures indicate a highly skewed distribution of income poverty in SSA. In the context of such high income inequality, UNDESA (2010:43) suggests that in the absence of additional income, the re-distribution of current income can significantly reduce extreme poverty.

At the international level, the poverty severity index is used in conjunction with the Gini coefficient to provide a more detailed picture of income distribution. The Gini coefficient measures the inequality of income distribution in a population using an index with values between 0 and 1, or 0 and 100 (UNDESA, 2010:42). An index of zero denotes perfect equal income distribution whereas a high index means highly unequal income distribution (UNDESA, 2010:42). Worldwide, the distribution of income is extremely unequal (Oxfam, 2016:2). Although global inequality is important to measure, Oxfam (2018:29) argues that inequality at national levels is of particular concern to most citizens. UNDP (2019:309) note that the Gini indexes in the African region range from 27.6 in Algeria to 63.0 in South Africa, with Zimbabwe at 43.2 indicating a highly unequal income distribution. In the context of deep-seated poverty in Africa, Watkins and Quattri (2016:9) argue that extreme income inequality sustains chronic poverty as it undermines poverty reduction efforts by making it difficult for many households to afford basic needs. This income inequality manifests as economic, education, health and gender inequalities (Adesina, 2016:96). For children, as noted by Ortiz et al. (2012:1), income inequality results in chronic poverty which is usually passed from one generation to the next. As Oxfam (2018:31) rightly puts it:

Unless we close the gap between the rich and poor, the goal of eliminating extreme poverty will be missed, and almost half a billion people will still be living on less than US\$1.90 a day in 2030.

Cox and Pawar (2013:262) conclude that the control of the world's income wealth by a few individuals, multinational corporations and rich nations is a stumbling block to poverty reduction efforts.

However, despite its dominance, the World Bank poverty line has unique methodological flaws (Reddy, 2009:1). UNDESA (2010:59) asserts that the methodological base of the global income poverty line is unsound. Given the concerns around data quality and gaps, especially in Africa, questions have been raised about the accuracy of the bulk of the national poverty lines that underpin the World Bank's poverty line (Beegle, Christiaensen, Dabalen & Gaddis, 2016:20; Watkins & Quattri, 2016:11). This was acknowledged by one of the members of a commission set up by the World Bank in 2015 to look into how the international poverty line can be improved. The economist Angus Deaton succinctly remarked that:

You've got a line that no one knows where to put it, [based on] PPPs [purchasing power parities] that change and underlying data that is bad. It is sort of a statistical problem from hell...I think they [the World Bank] have some institutional bias towards finding more poverty rather than less (Donnan, 2015:1).

The import of this statement is to affirm that the international poverty line is both arbitrary and a political exercise (Cox & Pawar, 2013:260; Reddy, 2009:5). Reddy (2009:6) further criticises the World Bank's methodology as a "slipshod approach" because of the use of a different criterion in each round from 1985 up to 2005 when aggregating the "typical" poverty line. The current international poverty line set up in 2015 used the 2005 method (World Bank, 2017:27). The inconsistent methods and concerns around the underlying poverty data put the "robustness" and comparability of the global income poverty line in the spotlight (Reddy, 2009:8). World Bank (2017:27) agrees that there is no guarantee that an international income poverty line measures the same level of need or deprivation across the developing world. To this end, relying solely on the World Bank's approach to understand child poverty is not sufficient and it needs to be supplemented by alternative approaches such as the multidimensional approach. This approach, as acknowledged by Sewpaul (2014:30), allows a deeper understanding of poverty.

This section indicated that child poverty can be defined and measured using the international extreme poverty line developed by the World Bank which is one of the many methods used to measure and track poverty. The extreme poverty line uses the income dimension to measure the extent of poverty within and across regions of the

world. Based on this line, extreme income poverty among children is endemic in the SSA region. This was reflected across all the FGT indices. What is striking from the discussion is that extreme income poverty among children in the SSA region can be reduced even without injecting additional income if countries adopt strategies to reduce inequality. This is because extreme income poverty is being sustained by highly unequal income distribution. ABCD is one strategy that can potentially contribute towards reducing inequality at local community levels within countries of the SSA region. However, as further argued in this section, the methodology used by the World Bank to calculate the international extreme poverty line has limitations. This has resulted in some economists suggesting that national poverty lines might be more valid in defining and measuring income poverty, as will be outlined next.

### **2.3.1.2 The national poverty lines**

Given the methodological limitations of the current global income poverty approach, improvements or alternative approaches are required. Oponong (2015:36) argues strongly against relying on global poverty data if biased tools are being used. UNDESA (2010:60) supports the replacement of income poverty lines with multidimensional scoring criteria. Reddy (2009:15) proposes the increased use and reliance on alternative sources of poverty data, such as national poverty lines. Despite their inherent flaws, the use of national poverty lines has gained traction in recent years (UNDESA, 2010:60).

According to UNICEF (2016a:72), governments use national poverty lines to track progress towards income poverty reduction, which also includes child poverty. The premise is that efforts to reduce poverty tend to be mainly implemented at country level (UNDESA, 2010:20). From a child poverty perspective, Roelen (2015:1) puts emphasis on the primacy of getting the measurement right as it forms a solid base for crafting relevant poverty reduction policies and strategies. As Asia Development Bank (2014:8) points out, the process of setting up national poverty lines is a complex exercise. The methodologies for aggregating national poverty lines vary which makes comparisons between countries difficult (UNICEF, 2016a:72). For instance, in the United Kingdom, the national poverty line is computed as 60 per cent of the median household income and factors in household size and composition (Child Poverty Action Group, 2016:1).

This differs from India where they have two different national poverty lines for urban and rural areas, which reflect the variations between the two settings (Government of India Planning Commission, 2014:3). However, most developing countries' national poverty lines are calculated using a "basic needs" food basket and other non-food items such as clothing and housing (Beegle et al., 2016:49). Despite this common approach, there are variations on how the food baskets are calculated based on different minimum daily calorie intake; for instance in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, 3,000, 2,250 and 2,200 calories are used respectively (Beegle et al., 2016:49). In Zimbabwe, the food basket is based on 2,100 calories (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:39). This reflects that national poverty lines are idiosyncratic to specific countries (Oppong, 2015:37). UNICEF (2016a:72) considers this as important because the poverty lines are grounded in local realities and level of development. This implies that, based on national poverty lines, the rates of child poverty are country specific and also vary within a country. With a view to make comparisons with the national average and to estimate the number of children living in extreme poverty in Bindura district, this study conducted a survey which collected data on household income. However, to enable comparisons with the national poverty line, the discussion now shifts to the current poverty headcount and poverty gap indices in Zimbabwe.

The national poverty lines use the headcount index to determine the number of children who live in poor households, which is also referred to as the child poverty rate (Newhouse et al., 2016:3; UNICEF, 2016a:74). In Zimbabwe, the headcount index is measured using two national poverty lines. These are the lower bound poverty line, which is known as the Food Poverty Line (FPL), and the upper bound line referred to as the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) (Manjengwa et al., 2016:26). In March 2018, households whose minimum food basket was below the monthly FPL of US\$37.10 per capita were considered to be living in extreme poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2018:17), while those with an income below the monthly TCPL of US\$113.30 per capita are deemed poor (ZIMSTAT, 2018:18). It is important to note that the TCPL exceeds the FPL because it includes both food and non-food minimum needs (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:39).

The *Zimbabwe Food Poverty Atlas 2016* produced by ZIMSTAT is probably the most comprehensive assessment of extreme poverty in the country as it measured poverty down to the ward level. In this report, ZIMSTAT (2016:9) finds that the highest incidence of extremely poor households is in Matabeleland North province (43.1%) and the least is in Harare province (6.3%). Zooming in on urban wards of Bindura district, ZIMSTAT (2016:52) indicates that out of a total of 10,921 households, 513 of them are food poor. The Government of Zimbabwe and United Nations Zimbabwe (2016:23), weigh in by noting that 65 per cent of children in the country reside in extremely poor households. This implies that the majority of children in Zimbabwe are probably malnourished because they live in food poor households that are struggling to survive, which heightens their risks of illness and mortality (Hall & Budlender, 2016:35). On the flipside, the current TCPL rates indicate that general poverty is also widespread as eight out of the country's ten provinces have rates ranging from 65 to 85 per cent (ZIMSTAT, 2015a:10). Harare province has the lowest rate (36.4%) and Matabeleland North province has the highest rate (85.7%) (ZIMSTAT, 2016:117). In Mashonaland Central province, where the site of the current research study is located, out of an estimated 279,246 households, more than half of them, 147,944 households are living below the TCPL (ZIMSTAT, 2016:52). In the urban wards of Bindura district, ZIMSTAT (2016:52) finds that out of a total of 10,921 households, 3,624 of them are poor. However, Manjengwa et al. (2016:30) note that the headcount indices show the spread and not the depth of poverty. The poverty gap index measures the depth of poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:40). Data on the depth of poverty by province are consistent with the FPL and TCPL rates as they indicate that the lowest gap is in Harare province (12.4%) and the highest in Matabeleland North province (45.5%) (ZIMSTAT, 2015a:220). Based on the headcount and poverty gap indices, poverty is pervasive in Zimbabwe. The implication on children, as has been noted by Cox and Pawar (2013:251), is that in situations of endemic poverty, children are the worst affected.

In summary, national poverty lines complement the World Bank international poverty line. The national poverty lines are however highly contextualised as different methods are used in their design. This section also demonstrates that, based on inferences from the FGT indices of the national poverty line, the majority of children in Zimbabwe are

living in extreme income poverty. This partly validates the literature on the international poverty line, which suggests that extreme income child poverty is concentrated in the SSA region. It is of concern that the majority of children in Zimbabwe are living in extreme poverty, hence there is an urgent need to explore strategies that can reduce child poverty. The next section discusses the limitations of the income approach to understanding child poverty with a view to highlight the importance of also focusing on other dimensions of child poverty.

### **2.3.1.3 Limitations of the income approach**

Hall and Sambu (2017:105) state that income poverty lines are imperfect. The international and national income poverty lines face common conceptual and methodological limitations (UNICEF, 2016a:72; UNDESA, 2010:60). Given the limits, Reddy (2009:15) advocates for the increased use of and reliance on information from the alternative approaches. The income poverty lines view child poverty as a unidimensional concept, that of low income (Reddy, 2009:1), which is grossly reductionist of what child poverty is (Chambers, 2007:17). This limit within the poverty discourse had earlier prompted Sen (1999:49) to call for the supplementation of the income approach. To this end, Lister (2015:3) suggests that to have a rounded understanding of child poverty, it is imperative to look beyond statistics. This proposition is grounded in the view that child poverty as a social condition cannot be adequately defined and measured only in monetary terms (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:36). UNICEF (2016a:71) concurs that income is but one of the many dimensions of child poverty that encompasses lack of access to education, health, water and sanitation facilities. This view is rooted in the widely accepted position that child poverty is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon (Roelen, 2015:1). Thus, relying on the income approach alone provides a limited and misleading picture of how children experience the multiple dimensions of poverty (Monrad, 2016:44). For instance, beyond income, embedded in concepts such as social exclusion, marginalisation and vulnerability are the factors that perpetuate and transmit child poverty across generations (Roelen, 2015:2; UNDESA, 2010:55). However, despite income being but one dimension of child poverty, it is a key determinant of opportunities that children can encounter in life (UNICEF, 2016a:69). This means that to have a holistic understanding of child poverty in Zimbabwe, there is

a need to look at both income and other equally important non-monetary dimensions, such as social exclusion and vulnerability.

The income approach works from a narrow conceptualisation of poverty that by simply having an income above the poverty line means one is not poor (UNDESA, 2010:54). This line of thinking is erroneous as UNDESA (2010:63) notes that it “limits the field of vision” by focusing on individuals and households below the line when in fact a large proportion of those above the threshold are in poverty. From a child poverty perspective, UNICEF (2016a:75) argues that millions of children living above the US\$1.90 poverty line experience other dimensions of child poverty such as lack of food, health care and education. This is further buttressed by UNDESA (2010:58) which states that household expenditures can be above the poverty line, but children can suffer deficits in other dimensions. In addition, the income approach fails to recognise that in low-income countries such as Zimbabwe, some households living below the poverty line can have consumption above the threshold through social transfers or subsidised public and private provision of goods and services by the state and non-state actors (Moser & Felton, 2007:2; UNDESA, 2010:54). Also, the approach’s assumption of equating living above the poverty line with access to basic goods and services can be misleading (UNDESA, 2010:54). This is so because, in many developing countries, Zimbabwe included, due to supply-side constraints, households can have sufficient income but still live in deprivation as the basic goods and services can be inaccessible (Oppong, 2015:28). Thus, by not taking these critical factors into account, the income poverty approach distorts the picture of poverty (Ridge & Saunders, 2009:499). In view of this fact, UNDESA (2010:8) posits that the poverty lines approach is not the best method to guide policymakers in developing policies that aim to reduce structural poverty.

UNDESA (2010:55) is critical of the fact that the methodologies used in the income approach, by their main focus on consumption expenditure and exclusion of the means used to raise the income, tend to overlook other risk factors that threaten the well-being of children. In extremely poor households, Harper et al. (n.d.:i) reiterate that consumption expenditure can be raised or maintained through harmful means such as



withdrawing children from school, child labour, child sexual abuse and disposal of assets, which leave households and children more vulnerable. Moser and Felton (2007:1) aver that development economists are increasingly focusing on assets in place of consumption expenditure with a view to better understand child poverty. To this end, this study explored and defined the assets being used in responses to child poverty in Bindura district, with a view to identify the assets that can be combined for child poverty reduction in the district.

As observed by Newhouse et al. (2016:33), the income approach also assumes that all household members enjoy the same living standards. However, this is not always the case as household-specific dynamics, such as disability and illness, can distort the distribution of household consumption expenditure (Santos & Alkire, 2011:29; UNICEF, 2016a:78). USAID (2008:27) notes that resource allocation can be skewed in favour of biological children compared to “adopted” kinship children, while Jones and Sumner (2011:11) posit that power and resources in households are usually asymmetrically distributed in favour of adults. The mediating effects of illness and kinship on household children’s consumption expenditure are aptly documented by Parsons (2010:457) in an ethnographic study of a child in Mutare, Zimbabwe who was lowly prioritised in the household’s consumption expenditure because of her HIV positive and distant kinship statuses. Despite these challenges, Hall and Sambu (2017:105) are of the view that the household income measure sheds light on the number of children living in extreme poverty. To account for and rectify the distortions of the household-based income poverty measure, Cattaneo, Galindo-Pardo and Said (2016:83) suggest that the income approach needs to use individuals rather than households as the unit of analysis. In addition, Sen (1999:131) argues for a shift from focusing on income to lack of basic capabilities. Santos and Alkire (2011:29) concur by noting that income is only a means used to achieve the end, namely human capabilities. Nonetheless, within the income approach, Reddy (2009:15) proposes an innovative capability-based income poverty methodology which sets the poverty lines based on relevant basic capabilities. This approach can improve the income approach as it offers a better understanding of the actual deprivations that children encounter (Hall, 2012a:86).

The contemporary discourse on poverty and by extension child poverty, guided by the human rights lens, support the view that approaches to poverty must capture the lived experiences of the poor (Reddy, 2009:14). However, the income approach does not take into consideration the self-perception of the poor (UNDESA, 2010:55). Poverty is increasingly being understood from a broader perspective that encompasses multiple dimensions and not merely as income deficit (Patel, 2015:292). Based on this view, Oppong (2015:28) proposes a multidimensional approach that views income as one of the many indicators of child poverty. De Milliano and Plavgo (2014:1) used this approach in a multinational child poverty study that was able to document the multiple and overlapping deprivations being experienced by children in 30 SSA countries including Zimbabwe. In a similar vein, this study documented the manifestations of child poverty using a multidimensional approach.

In a nutshell, the above debates have revealed that current methodologies being used in the income poverty approach have many flaws. It can also be noted that the income approach provides a limited view of child poverty. To better understand child poverty, there is growing consensus to use the multidimensional approach.

### **2.3.2 The multidimensional approach**

The multidimensional approach, as Oppong (2015:35) postulates, has emerged against the backdrop of the limitations of the income approach. Proponents of the approach, as noted by Barrientos (2013:50), argue that single indicators of poverty such as income are unable to fully define and measure poverty. To better understand and redefine poverty, they suggest that there is a need to widen the focus and look at multiple dimensions at once (Barrientos, 2013:50). Various scholars and United Nations agencies have focused on different dimensions such as: capabilities (UNICEF Office of Research, 2016; UNDP, 2015b; Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 1999), well-being (Jones & Sumner, 2011; Sumner, 2010; White, 2008), and social exclusion (Desai & Solas, 2012; UNDESA, 2010). These works have resulted in the multidimensional approach gaining traction on the international development agenda alongside the income approach, as demonstrated by the first SDGs which aim to “... eradicate extreme [income] poverty for all people everywhere...[and]...reduce by half the proportion of men, women and children living in all dimensions of poverty [by 2030]” (UNICEF, 2019a:20). World Bank

and UNICEF (2016:6) emphasise the importance of addressing the multidimensional aspects of child poverty. However, this is possible only after understanding these multidimensional aspects. The challenge in Zimbabwe is that the multidimensional approach is yet to be widely recognised and adopted in child poverty assessments. To narrow this gap, this study focused on how child poverty is manifesting in Bindura district in terms of multiple dimensions such as income, health, education, and assets.

The multidimensional approach, as asserted by UNDESA (2010:64), is people-centred and grounded in social development. From a child poverty perspective, it adds depth and complexity to understanding how children experience the multiple, interrelated and overlapping dimensions of poverty (Alkire & Roche, 2012:19; Bartlett, 2012:141). As earlier highlighted, the multidimensional approach has been articulated using a range of dimensions. The following sections will discuss the capabilities, well-being and social exclusion dimensions and how they deepen our understanding of the varied nature of child poverty.

### **2.3.2.1 The capabilities dimension**

The premise of the capabilities dimension is that poverty is not merely the deficiency of income but is also about basic capabilities deprivation (Jones & Sumner, 2011:10; Sen 1999:87). This view was developed by Sen and Nussbaum and concentrates on the intrinsic capabilities rather than the instrumental value of income (Desai & Solas, 2012:86). The concept of capabilities as noted by Robertson (2018:4) was initially conceptualised by Sen in the field of welfare economics but is now applied in diverse contexts that mainly focus on poverty reduction; hence its appropriateness to this study on child poverty reduction. Capabilities are defined by Sen (1999:75) as a combination of functionings which are what people can do and be. What constitutes human capabilities has been subject to many interpretations. Nussbaum (2003:4) provides a catalogue of central human capabilities, which are: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses of imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment. However, Jones and Sumner (2011:10) note that Sen has steered clear from coming up with a complete standard list of capabilities. In this debate, Sen (2005:157) argues that compiling a canonical set of capabilities can stifle openness and public reasoning. He instead has identified capabilities such as

freedoms to be well nourished, live disease-free lives, be able to move around, be educated and participate in public life (Sen, 2005:158). UNDESA (2010:46) views human capabilities as skills, physical abilities and self-respect that enable the poor to escape from poverty. Based on the idea of capabilities, child poverty can be defined in terms of children who are deprived of access to a set of social services and opportunities and face difficulties in building capabilities, which in turn jeopardise their chances to lead a free and productive adulthood (Bartlett, 2012:140; UNDP, 2014:10). This implies that to reduce child poverty in Bindura district, there is scope in enhancing access to social services that contribute towards building the capabilities of children living in extreme poverty. The ABCD strategy, as advanced in this study, is one way of ensuring that the children gain access to social services. The capabilities dimension of poverty contributed to the genesis of the UNDP human development approach (Desai & Solas, 2012:91; UNDESA, 2010:46). To this end, the discussion now turns to the human development approach by UNDP, which has operationalised some of the capabilities.

The human development approach is anchored in the view that development is not only about income growth but also entails other non-monetary dimensions such as enhancing people's choices, human capabilities and freedom (Desai & Solas, 2012:91). Thus, the approach equates child poverty with a contrast of development, which is characterised by deficiency or lack in the domains of choices, human capabilities and freedoms regardless of the income status (Schimmel, 2007:95; UNDESA, 2010:46). The UNDP, as noted by Santos and Alkire (2011:4), uses a series of indices such as the Human Development Index (HDI), its variants Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI) and the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) as tools to define and measure poverty and by implication child poverty.

The indices define and measure poverty from a human-centred perspective and their findings are disseminated through the influential annual global Human Development Reports (Schimmel, 2007:97). The HDI is a composite index that focuses on long-term assessment of deprivations in the selected three essential capabilities, namely a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a decent standard of living (UNDP,

2015b:205). According to UNDP (2014:156), the HDI is classified based on “fixed cut-off points” as follows: HDI below 0.550; 0.550–0.699; 0.700–0.799; and 0.800 or greater representing low; medium; high; and very high human development respectively. The 2019 Human Development Report shows regional HDIs as follows: Europe and Central Asia 0.779, Latin America and the Caribbean 0.759, East Asia and Pacific 0.741, Arab States 0.703, South Asia 0.642, and SSA 0.541 (UNDP, 2019:302). On a comparative basis, SSA is the only region in the low human development category. Zimbabwe’s HDI value is in the medium human development category at 0.563, positioning the country at 153 out of 185 countries and territories (UNDP, 2019:302).

The human development approach also measures IHDI, which basically is the level of human development after inequality has been factored in (UNDP, 2016:53). Information from the 2019 Human Development Report reveals the following regional IHDI figures: Europe and Central Asia 0.688, Latin America and the Caribbean 0.589, South Asia 0.476, East Asia and Pacific 0.618, Arab States 0.531 and SSA 0.376 (UNDP, 2019:311). Zimbabwe’s IHDI value stands at 0.435 (UNDP, 2019:310). The IHDI enables comparisons of human development inequality across and within countries, and between population groups (Desai & Solas, 2012:92; UNDESA, 2010:46). Based on the 2019 regional IHDI figures, Europe and Central Asia region has the highest level of IHDI while the lowest level is in SSA. The IHDI, as noted by Desai and Solas (2012:92), is an important tool in designing policies to reduce inequality and poverty.

To complement the HDI and IHDI, UNDP, since the 2010 edition of the Human Development Report, introduced the MPI (Santos & Alkire, 2011:4). The MPI also covers the three capabilities and uses ten indicators that encompass nutrition, child mortality, schooling, school attendance, cooking fuel, sanitation, water, electricity, housing floor, and assets (durable household goods) (Santos & Alkire, 2011:5). This study used the MPI indicators to define and measure the many dimensions of child poverty that are being experienced by children in Bindura district. UNICEF (2016a:74) posits that data from the MPI can be disaggregated for children and counts a child as being multidimensionally poor when found to be deprived of one third of the ten indicators. The MPI, which is calculated for 101 developing countries, sheds more light

on the depth and the overlapping character of poverty (UNDP, 2019:320). According to the UNDP (2019:321), in Zimbabwe 8.0 per cent of the population is living in severe multidimensional poverty.

However, both the capabilities dimension and the human development approach have some conceptual and methodological limitations. Cattaneo et al. (2016:84) argue that there are challenges in determining benchmarks of functionings and measuring some functionings such as social integration. Schimmel (2007:102), using the happiness perspective, questions the human development approach's stance that poverty is a deficit in human capabilities which can simply be addressed by a teleological process anchored in the maxim that more is better. This, according to Schimmel (2009:102), is not always the case. For instance, in situations of underemployment and unemployment, as is the current scenario in Zimbabwe, highly educated people's happiness and well-being can be compromised. From a child poverty reduction perspective, Schimmel's argument highlights the limits of piecemeal, single-concept strategies and the need to adopt comprehensive and holistic strategies that focus on multiple dimensions of child poverty, such as ABCD put forward by this study.

The human development approach, as noted by UNDESA (2010:46), broadens the conceptualisation of poverty beyond income poverty. However, it focuses on limited capabilities. Lister (2015:3) is of the view that the three capabilities covered by the approach leave out the equally important subjective domain of how poor children perceive their poverty. This omission, as Schimmel (2007:97) notes, leads to an incomplete and biased conceptualisation of child poverty, which reflects the values of UNDP and not the children. Roelen (2015:2) further argues that the indices used by UNDP collect "objective" quantitative human development data, and hence fail to capture the subjective perspectives of poor children. Desai and Solas (2012:92) locate this challenge in the fact that UNDP designed the indices with a view to collect alternative data which is objective and comparative to the World Bank's global income poverty data. Sewpaul (2014:30) notes that there are increased calls for experiential understanding of poverty. However, Oppong (2015:35) emphasises that both quantitative and qualitative measures should be used to gain a better understanding of

the multidimensional nature of child poverty. To this end, the researcher adopted a mixed methods research approach that collected both quantitative and qualitative data on child poverty in Bindura district.

Santos and Alkire (2011:20) dispute the view that the MPI as a tool used in the human development approach is “a high resolution lens” because of its ability to capture the character and spatial distribution of child poverty across and within countries and regions of the globe, on the basis that it does not measure the depth of the poverty. The index is also confusing as it mixes both output and input indicators, for example years of schooling and cooking fuel (Santos & Alkire, 2011:32). Another layer of confusion is presented by relying on stable stock and fluid flow indicators, as highlighted by child mortality (stock) which may have occurred years ago, and children’s school attendance (flow) which is subject to change within and across years (Santos & Alkire, 2011:32). This puts the reliability of the MPI into question. Despite the conceptual and methodological questions, UNDESA (2010:47) asserts that the human development approach has gained international recognition as an approach to measuring and understanding poverty alongside the World Bank’s international poverty line approach.

In summation, child poverty can be perceived in terms of capabilities. It can be noted that children in the SSA region and Zimbabwe are being raised in contexts of limited human development as reflected by low HDI, inequality and severe multidimensional poverty. The low human development promotes intergenerational transmission of poverty and undermines efforts aimed at reducing chronic poverty and promoting well-being.

### **2.3.2.2 The well-being dimension**

Barrientos (2013:45) alludes to the idea that there are many views on poverty, one of which defines poverty in terms of deficits in well-being. Based on the well-being dimension and within the field of child poverty, Jones and Sumner (2011:1) propound the three dimensional (3D) human well-being approach. This approach builds on the human development approach (Jones & Sumner, 2011:1). However, it is distinct as it recasts the discourse from poverty to well-being and extends the debate beyond the notions of material and relational dimensions of well-being to encompass the subjective

dimension (Jones & Sumner, 2011:13). The material dimension of well-being includes the welfare services, assets and livelihood activities that inform the standards of living (Sumner, 2010:1066; White, 2008:11). A common thread that cuts across the multidimensional approach is that material deprivation is associated with child poverty and has adverse effects on development of children's capabilities (Shanks & Danziger, 2011:31; White, 2008:12). The notion of relational well-being is about the structural factors which entail personal and social relations within which the children are located (White, 2008:12), while subjective well-being refers to the individual child's values, ideals, preferences, and perceptions as embedded in the ecosystems of culture and ideology (White, 2008:10). In addition, White (2008:5) asserts that the dimension of subjective well-being is the lynchpin of the 3D human well-being approach as it broadens how child poverty is defined by encompassing the children's lived experiences (Lister, 2015:4). This according to Sumner (2010:1068) adds the voice of the children to the definition of child poverty. A definition of child poverty grounded in the children's lived experiences is not only ecologically relevant but also contributes to the design of relevant, effective and sustainable child poverty reduction strategies (Oppong, 2015:36). The emerging trend at global and local levels, as observed by Patel (2015:291), is that of poor people defining their poverty.

The 3D well-being approach has many implications for understanding child poverty (Sumner, 2010:1073), but of interest to this study is the subjective dimension of well-being. This dimension puts emphasis on involving children in defining their experience with poverty through collecting data directly from them and not by means of inferences from their heads of households or caregivers (Jones & Sumner, 2011:11). The researcher adopted this approach as some of the qualitative data was collected directly from children living in extreme poverty in Bindura district.

To sum up, the idea of subjective well-being, as discussed under the 3D human well-being approach, broadens the definition of child poverty as it encompasses the views of children living in poverty and in a way contributes towards counteracting their social exclusion.



### **2.3.2.3 The social exclusion dimension**

Poverty, according to Harper et al. (n.d.:i), can be understood as limited opportunities for human development, heightened vulnerability and social exclusion. In the context of chronic poverty, social exclusion is synonymous with poverty (Desai & Solas, 2012:87). UNDESA (2010:64) argues that the analytical framework embedded in social exclusion can be regarded as another dimension to the conceptualisation of poverty. This is because social exclusion perpetuates structural discrimination, which in turn manifests as inequality, one of the pathways for the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Cruz et al., 2015:1). Watkins and Quattri (2016:7) point out that the high levels of inequality in SSA are one of the drivers of poverty. Social exclusion has however remained a hotly debated concept (UNDESA, 2010:66). Despite the debates, Desai and Solas (2012:87) are of the notion that social exclusion is now a prominent theme in poverty discourse because of the realisation that besides being denied their human rights, socially excluded people are being left behind by economic growth and rising incomes. From a child poverty perspective, this awareness resulted in UNICEF adopting the mantra “fair chance for every child” which was well-articulated in its 2016 State of the World’s Children Report (UNICEF, 2016a:1). Insofar as the social exclusion dimension is concerned, UNDESA (2010:65) asserts that child poverty is nested in the four domains of assets ownership, the livelihoods framework, social provisioning and citizenship. The two domains of assets ownership and livelihoods framework are relevant to this research study because, as core concepts embedded in the study’s theoretical frameworks (see sub-section 2.2.2), they assisted in conceptualising child poverty and its reduction in Bindura district.

The premise of the assets ownership domain of social exclusion is that limited or lack of ownership and access to assets is the root of the various forms of marginalisation (UNDESA, 2010:65). In light of this, Monrad (2016:44) perceives poverty as resource-based social exclusion. For children, living in poor households that are characterised by limited or lack of ownership and access to assets curtails their opportunities to acquire capabilities that can be used to escape from poverty (Desai & Solas, 2012:83; Monrad, 2016:44). However, conventional child poverty reduction strategies as UNDESA (2010:65) notes have given little attention to assets ownership as an underlying factor of

child poverty. This could be one of the missing links that can account for the limited success recorded by many child poverty reduction interventions. To this end, at the core of this study is assets ownership as it explored and described how ABCD can be used to combine assets to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

The domain of the livelihoods framework is concerned with livelihoods as it focuses on the structures and dynamics that frame the economic activities that individuals, households and groups engage in with a view to earn a living (UNDESA, 2010:66). The structures and dynamics embedded in social, political and economic spheres shape livelihoods as they determine assets ownership and the ability of households to venture into sustainable livelihoods and ultimately transcend poverty (Mararike & Nyamwanza, 2012:58). In this context, limited or lack of assets excludes poor households, such as those in Bindura district, from opportunities to generate their own income and reduce poverty (Cox & Pawar, 2013:205; Desai & Solas, 2012:87).

This section highlighted that social exclusion is an important dimension of poverty which affects children from extremely poor households. It was revealed that excluding poor households from owning assets undermines their ability to earn a sustainable living. Lack of sustainable livelihoods is a key driver of the various forms of poverty experienced by children.

## **2.4 Forms of child poverty**

Poverty is a multifaceted and dynamic social construct, which varies in form and duration, and across geographical locations (Narayan, 2012:35; Roelen, 2015:1). As Berg-Weger (2010:55) further puts it, poverty can take many forms, it can be an “absolute” or “relative” concept and assume a chronic or transient character. A distinction is often made between rural and urban poverty. As such, child poverty can also take these different forms as will be discussed in the following section.

### **2.4.1 Absolute and relative child poverty**

Child poverty as Cox and Pawar (2013:229) assert can be perceived both from absolute and relative ends. Cruz et al., (2015:13) argue that on a continuum, absolute poverty tends to be worse than relative poverty. Absolute child poverty is when children live in

extremely poor households where they experience severe resource constraints that make it difficult to meet basic needs (Beckett, 2007:171; Cox & Pawar, 2013:229). Conversely, relative poverty is when children live in contexts where they are not in absolute poverty but are considered poor in relation to the standards of their society (Beckett, 2007:171).

It is noteworthy that in developing countries, the absolute measure of child poverty is more relevant, but rich countries are primarily concerned with relative child poverty (UNICEF, 2016a:75). This is based on the notion that the bulk of low-income countries' populations live in absolute poverty whereas in the high-income countries, small pockets of people are still living in absolute poverty (Kerry, Pickett & Wilkinson, 2012:208; UNICEF, 2016a:75). In India, child poverty is measured in absolute terms with variations of rural and urban costs of living, diets and consumption taken into consideration (Government of India Planning Commission, 2014:3). SOS Children's Villages International (SOS) (2014:12) estimated that in 2014, 3.5 million children in Zimbabwe were living in absolute poverty. Relative child poverty in many developed countries is usually measured at either 50 or 60 per cent of the median annual income (UNICEF Office of Research, 2012:9). For instance, in the United Kingdom, child poverty is aggregated at 60 per cent of the median household income, known as Household Below Average Income and in 2013–14, 3.7 million children were living in relative poverty (Child Poverty Action Group, 2016:1). This relative measure of child poverty captures the important dimension of inequality (UNDESA, 2010:45).

In summary, child poverty can present in absolute or relative form. The absolute form is more relevant to developing countries where large sections of the population cannot afford to meet basic needs. Absolute poverty severely affects children as they will not be able to have basic needs met, which undermines their human capital development and perpetuates poverty. The researcher explored how children are experiencing absolute poverty in Bindura district. In developed countries, the focus is on relative child poverty because although they have small segments of their populations still living in absolute poverty, they have to deal with inequality. Inequality is measured by the number of children living below the set average annual income. Barrientos (2013:48)

advances the idea that poverty can be differentiated by duration. To this end, chronic and transient poverty and their implications for children will be discussed next.

#### **2.4.2 Chronic and transient child poverty**

Child poverty can be chronic or transient in nature. Chronic or structural child poverty, as cited by Harper, Alder and Perezniето (2012:49), is a situation when children are born into poverty and accustomed to deprivations for the rest or long periods of their lives. Chronic poverty is commonly enmeshed in the social, economic, political and cultural institutions and without radical transformation tends to be transmitted from one generation to the next (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:21). To understand and measure chronic poverty, Moser and Felton (2007:1) posit that asset analysis has become the preferred method given that assets accumulate over time and hence are a strong indicator of duration in poverty.

Transient child poverty is when children live in households that experience brief but intense cyclical spells in and out of poverty (Narayan, 2012:35; World Bank, 2015:82). This can be driven by temporal factors that include macro-economic policy shifts, such as economic transformation programmes, recession, and natural disasters (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:22; Patel, 2015:292). In the context of child poverty, policies that result in economic stress premised on the notion of “short term pain for long term gain” have enduring and detrimental impact on children (Hardgrove et al., 2011:4; Kurukulasuriya & Engilbertsdóttir, 2012:23). It has to be noted that chronic and transient poverty are not mutually exclusive and usually co-exist (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:24). To this end, child poverty reduction interventions need to prioritise the poorest, whether in chronic or transient child poverty (UNDESA, 2010:58; ZIMSTAT, 2013b:40). Zimbabwe, as many other developing countries, is experiencing both chronic and transient child poverty (GoZ, 2017:19; SOS, 2014:14). In a bid to measure whether chronic and transient child poverty are being experienced by children in Bindura district, the researcher explored the manifestations of child poverty and the assets being used in responses to child poverty and those assets that can be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty. Child poverty can be characterised either as rural or urban child poverty, as will be pointed out in the next section.

### 2.4.3 Rural and urban child poverty

World Bank (2017:59) concedes that there is no agreement on the criterion for distinguishing rural and urban areas. Rural child poverty is when children live in poor rural households and areas that have limited opportunities and access to basic public facilities (Cox & Pawar, 2013:241; UNDESA, 2010:40). Conversely, urban child poverty is when children live in poor urban households and neighbourhoods or slums which are characterised by low income, poor housing, lack of or limited access to essential services and facilities, low social capital and high rates of anti-social behaviours (Bartlett, 2012:145; Cox & Pawar, 2013:247). In this context, urban child poverty, as Shaia (2019:16) states, has to be viewed using a neighbourhood lens more than family context. Thus, urban poverty exposes children to multiple interpersonal, social and environmental risk factors (Shanks & Danziger, 2011:34). These factors are intertwined and lead to a host of negative outcomes for children living in poor urban households and communities (Shanks & Danziger, 2011:34).

Rural and urban poverty differ in terms of prevalence, intensity and form (Manjengwa et al., 2016:27). These differences are reflected by the high concentration of poverty in rural areas and disparities in living standards between rural and urban dwellers (Cox & Pawar, 2013:241; UNDESA, 2010:40). Although poverty is endemic in developing countries, available data indicate that more than three quarters of extremely poor people live in rural areas (Olinto et al., 2013:1). Newhouse et al. (2016:19) estimate that one in three children in rural areas lives in extreme poverty. The *Zimbabwe Poverty Atlas 2015* indicates that on average, rural areas have higher incidences of poverty than urban areas (ZIMSTAT, 2015a:xiii). In developing countries, child poverty has been closely associated with rural areas. However, Bartlett (2012:141) cautions that this thinking has masked the reality that there are children in urban areas suffering worse deprivations due to urban sprawl. Urban poverty in Zimbabwe has a historical context as Madaka (1995:156) notes that because of colonial authorities' lack of will, little resources were allocated to develop the infrastructure and services in Africans' townships. This was based on the thinking that Africans were *in* town as workers but not *for* the town as permanent urban dwellers (Madaka, 1995:156). In the developing world, for a growing number of children, the urban advantages are becoming a "myth" (Bartlett,

2012:139). UNICEF (2016a:79) further intimates that the risks of urban areas tend to exceed those in rural communities.

D'Aoust, Jones and Nakamura (2017:95) note that the high cost of living coupled with lack of access to basic amenities reduce the well-being of urban poor households. Globally, urban poverty is one of the fastest growing forms of poverty as there is a shift of poverty from rural areas to cities and towns because of rural-urban migration and high urban population growth (Asia Development Bank, 2014:5; Cox & Pawar, 2012:241). This trend, as Lall (2017:17) argues, is being driven largely by atypical urbanisation being witnessed in SSA, which is based on comparatively lower per capita gross domestic product, a phenomenon which has been termed "urbanising while poor". Todaro and Smith (2015:334) note that in Africa the unprecedented urbanisation is not linked with industrialisation, as was the case in the now-developed countries. In addition, this rapid rate of urbanisation of people has surpassed the ability of the SSA countries' economies to invest in basic infrastructure like housing and other capitals (Lall, 2017:16). Furthermore, the unprecedented population mobility from rural countryside to the burgeoning cities and associated longstanding structural inequalities has given rise to intensified urban child poverty (Bartlett, 2012:145; Gray, 2010:464). Despite the comparative advantage of towns and cities, UNDESA (2013:59) notes that inequality in urban areas is higher than rural areas. Thus, poverty and inequality are intensifying as Manjengwa et al. (2016:27) posit that the rate of urbanisation in SSA is twice the global average. UNDESA (2014:2) concludes that projections are indicating that, by 2050, 66 per cent of the world's population will be urbanised riding on the rapid urbanisation rates in Africa and Asia.

A large body of research exists on the various aspects of urban child poverty across the globe. In the US, Votruba-Drzal, Miller and Coley (2016) studied urban childhood poverty and children's academic skills development. From Latin America, Battiston, Cruces, Calva, Lugo and Santos (2009) conducted extensive research on multidimensional poverty in six countries. In addition, Minujin (2011) focused on child poverty and disparity in seven East Asia and Pacific countries. Furthermore, Fotso, Madise, Baschieri, Cleland, Zulu, Mutua and Essendi (2012) researched child growth

patterns and different dimensions of poverty in Nairobi, Kenya. In the context of Zimbabwe, studies that have examined different aspects of urban child poverty are limited. These include the national surveys such as the Poverty and Income Expenditure Survey, Multi Indicator Cluster Survey and Demographic and Health Surveys (ZIMSTAT, 2015b; ZIMSTAT, 2013b; ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016). On a micro-scale, Manjengwa et al. (2016) studied urban poverty in two high-density suburbs of Harare and ZIMSTAT (2015b) used the small area estimation methodology to survey poverty in all the wards of Zimbabwe. To date, the vast majority of the studies have used the conventional quantitative surveys. Jones and Sumner (2011:29) note that research on child poverty in developing countries has been dominated by quantitative assessments consistent with the income approach. In addition, the use of mixed methods in the field of child poverty research is a recent innovation. Thus, there is a knowledge gap in the child poverty discourse in Zimbabwe in assessing child poverty using both quantitative and qualitative data. This study attempted to bridge this gap by assessing child poverty using the mixed methods research approach.

As discussed above, child poverty can be absolute and relative, chronic and transient, as well as rural and urban. This section also showed that based on comparative poverty analysis urban areas are better off than rural communities. As a result there is a strong tendency to prioritise rural child poverty and overlook urban child poverty. However, as argued in this section, rapid but poor urbanisation being witnessed in Africa, which is grounded in historical context, is creating toxic environments in countries such as Zimbabwe, which has resulted in an increased number of urban children experiencing severe poverty as compared to their rural counterparts. This emerging phenomenon of growing incidence and concentrations of child poverty in urban environments has not received much attention in Zimbabwe and thus there is scope for research on urban child poverty. Hence this study researched ABCD and child poverty reduction in the urban wards of Bindura district. In addition, the preceding section highlighted that child poverty varies in form and this also applies to its manifestations which is the next discussion point.

## **2.5 Manifestations of child poverty**

Child poverty manifests in multiple dimensions. UNICEF (2016a:1) adopts a lifecycle approach to describe the mutually reinforcing manifestations of child poverty from early childhood up to adulthood, which can be summarised as follows:

An infant deprived of post-natal care may not survive her first days. A child deprived of immunisation or safe water may not live to see his fifth birthday, or may live a life of diminished health. A child deprived of adequate nutrition may never reach full physical or cognitive potential, limiting his ability to learn. A child deprived of quality education may never gain skills she needs to succeed someday in the workplace. And a child deprived of protection from conflict, violence or abuse, from exploitation and discrimination, from child labour, or from early motherhood may be physically and emotionally scarred for life, with profound consequences.

Thus, child poverty manifestations are intertwined which results in critical development deficits in the domains of health, education and child protection which, if not addressed, can be transmitted from one generation to the next (Harper et al., 2012:51). As UNICEF (2016a:78) further notes, when two or more deprivations interface, the effects on children living in poor households are usually catastrophic. Minujin (2012:14) adds that because of the sensitive nature of the childhood stage, children are vulnerable and even short periods of deprivation can have far-reaching consequences. Roelen (2015:3) posits that understanding how child poverty manifests is instrumental towards its reduction. The respective dimensions in which child poverty manifests will be discussed next.

### **2.5.1 Child poverty and health**

Children have a right to good health as pointed out by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) article 24 (UNICEF, 2019b:20). To this end, the Constitution of Zimbabwe has a provision that the State must ensure that children have access to "... basic nutrition [and] health care..." (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No 20) Act, 2013:20). This is based on the notion that a healthy start to life is one of the important building blocks for children to grow into productive adults (UNICEF, 2016a:1). Many factors determine the health status of children. Good-quality housing, clean water and safe sanitation are some of the factors that shape children's health (World Bank, 2017:59; ZIMSTAT, 2013b:28). However, poverty has a huge bearing on the health of



children (Sanders, 2012:58). Children from poor households are commonly deprived of such direct and indirect health services as immunisation and adequate nutrition (Hardgrove et al., 2011:3). They also usually live in squalid conditions characterised by poor housing, and unsafe water and sanitation, which make them susceptible to respiratory infections and diarrheal diseases (World Bank, 2017:43). If the health of children is compromised at an early age, society pays heavily in terms of deaths, constant treatment of many people with poor health and lost productivity (UNICEF, 2016a:26). Child poverty manifests through poor health outcomes such as infant and child mortality, and child stunting which can be driven by factors that include poor housing, and poor water and sanitation facilities.

#### **2.5.1.1 Infant and child mortality**

In the context of child poverty, information on infant and child mortality is important because it is a key indicator of health status, level of socio-economic development and quality of life (Hall, Nannan & Sambu, 2016:117; ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016:131). Statistics on children's health as observed by Harper et al. (n.d.:29) tend to focus mostly on infants and children under five, because it is considered a critical period as they are more susceptible to disease and malnutrition. The manifestations of child poverty in health are complex as they can later resurface in adulthood. For instance, Harper et al. (n.d.:29) note that women who suffer from malnutrition during childhood have elevated risks of giving birth to underweight babies and experiencing complications during childbirth which can cause both infant and child mortality.

Child mortality at global level has been more than halved; however in 2016 alone, 5,6 million children worldwide died from preventable causes (UNICEF, 2018a:25). The rate of child mortality in SSA, as noted by UNICEF (2016a:10), is 12 times that of richer countries. In addition, children under five from the lowest wealth quintile are 1.9 times more likely to die compared with their counterparts in the highest wealth quintile (UNICEF, 2016a:10). The alarming deaths of newborn babies from poor households are contributing to high death rates of children under five. Worldwide, as observed by UNICEF (2018a:5) approximately 7,000 newborn babies die daily. Of concern is the fact that more than 80 per cent of these deaths are preventable because the causal factors include lack of affordability and access to quality health care, inadequate nutrition and

unsafe water (UNICEF, 2018a:5). Poverty is a key underlying factor for the deaths as UNICEF (2018a:2) concedes that “they are dying because their families [mainly from SSA and South Asia] are too poor or marginalised to access the [health] care they need.” Hall et al. (2016:117) note that in South Africa in 2014, infant and child mortality rates were 28 deaths per 1,000 live births and 39 deaths per 1,000 children respectively. In comparison, Zimbabwe had higher rates as the 2014 Multi Indicator Cluster Survey found that the infant mortality rate was 55 deaths per 1,000 live births at national level and that the Mashonaland Central province had the highest rate, at 73 deaths per 1,000 births (ZIMSTAT, 2015b:28). Furthermore, the national child mortality rate was 21 deaths per 1,000 children, and based on wealth status, it was 10 and 25 deaths per 1,000 children for the richest and poorest wealth quintiles respectively (ZIMSTAT, 2015b:28). This study collected data on infant and child mortality when it explored how child poverty is manifesting in Bindura district.

Poverty is a strong predictor of infant and child mortality (Hall, Lake & Berry, 2012:91). UNICEF (2016a:34) posits that poverty can be a barrier to accessing maternal and child health care services, which can lead to children’s early death. The paradox in healthcare is that poor children who face greater health risks have limited access to quality health care services as compared to their richer counterparts (Hall, 2012b:35). In addition, poverty also indirectly accounts for infant and child mortality through child marriages because child brides have slim chances of accessing medical care during pregnancy (Kidjo, 2016:39). Maternal education is another causal factor due to the fact that low level of maternal education is associated with increased chances of infant and child mortality (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 2014:156). Available evidence indicates that in 2009, 4.2 million deaths of children below five years of age were averted because of increased levels of women’s education (UNICEF, 2015b:10). This demonstrates the important role that is played by human capital development in the form of maternal education in reducing child poverty.

#### **2.5.1.2 Child stunting**

Malnutrition is a global concern as one in three people is affected directly (International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 2016:xviii). Creed (2016:9) defines malnutrition as “...having too little of the right food [or] ...having too much of the wrong food.”

Additionally, malnutrition also entails the body's inability to use the food eaten because of health or metabolism challenges (UNICEF, 2019c:16). Low income households as Vermeulen, Mueller and Schönfeldt (2020:1) note commonly spend about a third of their income on food. In the context of poverty, poor households tend to cut back on food as a coping strategy, which heightens the risk of malnutrition, especially among children (Hall & Budlender, 2016:35; UNDP, 2014:17). A child is susceptible to malnutrition if the household does not have access to three meals per day (South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) and UNICEF, 2014:43). The issue of malnutrition was studied when the manifestations of child poverty in the health domain in Bindura district were explored. The nutritional status of children is a strong indicator of their overall health; for instance undernourished children have lower immunity to infections which increases their likelihood to suffer or die from childhood ailments (UNICEF, 2016a:36; ZIMSTAT, 2015b:33). The ailments in turn lower appetite and inhibit nutrient absorption which further worsens the children's poor health status (Smith & Haddad, 2015:182). Child poverty can manifest in many forms of malnutrition; one of the most severe is child stunting (IFPRI, 2016:1). In the context of child poverty, the rate of child stunting is important because it is a composite indicator of chronic malnutrition, poor early childhood health and compromised development and well-being (Hall & Budlender, 2016:35). Child stunting is now the preferred measure of undernutrition because it indicates past deprivations and also predicts future poverty (Smith & Haddad, 2015:181).

Despite other regions of the world recording declining numbers of child stunting, the opposite is happening in Africa (IFPRI, 2016:17). The available estimates indicate that, worldwide in 2018, 149 million children were stunted with all continents except Africa recording declines (UNICEF, 2019c:8). Between 2000 and 2018, in East and Southern Africa the number of stunted children under five years rose by 1.4 million, while in West and Central Africa it increased by 6.5 million (UNICEF, 2019c:38). Zimbabwe is also burdened by child stunting, which in 2018 was 26.2 per cent at national level and 27 per cent in Mashonaland Central province where the site of this study, Bindura district, is located (Zimbabwe National Nutrition Survey, 2018:114).

Stunting is a stark sign of children sub-optimal physical and mental development and has significant health, educational and economic consequences at all societal levels (UNICEF, 2019c:36). As estimated by Lancet (2016:6), stunting results in average loss of individual income of 26 per cent per annum, which sustains chronic poverty. Failure to thrive leads to irreversible damage to individuals and society as it compromises children's health and heightens the risk of degenerative diseases such as diabetes (World Bank, 2017:43). Lancet (2016:2) notes that countries burdened by stunting may be losing twice their current GDP expenditures on health and education. Childhood stunting also results in suboptimal cognitive development of children (Lake & Chan, 2015:1816). This can manifest later as an inability to learn and poor school performance culminating in lack of skills, low work capacity and productivity in adulthood (Bundara, Mwanri & Masika, 2013:7290). Stunted growth, because of its close ties with deprivation, can transmit intergenerational poverty (UNICEF, 2019c:38). Thus, eliminating malnutrition is central for children's progress in health and education, and in overall child poverty reduction (IFPRI, 2016:xix; UNICEF, 2016a:36). World Bank (2017:43) opines that good nutrition is the bedrock for survival, health and development. As such, this study advanced the notion that ABCD, by its focus on assets including human capital development, can contribute towards the reduction of malnutrition and overall child poverty in Bindura district. The negative child health outcomes, such as infant and child mortality and child stunting, are also mediated by poverty-induced poor housing, water and sanitation as will be discussed next.

#### **2.5.1.3 Poor housing, water and sanitation**

The quality of housing is considered a strong indicator of child poverty. High quality housing according to Hall (2014:111) is expected to be "habitable", which entails that dwellings should have enough space to avoid overcrowding. In addition, a house is overcrowded when the ratio of occupants is more than two people per room (Hall, 2014:111). Furthermore, housing is classified as poor based on floor types that include dirt, sand or cow dung (Santos & Alkire, 2011:6). From a child poverty perspective, squalid housing conditions increase the spread of respiratory infections, especially among young children (Hall, 2014:111). Poor housing conditions such as overcrowding also lead to the violation of the children's rights and expose them to sexual abuse (Hall, 2014:112). For instance, Lupande (2012:3) reports of a seven-member polygamous

household in Epworth [a poor settlement outside Harare] in which children's right to privacy was being infringed because they shared a single room. Also, Guvamombe (2011:3) cites the case of a seven-member family in Bindura's MaOne section [an impoverished area in one of the urban wards of Bindura district] that live in a single room and this situation has pushed one of the young girls to engage in prostitution. Using an urban poverty lens, Lall (2017:17) asserts that due to high building costs, poor households can hardly afford decent accommodation. Consequently, they resort to poor living conditions, either in formal or informal housing, which is characterised by lack of living space and basic amenities such as water and sanitation (D'Aoust et al., 2017:88).

Tied to the quality of housing are the issues of water and sanitation. The indicators for adequate water and sanitation include a safe water source at the dwelling and properly functioning flush toilets or ventilated pit latrines within or near a house (Hall & Sambu, 2014:114). In addition, the MPI considers a household to be deprived of water and sanitation if there is no access at all or if the distance to the water source is more than 30 minutes roundtrip and they use shared toilets (Santos & Alkire, 2011:6). Rapid urbanisation in developing countries, including Zimbabwe as noted by Todaro and Smith (2015:522), has resulted in poor urban dwellers experiencing challenges in accessing clean water. This lack of access to clean water undermines proper sanitation and good hygiene, which can lead to the high incidence and spread of intestinal childhood ailments that include diarrheal diseases (Hall & Sambu, 2014:113). The ailments compromise children's nutritional status through inhibiting the absorption of food nutrients (UNICEF, 2019c:18). This can manifest as poor health outcomes such as stunted growth and infant and child mortality (Hall, 2014:114; World Bank, 2017:43). To enhance the survival and health status of children, there is a need to ensure that they live in habitable houses with safe water and sanitation facilities (Hall, 2014:114). This can be achieved through building physical capital such as proper housing, water and sanitation facilities. The current study advances the notion that ABCD is an innovative strategy that can be used to build such physical capital, which in turn improves the health status of children and reduces child poverty in Bindura district. In the following section the focus is shifted to child poverty and access to education.

## **2.5.2 Child poverty and education**

Globally, there is a general recognition that education is a fundamental right of children, as affirmed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) article 28 (UNICEF, 2015b:4; UNESCO, 2014:143). In recognition of the importance of education in development, the fourth SDG focuses on education and its targets include: quality, completion, opportunity to learn, equal access, and progression through all levels of education – from pre-primary up to tertiary education – for all by 2030 (United Nations General Assembly, 2015:14). To this end, Zimbabwe as a state party to the CRC and SDGs, guarantees the right to education as enshrined in sections 75 and 81 of the constitution (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No 20) Act, 2013:37).

Education is widely regarded as one of the central transformative mechanisms that have for generations helped children from poor households transcend cycles of poverty and inequalities (UNICEF, 2015b:13). Education expands people's capabilities and choices which contribute to poverty reduction as its varied benefits disrupt many dimensions of deprivation (Cattaneo et al., 2016:86; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016:203). There is strong evidence that education has both positive economic and social spinoffs (UNICEF, 2015b:10). People's ability to partake in and benefit from economic growth is a function of their educational level (Kanyenze et al., 2011:297). There is a positive correlation between the level of education and income. Worldwide, Montenegro and Patrinos (2014:2) posit that an additional one year of education is associated with a 10 per cent increase in income. In addition, UNESCO (2014:144) emphasises that through education, a skilled labour force can lift households out of poverty by means of increased earned income. Further, Kanyenze et al. (2011:296) argue that vocational education and training, not general education, equip individuals with skills for particular occupations. However, for education to have a positive role in poverty reduction, it should be inclusive, equitable, relevant, and of good quality (UNESCO, 2015:106; UNICEF, 2016a:55).

Far-reaching positive social and non-market returns to schooling can include, but are not limited to, improved health status, enhanced child well-being, reduction of inequalities and women empowerment (Montenegro & Patrinos, 2014:2; UNICEF,

2015b:10). According to UNESCO (2014:155), education is one of the viable options to improving people's health. Literature affirms the lasting positive multiplier effect of education on women's and young girls' health, which cascades as development dividends for the whole of society (UNESCO, 2014:156). Education correlates with the adoption of health-seeking behaviour among women as UNICEF (2015b:10) notes that in Benin, 99 per cent of educated women seek professional health care as compared to 31 per cent of women with no education in Burkina Faso. From a child poverty reduction perspective, UNICEF (2016a:16) elucidates that education is linked to a mosaic of positive maternal and child health outcomes that include increased prenatal visits by pregnant women, delayed childbirth, child spacing and lower birth rates, which save lives of millions of women and children. UNESCO (2014:156) posits that educated people tend to be healthier as they adopt varied positive health behaviours, such as disease prevention, early detection, seeking medical care on time, and increased health expenditure as they earn higher incomes compared to their uneducated peers.

Education is also tied to women empowerment, which can help overcome inequalities and oppressive social expectations, which are pathways to the intergenerational transmission of poverty (UNESCO, 2014:181). Using a gender lens, women tend to benefit more than men from education as they can also gain entry into the paid labour force (Montenegro & Patrinos, 2014:2; UNESCO, 2014:148). In addition, education can guarantee women jobs that are safe, more secure and come with decent pay (UNESCO, 2014:144). Educated women also have freedoms that lead to the capability to make choices on wide-ranging social issues (Sen, 1999:3). Investment in human capital development through education is a critical poverty reduction pathway in developing countries as labour is one of the few assets available to poor households (Midgley, 2014:83; Montenegro & Patrinos, 2014:2). Thus, education builds human capital, which promotes economic growth, reduce poverty and ensure social mobility (World Bank, 2018:41).

Despite the widely acknowledged economic and social dividends of education, UNICEF (2015b:42) states that there is a crisis in the education sector as millions of children face many barriers that deny them access to education and learning. In Africa, as

Kanyenze et al. (2011:298) note, the challenge to access education still looms large. This is evident through the multiple and interrelated exclusions being experienced mainly by children from extremely poor households, and which are reflected and embedded in the broader conceptualisation of access to education. This conceptualisation encompasses attendance, achievement, progression and completion of the full cycle of education from pre-school up to tertiary education (Lewin, 2009:151; Rolleston, 2014:135). UNICEF (2015b:28) notes that children, especially girls from poor households, tend to be overrepresented in all facets of limited access to education. The Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) model's seven zones of exclusion<sup>1</sup> (Lewin, 2009:155), can underpin the manifestations of child poverty in education. In this study, the zones of exclusion assisted the researcher in understanding how child poverty is manifesting in the education domain among children from extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. This also helped to determine what needs to be done within the context of ABCD, both at household and community levels, to promote human capital development, as it is one of the pathways for reducing child poverty. The discussion now focuses on the seven zones of exclusion.

### **2.5.2.1 Zone 0 exclusion**

One of the most conspicuous manifestations of child poverty in education is the zone 0 exclusion characterised by mainly children from the poorest quintile in any country who are missing out on early childhood development (ECD) programmes (UNICEF, 2016a:46). For many poor households, early childhood education is considered a luxury because of daily survival struggles (UNICEF, 2015b:4). This is despite the growing body of research supporting that early childhood education has multiple and far-reaching benefits (European Commission, 2014:61). Access to quality pre-primary schooling provides a solid foundation for future scholastic achievement through holistic nurturing and development of children in the physical, social, moral, cognitive and emotional

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<sup>1</sup> Zone 0 – no pre-school access; Zone 1 – children who never enrol; Zone 2 – primary level dropouts; Zone 3 – overage children, irregular attenders and low achievers at primary level who are silently excluded and learn little; Zone 4 – primary level leavers not entering secondary level; Zone 5 – secondary level dropouts; Zone 6 – overage children, irregular attenders, low achievers and those silently excluded at secondary level.



domains (UNICEF, 2015b:27; ZIMSTAT, 2015b:182). For example, the 2012 Programme for International Student Assessment demonstrated that 15-year-old children who attended early childhood education for over a year achieved better results in mathematics than their counterparts who never attended or attended less than one year (European Commission, 2014:61). Generally, in Europe, children who attended early childhood education are almost a year ahead in formal schooling when compared with their non-attending counterparts (European Commission, 2014:13). Furthermore, UNICEF (2014b:1) points out that early childhood education can reverse the adverse early experiences associated with child poverty, which undermines school readiness and learning. This thinking is based on the knowledge emerging from scientific brain development research which suggests that early interventions such as early childhood education can reverse the negative effects of child poverty on cognitive functions as the brain will be still plastic (Lancet, 2016:7; US National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2016:4). In support, Education International (2010:11) is of the notion that early childhood education can ensure that children's needs such as health, stimulation and support are met.

According to the European Commission (2014:61), in the 28 countries of the European Union, on average 93 per cent of children of pre-school age are enrolled in early childhood education programmes. Conversely, in the majority of the 59 developing countries and territories with available data, less than 50 per cent of eligible children attend early childhood education (UNICEF, 2014b:7). For instance, attendance in ECD programmes is as low as 18 and 10 per cent in Botswana and Mali respectively (UNICEF, 2014b:7). Similarly, in Zimbabwe in 2014, an estimated 22 per cent of children aged 36 to 59 months were enrolled in some form of early ECD programme (ZIMSTAT, 2015b:182).

Multiple factors account for limited access to early childhood education. UNESCO (2015:73) notes that zone 0 exclusion is also tied to structural inequities and inferior quality of early childhood education. For example, Hall, Sambu, Berry, Giese, Almeleh and Rosa (2016:26) postulate that in South Africa, access to pre-primary school learning opportunities is unequal and follows the income contour where 84 per cent

from the richest quintile, compared to 57 per cent from the poorest quintile, are enrolled in early childhood learning programmes. In Zimbabwe, UNICEF (2017:201) observed that during the period 2005–2016, 17 and 34 per cent of children from the poorest and richest quintiles respectively attended early childhood education. The net effect is the silent exclusion of many extremely poor children from access to high quality pre-primary school learning. They enter formal education unprepared, which puts them at a perpetual disadvantage compared to their more affluent peers, and they tend to perform dismally as they struggle to cope with school demands (Hall et al., 2016:27; Rose & Alcott, 2015:19). Child poverty tends to undermine the development of cognitive skills early in life and restrict the capacity to learn later in life and thus jeopardises efforts towards long-term poverty eradication (UNICEF, 2014b:3).

Thus, zone 0 exclusion is associated with twin challenges of poverty and inequalities. In the context of child poverty, the paradox is that compared with the rich European countries, developing countries such as Zimbabwe, have low ECD enrolment rates especially among children from poor households. This is despite the fact that these children stand to benefit most from increased access to ECD which in the long-term contributes towards reduction of child poverty. Thus, the strategies such as ABCD that stand a better chance to reduce child poverty and inequalities are appropriate for increased access to early childhood education by children from poor households.

#### **2.5.2.2 Zone 1 exclusion**

Primary school education is critical in the education cycle as it reinforces the nascent skills from pre-primary education and establishes a solid base for reducing poverty (Cox & Pawar, 2013:119). To this end, it is imperative that social workers in countries of the Global South as emphasised by Cox and Pawar (2013:200), acknowledge the importance of primary school education and appreciate the barriers to access this level of education as well as advocate for strategies that can address these barriers. Enrolment is the first step towards accessing the full cycle of basic education and acquiring knowledge and skills (Rolleston, 2014:135; UNICEF, 2015b:23).

Worldwide, enrolment rates have rapidly increased in many developing countries as a result of global commitments under the aegis of the 2000–2015 Millennium

Development Goals (Rose & Alcott, 2015:3). In light of this, approximately 622 million children of primary school age are enrolled in schools across the globe (UNICEF, 2015b:23). Despite the increased number of children enrolled in primary education, some have been left behind. Globally in 2016, an estimated 59 million children were out of school, 33 million of which lived in SSA (UNICEF, 2016a:44). These children fall in zone 1 of exclusion as they have never been enrolled in education (Lewin, 2009:155). The SSA region had the lowest attendance rate of 74 per cent in 2016 (UNICEF, 2016b:3).

Failure to enrol in education is associated with such factors as poverty, geographical location, parents with low education and orphanhood (Hall, 2016:123; Rolleston, 2014:135; UNICEF, 2016a:41). Using household income as a variable, UNICEF (2016b:2) notes that in Guinea, approximately 90 per cent of children from the richest households, in contrast to less than a third from the poorest quintile, attended primary school in 2012. In Zimbabwe, household income is a strong predictor of school attendance. For example, ZIMSTAT (2013b:96), based on the 2012 population census, observed that 71 and 68 per cent of boys and girls respectively from wealthy households were receiving primary education, compared to 38 and 39 per cent of boys and girls respectively from extremely poor households. Thus, extremely poor households usually do not enrol their children into primary education as they find it difficult to mobilise the requisite financial resources to pay school fees and buy other accessories (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:90). Based on location, UNICEF (2016b:2) observed that in Niger, 83 per cent of urban children attended primary school in 2012, while only 45 per cent in rural areas were enrolled in primary education. Contrary to the trend, ZIMSTAT (2013b:93) indicates that in Zimbabwe, only 27 per cent of children from urban poor households were more likely to attend primary school, compared to 63 per cent of their rural peers. This situation further supports the need to focus on urban child poverty in Zimbabwe.

In summary, despite the increased enrolment of children for primary education in developing countries such as Zimbabwe, a significant number of children across and within these countries are being excluded from primary school education. The causal

factors of the exclusion are varied and include living in poor households, whether in urban or rural areas. However, the challenge is more pronounced in rural communities.

### **2.5.2.3 Zone 2 exclusion**

In zone 2 of exclusion, child poverty manifests in the form of children who do not complete primary education (Lewin, 2009:155). In this regard, UNICEF (2015b:80) asserts that notwithstanding the phenomenal growth in primary school enrolment in low-income countries, millions of children drop out of primary education. Spaul (2015:36) emphasises the importance of knowing the number of learners who drop out and the reasons thereof. The determinants of primary education drop-out include overage, affordability, poor attendance and low attainment (Rolleston, 2014:136; UNESCO, 2015:83). Worldwide in 2013, 124 million children between 6 and 15 years of age were falling in zones one and two exclusion (UNESCO, 2015:1). Across all the regions, SSA has the lowest primary school survival rate of 58 per cent, with only 28 per cent from the poorest quintile falling in this category (UNICEF, 2016b:2). In Zimbabwe in 2012, 39.5 per cent of children who left school without completing primary education were from the poorest quintile (ZIMSTAT, 2013b:108). UNICEF (2015b:24) notes with concern the fact that the majority of the children who drop out of primary education are from low income households. From a sustainable development perspective, Montenegro and Patrinos (2014:2) argue that this trend dampens efforts towards poverty reduction in low-income countries.

Age of initial enrolment is a key factor in school dropout. Rolleston (2014:136) emphasises that late enrolment usually exerts pressure on children to leave school early. The phenomenon of late enrolment is evident in Zimbabwe as highlighted by the 17 percentage points gap between the primary school level gross attendance ratio of 108 per cent as compared to the net attendance ratio of 91 per cent for the official 6 to 12 year primary school-age population (ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016:16). The high gross attendance ratio indicates the presence of overage children enrolled in primary education, which is usually a result of late enrolment due to factors such as poverty. Overage children, especially girls, have a heightened risk of either marriage or pregnancy which forces them to drop out at primary level. Rolleston (2014:140) terms this phenomenon the “double negative effect” and entails late entry and early exit that

are mainly experienced by children from poor households. In Zimbabwe, as stated by Chigogo (2016:2), the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education's 2016 records indicate that 305 girls in Zimbabwe dropped out from primary education either due to marriage or pregnancy. Thus, there is poverty and gender dimensions to zone 2 exclusion which mainly disadvantage the girl child. This is despite evidence suggesting the effective contribution of the education of girls towards child poverty reduction (UNESCO, 2014:170). In addition, there are also structural issues, for instance, Hall (2016:125) identified travelling long distances, which is a legacy of colonialism and is still common in rural areas of Zimbabwe as a factor which cause some children to drop out. The long distances to school are associated with poor performance and low achievement, which also force some children to drop out. UNESCO (2015:83) acknowledges that school dropout is a serious challenge in developing countries mainly among marginalised groups such as girls, late entrants and poor children.

Thus, factors associated with zone 2 exclusion ranges from personal to structural issues, which cause children to drop out before completing primary education. What is apparent, is that either directly or indirectly, poverty is a dominant and recurrent factor in zones 0 and 1 exclusion. Despite some children leaving school early, other disadvantaged children manage to complete primary education but are silently excluded as they do not master the expected competencies, as will be discussed next.

#### **2.5.2.4 Zone 3 exclusion**

The manifestation of child poverty in zone 3 of exclusion involves children who are silently excluded because they learn little and these include irregular attenders and low achievers which is usually not given necessary attention (Lewin, 2009:157). Spaul and Kotze (2015:3) add that these children are characterised by lack of essential learning milestones in the form of basic literacy and numeracy skills. These core competencies form the building blocks which anchor the acquisition of more complex skills at secondary and tertiary levels of education that can propel economic growth (Spaul & Kotze, 2015:14). Rose and Alcott (2015:3) argue that learning and not schooling is what really counts in education. UNICEF (2016a:46) notes that nearly 250 million children of primary school age do not master the foundational learning skills. These children are mainly those with a disadvantaged background such as living in extreme poverty (World

Bank, 2018:3). This trend is worrying especially in low income countries such as Zimbabwe, as millions of children are leaving primary education with no basic skills. This trend also seriously undermines the role of education in child poverty reduction because the greatest reduction in poverty is linked to successful completion of primary education (Spaull & Kotze, 2015:13; UNICEF, 2015b:16). In the long term, the learning deficits are strong predictors of low skills, limited productivity and constrained livelihoods in adulthood, which intensify the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Spaull & Kotze, 2015:13; UNICEF, 2016a:55).

Existing literature suggests that children living in extreme poverty acquire “debilitating learning deficits” early in their educational life (Spaull & Kotze, 2015:21). World Bank (2015:98) opines that the mental growth trajectories between children living in richer families and those living in poverty tend to diverge years before primary school. However, there is limited longitudinal data on the magnitude of the learning differences in developing countries; the available cross-sectional data indicate the existence of significant gaps that tend to widen along the education cycle (Rose & Alcott, 2015:5). A snapshot of East Africa by Jones and Schipper (2015:9) highlight that there is a one-year learning deficit because of differences in household wealth for children of the same age, while in South Africa, by Grade 3, the learning gap between 60 per cent of children from the poorest quintile and children from the wealthiest quintile, is three grade levels (Rose & Alcott, 2015:6). The learning backlogs are further widened by the historically inferior education accessed by millions of poor children in South Africa, which disadvantages them in job markets and traps them in chronic poverty (Spaull, 2013:437; UNICEF, 2016a:46). Thus, children from poor households tend to “start behind and stay behind” throughout the whole education cycle (Spaull & Kotze, 2015:23). This challenge casts a shadow on the utility of education as a mechanism that reduces child poverty (Rolleston & Krutikova, 2014:113; UNESCO, 2014:153). Unequal education, as Hall (2014:38) argues, creates cleavages between the rich and poor groups in society and serves as a channel through which poverty and inequality are replicated.

Despite most post-colonial SSA countries having shed the racial barrier to education, Rose and Alcott (2015:5) note that the patterns of learning inequalities have now follow

different contours such as geographic location, gender and poverty. In many low-income countries, a clear dichotomy is evident between rural and urban areas (Rose & Alcott, 2015:3; UNICEF, 2015b:28). Rolleston (2014:140) uses the case of Ethiopia where urban eight-year-olds are five times more likely than their rural counterparts to be able to read sentences. In South Africa, which is similar to Zimbabwe, children from extremely poor families tend to access education of low quality in dysfunctional schools which denies them the opportunity to learn and limit their mobility out of poverty (Spaull, 2015:34; Spaull & Kotze, 2015:14).

UNICEF (2016a:50) advances the notion that adverse childhood experiences at home often manifest later in life as difficulties in learning. Shumba (2010:211) adds that having parents with little or no schooling is a strong predictor for children's poor academic performance. This is notwithstanding the reality that many children from poorer backgrounds are also able and have the desire to succeed (Spaull & Kotze, 2015:22). In addition, extensive brain development research suggests that exposure to either chronic or transient poverty during conception and early childhood permanently impairs areas of the brain that are responsible for learning (Lake & Chan, 2014:1816). For children, UNICEF (2017:115) notes that the first 1,000 days of life are considered critical for either optimal brain development or life-long cognitive impairment. Poverty is a stressor and World Bank (2015:101) posits that exposure to chronic stress during infancy results in excessive production of cortisol, which damages neurons in areas of the brain responsible for learning. Furthermore, the elevated stress levels cause the prolonged activation of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis (World Bank, 2015:101), which impairs the children's abilities to regulate emotions and results in adverse learning outcomes (Burkholder, Koss, Hostinar, Johnson & Gunnar, 2016:778). Children raised in stressful conditions tend to respond with extreme anxiety to small stresses associated with school which, when repeated, undermines self-confidence and leads to poor performance (De Villiers & Van den Berg, 2012:93; World Bank, 2015:101). Lastly, the stress associated with poverty imposes a "cognitive tax" on the children's minds that undermines their willpower and attention which in this case leads to poor learning outcomes (Shanks & Danziger, 2011:34; World Bank, 2015:115).

In the context of heightened poverty, children usually experience harsh parenting styles characterised by neglect and reduced emotional support and guidance as the parents and caregivers seek additional income (Harper et al., n.d:4; World Bank, 2015:14). The harsh parenting also contributes towards low educational achievement. In addition, Harper et al. (n.d:2) note that in the face of poverty, some children engage in part-time child labour to supplement the meagre household income which adversely affects their school attendance and often leads to low attainment. All these factors combined account for the early divergence in the learning trajectories of children living in advantaged families and their counterparts living in poverty even before entering formal education (World Bank, 2015:98). In the end, the children's ability to acquire skills for the workplace is compromised which leads to low productivity in adulthood (UNICEF, 2016a:26).

In summary, it can be noted from zone 3 exclusion, that factors such as poverty, harsh parenting styles and access to poor education are leading to the silent exclusion of children and intergenerational transmission of child poverty which extends into the next zone of exclusion.

#### **2.5.2.5 Zone 4 exclusion**

The zone 4 exclusion manifests as children who complete primary education but do not proceed to secondary education (Lewin, 2009:155). To this end, UNICEF (2015b:80) notes that "... the poorest and most marginalised students are de facto excluded from the highest levels of education." The phenomenon of low transition to secondary education is more pronounced in SSA and South Asia where a combined 65 million children are out of secondary education with many SSA countries having less than 50 per cent enrolment (UNICEF, 2016c:2). In 2013, 12 million children in India and 70 per cent of lower secondary school age adolescents in Niger were not in school (UNICEF, 2016c:2). Similarly, in Angola and the Central African Republic the percentages of children who never enrol for secondary school is considerably higher at above 80 per cent (UNICEF, 2016c:2). In Zimbabwe, the net secondary school attendance ratio is standing at 50 per cent (ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016:15). Zooming in on Mashonaland Central province, the net attendance ratios for both boys



and girls are low at 43 and 42 per cent respectively (ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016:33).

The reasons for low transition to secondary education mirror those in zone 1 exclusion but in this zone, they are intensified by such factors as higher costs of secondary education, and increased pressure to engage in child labour and marriage (Rolleston, 2014:136; UNICEF, 2016c:2). In Zimbabwe, ZIMSTAT and ICF International (2016:16) indicate that children from the wealthiest quintile are twice more likely to attend secondary school than those in the poorest quintile. In addition, there is a wide gap in the net attendance ratio at secondary school level of 64 per cent in urban areas to 45 per cent in rural areas (ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016:15). Poverty and overage are the main factors that keep many adolescents from extremely poor households out of secondary education (Lewin, 2009:172; ZIMSTAT, 2013b:97). Harper et al. (n.d.:2) further notes that in the face of livelihoods failure, children are forced to give up school to work or be married with a view to contribute towards household income.

It can be concluded that factors associated with zone 4 exclusion include poverty, child labour, child marriages and living in rural areas. Despite these constraining factors, some children from extremely poor households manage to enrol for secondary education but they fail to complete the whole cycle, as will be discussed next.

#### **2.5.2.6 Zone 5 exclusion**

Some children who succeed to enrol for secondary education, encounter significant barriers that force them to drop out before completing the whole cycle; these children are found in zone five of exclusion (Lewin, 2009:155). World Bank (2017:3) acknowledges that the retention of children in the education system after initial enrolment remains a challenge. On a global scale, Africa has the lowest secondary school completion rates, standing at 37 per cent in SSA (UNICEF, 2016c:2). Household income is a key determinant because children from extremely poor households are more likely than their counterparts from high income families to prematurely exit from secondary education (UNICEF, 2016a:46). A striking example is Mozambique where one in two children from the top wealth quintile reaches the end of lower secondary education as compared to one in 30 children from the poorest quintile (UNICEF,

2015b:32). Extremely poor households in their protracted struggles with poverty are forced to make hard choices and one such decision is the perverse coping mechanism of withdrawing children from secondary education on account of high costs (World Bank, 2015:81; ZIMSTAT: 2013b:34).

For extremely poor households, Harper et al. (n.d.:34) are of the view that decisions about schooling are based on a “cost-benefit trade-off”. Hall (2014:105) notes that extremely poor households’ decisions on whether children continue attending school are based on the opportunity cost of education on the one end and the need for children’s contribution to boost household income on the other. To this end, parents and guardians of poor children who attend dysfunctional schools that provide low quality secondary education see no value in making sacrifices to keep their children in school and tend to withdraw them (Spaull, 2015:34; World Bank, 2018:8). Hall (2016:125) further argues that the long distance to and from school can force some children to leave secondary education early. In addition, since learning is cumulative, some of the children with early learning deficits from primary school continue falling behind in secondary education and some eventually give up during the course of secondary schooling (Spaull, 2015:36).

From a gender perspective, UNICEF (2015b:36) is of the notion that there is an increased school dropout rate after 12 years of age as the girls will be reaching puberty and hence experience immense pressure to get married, while boys will now be strong enough to engage in child labour. Dapaah (2016:2) concurs by noting that in SSA, 39 per cent of girls are married before they reach 18 years of age, with 12 per cent before their fifteenth birthday. The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in Zimbabwe underlines that late enrolment, which is associated with overage is leading to an increased secondary school dropout rate as children opt for marriage (Chigogo, 2016:2). Furthermore, the 2016 figures from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education indicate that early marriages accounted for 3,650 girls and 251 boys who dropped out of secondary school (Chigogo, 2016:2). Child labour also compromises access to education as the rigors of the workplace force children to leave school (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2015:6). The twin challenges of child labour

and marriage are causes and consequences of the vicious cycle of child poverty as they result in low education for girls and boys, which as adults traps them in chronic poverty (Kidjo, 2016:39; UNESCO, 2015:97).

It can thus be noted that the causal factors of exclusions are overlapping because factors associated with zone 5 exclusion are largely similar to those of zone 4. The only difference is that in zone 5 they lead to children dropping out of secondary education after initial enrolment. However, some extremely poor households are resilient and ensure that their children remain in the education system but unfortunately experience multiple dimensions of exclusion, as pointed out next.

#### **2.5.2.7 Zone 6 exclusion**

The dimensions of zone 6 exclusion include overage, irregular attendance, low achievement and silent exclusion, which are the same as in zone 3. However, the minor difference is that in this zone they are experienced at secondary education level (Lewin, 2009:168). Access to education entails enrolment at an appropriate age (Rolleston, 2014:135). However, late enrolment, which is strongly associated with children living in extreme poverty, leads children to be overage throughout the full cycle of education and this can result in low achievement (Rose & Alcott, 2015:21). The phenomenon of overage children is evident in secondary education in Zimbabwe because current statistics indicate that the gross attendance ratio is 58 per cent, which is higher than the net attendance ratio of 50 per cent for the official 13 to 18 years secondary school-aged population (ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016:16). Rolleston (2014:140) states that overage interacting with low achievement is a strong predictor of secondary school dropout. For instance, a study in four countries, namely Ethiopia, Peru, India (Andhra Pradesh) and Vietnam found significantly higher dropout percentages of children in the lowest quintile by the age of 12 years as compared to their peers in the highest quintile (Rolleston, 2014:140).

In zone 6, child poverty also manifests as silent exclusion through irregular school attendance and low achievement. Hall (2016:125) identifies long distances to and from school as one of the factors that leads to irregular attendance and subsequent low achievement. In addition, Spaul (2015:34) is of the view that despite evident “learning

backlogs”, disadvantaged children are allowed to proceed to secondary education, which pushes them further behind and manifests as low achievement. Furthermore, low achievement is also sustained by low quality education that learners from poor backgrounds receive (Spaull, 2015:34). In the context of poverty reduction, basic education, which entails lower secondary schooling, has been found to be critical for equity, economic and human capital development (Montenegro & Patrinos, 2014:2). However, the main challenge is that the poor-quality education received mainly by children from poor households, traps them in the cycle of poverty as they are unable to develop core capabilities (Spaull, 2015:37). These children as adults join the workforce with weak skills and benefit little from the labour market because of low productivity and meagre earnings (Hall, 2016:126; Spaull, 2015:34). Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2016:203) stresses the point that skilled workers enjoy more social and economic benefits of economic growth than their unskilled counterparts, which widens poverty and inequality.

It can be concluded that the manifestations of child poverty in the education domain are extremely varied, contextual, and do overlap. These are mediated by factors such as poverty, gender, age and whether the child lives in an urban or rural area. Despite each dimension having an impact, poverty is a key determinant of attendance, achievement, progression and completion of the full education cycle. The discussion in this section demonstrated that poorest children are the hardest hit at each zone of exclusion as they account for most of the children who throughout the education cycle never enrol, drop out, are overage, irregularly attend school, and are low achievers. The limited access of education by the poorest children undermines human capital development, which is one of the pathways to child poverty reduction. However, there is limited knowledge on how child poverty is manifesting in terms of access to education in Bindura district. Thus, this study attempted to gain an in-depth understanding of how child poverty is being experienced in terms of access to education by children living in extremely poor households in the district. Such knowledge is important in determining appropriate recommendations to build human capital, which is one of the core assets and pathways used to reduce child poverty among the extremely poor households under the ABCD

strategy. The discussion will now turn to child poverty and the different forms of child protection violation.

### **2.5.3 Child poverty and forms of child protection violation**

Child protection is defined by ZIMSTAT (2015b:214) as the prevention of and response to violence, exploitation and abuse of children. Various forms of child protection violation are rooted in the erosive poverty coping strategies adopted by extremely poor households. When faced with poverty, adults and children exercise their agency by adopting a series of coping strategies for survival (Devereux, 2011:95; Lister, 2015:6). The coping strategies involve trade-offs between the economic, physical and social costs of each option and these can either be constructive or erosive (Devereux, 2011:95; Mararike & Nyamwanza, 2012:58). In the coping mechanisms lies the varied agency which Lister's (2004) taxonomy categorises into four quadrants namely, "getting by, getting (back) at, getting out and getting organised" (Jones & Sumner, 2011:19). Lister (2015:6) notes that agency can be either progressive or regressive. It is within the context of erosive coping strategies characterised by regressive agency by poor households that the protection of children is violated. This breach of child protection, as discussed below, manifests in diverse forms that include child sexual abuse, child labour and anti-social behaviours.

#### **2.5.3.1 Child sexual abuse**

Child abuse, as USAID (2012:73) denotes, is any wilful act of maltreatment that compromises a child's safety, well-being, dignity and development, and can be physical, psychological, emotional and sexual in nature. The United Kingdom Department of Education (2015:93) defines child sexual abuse as the use of power by an individual or group to force, entice, or exploit a child to participate in sexual activities to either meet the child's needs or for another individual or group financial gain. Forms of child sexual abuse are many and include child marriage and child prostitution.

Child marriage is one of the common manifestations of child sexual abuse affecting the globe. Dapaah (2016:2) notes that several international human rights instruments condemn child marriage, for instance article 34 of the CRC implores governments to protect children from sexual abuse, while SDG number five expresses worldwide

resolve to end child marriages by 2030 (UNICEF, 2018b:65). To this end, many countries have put in place legislation that outlaws child marriage (United Nations Population Fund, 2012:10). For instance, in Zimbabwe the Constitutional Court declared child marriage unconstitutional, which was widely applauded by child rights advocates (Makoni, 2016:2). Despite this, globally, 15 million girls, mainly from poor backgrounds, are married every year (Kidjo, 2016:38). The conundrum of child marriages is that the enactment of laws against the vice alone is not enough if the underlying causes are not addressed. Child marriages mainly stems from poverty, as the phenomenon is prevalent among the extremely poor households (Makoni, 2016:2). Although the practice is a global challenge, it is most prevalent in SSA and South Asia. Niger has the world's highest rate at 76 per cent and Bangladesh tops on marriages involving girls below 15 years of age (Dapaah, 2016:2; Kidjo, 2016:38). Coincidentally, these two regions (SSA and South Asia) are burdened with endemic poverty. In Zimbabwe, an estimated one in four girls aged 15 to 19 years is married, with Mashonaland Central province topping the list at 39.1 per cent of girls in this age bracket being married (ZIMSTAT, 2015b:224).

Child marriages are perpetrated and rooted in multiple and interrelated factors that include lack of education, poverty, religious beliefs and social norms (Fenn, Edmeades, Lantos & Onovo, 2015:22). Using the variable of household wealth, UNICEF (2014a:4) posits that girls from extremely poor households are 2.5 times more likely to be married as children than their peers from rich households. This is because poverty pushes some extremely poor households to marry off their young girls (Dapaah, 2016:3). World Bank (2015:81) contextualises child marriage in the decision-making process of poor households in which poverty pushes them to put intense attention on the present at the expense of the future.

The practice of child marriage, as Dapaah (2016:2) postulates, has long lasting detrimental physical, emotional and social impact. Child marriage is both a driver and consequence of low education as it usually brings a premature end to girls' education (Dapaah, 2016:2). Fenn et al. (2015:11) note that the practice is associated with premature adulthood that can result in early pregnancy and related complications, such as obstetric fistula, which are strong predictors of maternal and child mortality among

child brides. Child marriage also puts child brides at increased risk of sexually transmitted infections including HIV because they are not able to negotiate for safer sex when married to already sexually active older men (Dapaah, 2016:3). Together, these challenges are predictors of poor health and low education and these disadvantages are passed from one generation to next and incubate chronic poverty (Kidjo, 2016:39).

However, there is hope in ending child marriages as UNICEF (2014a:5) asserts that, on a global scale, the practice of child marriage is on a downward trend. This, according to UNICEF (2014a:5), has been heralded by a drop in girls getting married before their fifteenth birthday from 32 to 17 per cent in South Asia over the last three decades. In addition, a decline in girls getting married before 18 years of age from 34 to 18 per cent in the Middle East and North Africa has been witnessed (UNICEF, 2014a:5). This positive outlook is a result of multi-pronged interventions that include improving access to education for girls, enhancing the economic situation of girls and their households, mobilising communities and enforcing laws against child marriages (Kidjo, 2016:39; United Nations Population Fund, 2012:53). In addition, United Nations Population Fund (2012:53) is of the view that the most promising interventions are those that focus on child poverty reduction through integrating asset-building and community mobilisation. To this end, the researcher explored and described how ABCD as a multi-pronged approach with in-built asset-building and community mobilisation strategies can reduce child poverty and, in the process, counteract its manifestations such as child marriages.

Child sexual abuse also manifests as child prostitution, which involves young girls engaging in “consensual” transactional sex in order to fend for themselves and their families (UNICEF, 2010:9). A striking case cited by Mwase (2015:1) is that of a Zimbabwean woman who at the age of 13 years had her first child, and who actually believes that early sexual indulgence liberated her from the jaws of poverty. Mwase (2015:1) quotes her as saying:

I stay in Kuzvinyeda section of Mbare (an impoverished suburb that is the oldest in Harare) near Mukuvisi River, and both my parents are late, so I had no one [to] look after me. When this man in his late 30s came and promised to provide all my needs, I consented to be his sexual partner.

In another case, Sachiti (2011:1) reported on a 16-year-old orphaned girl who patronised bars and nightclubs to exchange sex for money to fend for her two siblings. These narratives highlight the interplay between poverty and survival as a result of the failure of child protection mechanisms to cushion poor children, which in turn pushes them to adopt such a risky coping strategy (ZNCWC, 2011:27). Child prostitution promotes chronic poverty through unsafe abortions, teenage pregnancy, school dropout and elevated risk of HIV infection (ZNCWC, 2011:27). Thus, child sexual abuse as a form of child protection violations mainly affects the girl child as poor households sacrifice the girls to cope with poverty. In addition, the boys are not spared either as they also exercise their agency by selling their labour with a view to supplement household income, as outlined in the next discussion point.

### **2.5.3.2 Child labour**

In the developing countries as observed by Corsaro (2015:303), child poverty is intricately aligned with child labour. The practice is common in the farming, mining, commercial and domestic work sectors (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2015:2; ZNCWC, 2011:29). Corsaro (2015:303) laments that child labour is persistent despite the existence of legal instruments that are against the practice, both at global and national levels. At the international level, ILO (2015:7) notes that the CRC is one of the principal instruments that prohibit child labour. In Zimbabwe, the Children's Act and Labour Act have provisions that protect children from child labour (SOS, 2014:14). Globally, an estimated 168 million children are involved in child labour (ILO, 2015:1). According to the *Zimbabwe Inter Censal Demography Survey 2017* indicates that 3 per cent of all children in the 10 to 14 years age range are engaged in child labour mainly in the agricultural sector (ZIMSTAT, 2017:80). Rori (2020:3) reports that because of poverty some children are working as artisanal gold miners to supplement their households' income which adversely affect their physical, mental and moral development. The 2014 Child Labour Report in Zimbabwe indicates that in Mashonaland Central province, 14 per cent of the children aged 5 to 17 years were involved in child labour (ZIMSTAT, 2015d:57). This study explored how child poverty is manifesting as child labour in Bindura district.



ILO (2015:7) notes that poverty, and by extension child poverty, acts both as one of the determinants and consequences of child labour. Using a life course trajectory model, ILO (2015:6) illustrates that child labour is detrimental to human capital development which in turn perpetuates child poverty and sustains chronic poverty. Harper et al. (n.d.:10) acknowledge that the connection between poverty and child labour is well established because economic stress pushes some parents or guardians to resort to child labour as a necessary coping strategy. For poor households, children's participation on the labour market can result in them contributing substantially to the household income (Evans, 2008:239). Furthermore, Drimie and Casale (2009:30) propound that some extremely poor households take children out of school in order to release them for child labour and relieve costs associated with school attendance. To disrupt the child poverty and child labour link, ILO (2015:61) proposes an overarching multi-sectoral approach that entails economic development, early interventions to rescue children from child labour and return them to school, and social protection to cushion extremely poor households from shocks that undermine livelihoods. Towards this end, this study explored and described ABCD as a strategy that can foster economic development, curb child labour and subsequently reduce child poverty. The next section focuses on some of the anti-social behaviours associated with child poverty.

### **2.5.3.3 Crime, drug and substance abuse**

Child poverty as noted by Harper et al. (n.d.:25), can lead to anti-social behaviours that include crime, and drug and substance abuse. These anti-social behaviours are grounded in biological, psychological, interpersonal, social and environmental factors (US National Institute of Drug Abuse, 2016:3; Shanks & Danziger, 2011:34). From a biopsychosocial perspective, US National Institute of Drug Abuse (2016:3) goes on to identify the protective factors that buffer against anti-social behaviour such as a stable home environment, adequate nutrition and proper parenting. However, Shanks and Danziger (2011:33) are of the notion that children exposed to such risk factors as poverty at neighbourhood and household levels experience pressures that can influence them to engage in criminal activities, and drug and substance abuse. According to the World Drug Report (2020:10) drug and substance abuse is on the increase with 269 million people including children, involved in this harmful behaviour. The commonly

abused drugs as noted by World Drug Report (2020:7) are cannabis, opioids and amphetamines, with cannabis being commonly abused by young people. Drug and substance abuse has adverse effects on the health of users when it develops into drug or substance abuse disorders (World Drug Report, 2020:9).

Harper et al. (n.d.:25) are of the view that the economic strain of poverty is one of the underlying factors that elevates the risk of anti-social behaviours among children living in poor households. To this end, US National Institute on Drug Abuse (2016:24) agrees that when children fail to cope with chronic stressors like household poverty, they can respond by committing crime or resorting to drug and substance abuse. In face of poverty and unemployment, Zimbabwe has recorded rising cases of drug and substance abuse among young persons aged between 20 to 35 years (The Sunday Mail, 2020:S8). The young persons are abusing a wide range of drugs and substances such as cocaine, cannabis (marijuana), crystal meth, alcohol, cough syrups and glue (Matutu & Mususa, 2019:6; The Sunday Mail, 2020:S8). This situation has resulted in increased incidences of drug-related diseases and mental health problems (The Sunday Mail, 2020:S8). Cases of criminal activities linked to drug and substance abuse have also been recorded for example, Agere (2016:1) in one of the weekly newspapers in Zimbabwe, reports on the case of a 15-year-old boy who is incarcerated at a Young Offenders facility because he committed theft due to alcohol abuse after dropping out of school as a result of poverty.

Poverty also causes child neglect, which increases the risk for anti-social behaviours among children as they lack proper nurturing when parents or caregivers reduce parenting time through extending time for livelihood activities to boost household income (Harper et al., n.d.:4). Put otherwise, poverty undermines one of the dimensions of parenting developed by World Health Organisation, namely that of modelling appropriate behaviour in children (UNICEF, 2017:104). In addition, stress emanating from poverty is also linked to harsh and inconsistent parenting, which can manifest as anti-social behaviours by children (Ward, Makusha & Bray, 2015:69). In some instances, the quest to meet household needs has forced parents or caregivers to resort to labour migration, leaving children alone and thus creating a pathway for anti-social

behaviours by the children (Harper et al., n.d.:25). In the case of Zimbabwe, Chereni (2017:366) notes that some heads of households, because of economic challenges, have become labour migrants in neighbouring South Africa. To reduce crime and drug and substance abuse, US National Institute of Drug Abuse (2016:21) suggests that child poverty reduction interventions need to enhance the protective factors that can mitigate the risk factors.

This section explored how child poverty manifests in the domains of health, education and child protection. It can be noted that the manifestations of child poverty are interrelated within complex cause and effect processes. To reduce child poverty, Lancet (2016:2) supports the creation of a safe and caring environment which enhances children`s health, provides opportunities to learn and protects them from risks. The long-term benefits for children include improved health, the ability to learn and earn, and overall wellbeing. ABCD as a child poverty reduction strategy has the potential to create a stable and caring environment for children.

## **2.6 Summary**

This chapter discussed child poverty and its reduction within the theoretical frameworks of the SLA and asset-building framework. The discussion noted that child poverty can originate from limited or lack of assets which in turn curtail sustainable livelihoods and make poor households and their children vulnerable. As argued in this chapter, child poverty can therefore be reduced through mobilisation and integration of core assets identified as human, social, physical, economic and human capitals. To this end, strategies under the asset-building framework such as ABCD are necessary for building these assets and child poverty reduction.

This chapter also highlighted that child poverty can be understood using different approaches, and can manifest in multiple ways, which reflects the complexity of this phenomenon. The two dominant approaches to understanding child poverty are income and multidimensional approaches. A deeper understanding of child poverty requires the application of both income and multidimensional approaches. Predicated on these two approaches, the chapter also demonstrated that child poverty takes varied forms. A unique form, as argued in this chapter, is urban child poverty, which is an emerging

challenge in developing countries, which are experiencing the unprecedented phenomenon of rapid but poor urbanisation. However, there is limited scholarship on urban child poverty in developing countries such as Zimbabwe because much focus has been on rural child poverty. Thus, there is scope for increased research in urban child poverty.

The last section of this chapter premised on the varied forms of child poverty explored the manifestations of child poverty in the domains of health, education and child protection. In this regard, it revealed that, besides income inadequacy, child poverty manifests as mutually reinforcing poor child health outcomes, limited access to education and child protection violations which tend to sustain the intergenerational transmission of child poverty. Therefore, to ensure sustainable child poverty reduction, there is a need to focus on issues such as income, health, education and child protection using multipronged strategies such as ABCD.

Finally, a review of literature in this chapter established a solid base for the conceptualisation of child poverty and its reduction in general and more specifically in the Zimbabwean context. It also provided a firm background for the next chapter, which discusses the legal, policy and programme frameworks for child poverty reduction, responses to child poverty and ABCD as a strategy for child poverty reduction.

## CHAPTER 3

### LEGAL, POLICY AND PROGRAMME FRAMEWORKS AND RESPONSES TO CHILD POVERTY

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This chapter is devoted to the legal, policy and programme frameworks on child poverty reduction. The first section discusses the legal, policy and programme frameworks that guide child poverty reduction from international, regional and Zimbabwean contexts. Based on these frameworks, the next section shifts to responses to child poverty in Zimbabwe and highlights the nature of assets being used in such responses. The chapter notes that the main responses are residual in nature.

The responses are proving inadequate to the increasing child poverty putting the care and protection of many children at risk. In this context, there is a need to shift from the residual to the developmental approach as the guiding framework of the responses. To ensure that this shift is translated from being a lofty ideal into visible reality, the succeeding section discusses the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief summary.

#### **3.2 Legal, policy and programme frameworks: An international context.**

In recognition of the difficulties faced by millions of children living in extreme poverty, the global community promulgated the CRC, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the SDGs as the overarching legal, policy and programme frameworks for child poverty reduction.

##### **3.2.1 International legal and policy frameworks**

As postulated by Jones and Sumner (2011:9), the CRC is both a legal code and policy instrument which can be used by children and child advocates to transform and protect the welfare and rights of children. The CRC was adopted by the United Nations as a binding international law in 1989 (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:11). This meant that all states that ratified it must uphold its provisions. Zimbabwe acceded

to the CRC in September 1990 and the CRC has since guided the country's legal, policy and programme frameworks in the field of child poverty reduction (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:11). The CRC sets out a range of political, civil, cultural, economic and social rights under 54 different articles which Jones and Sumner (2011:9) grouped into four dimensions, namely child survival, child development, child protection, and child participation rights.

As a policy framework, the CRC is also complemented by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Covenant, as noted by Mpedi and Nyenti (2015:11), has a number of provisions that promote economic, social and cultural rights consistent with principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Zimbabwe endorsed the Covenant in May 1991 (Mpedi & Nyenti, 2015:11). A number of provisions of the Covenant have implications on child poverty reduction. For example, Article 11(1) provides that, "State parties to the Covenant are required to recognise every person's right to adequate food, clothing, housing and continuous improvement of living conditions using available resources" (Mpedi & Nyenti, 2015:11). Article 12(1&2) requires governments to take necessary measures that ensures every person's right to the highest standard of physical and mental health (Mpedi & Nyenti, 2015:13). Measures that have direct impacts on child poverty include the reduction of infant mortality and promotion of the healthy development of children (Mpedi & Nyenti, 2015:13). To this end, Zimbabwe as state party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, is duty bound to adopt measures that can promote the rights of children to meet their basic needs. Such measures include adopting strategies such as ABCD that, as a starting point, use available resources. Legal and policy frameworks provide the context for international programmes focused at child poverty reduction and will be the next discussion point.

### **3.2.2 International programme frameworks**

The provisions of the CRC and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights policy frameworks are currently being operationalised under the programme framework of the integrated SDGs, as presented in Figure 3.1 below. The SDGs are guiding the international development programmes for the period 2015–2030 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:12). UNICEF (2018b:9)

emphasises that the SDGs have a strong bearing on the realisation of the aspirations of the CRC as they aim to address a broad range of child rights which can lead to reduced child poverty. The SDGs as Bhardwaj, Sambu and Jamieson (2017:29) argue recognise the link between poverty and the realisation of children’s rights.



**Figure 3.1: 2030 Sustainable Development Goals**

Source: United Nations Department of Public Information (2017:48)

A total of 193 countries are signatories to the SDGs with its 169 set targets and 232 indicators that are intended to guide and track multi-pronged progress towards addressing a plethora of development issues, including child poverty reduction (UNICEF, 2016a:85). To ensure that children are not left behind, UNICEF (2018b:10) states that there are 44 child-specific indicators situated across the 17 SDGs, which directly focus on multiple dimensions of child poverty.

From a rights-based approach to poverty, Graham, Restifo and Nelson (2015:9) assert that child poverty creates barriers that prevent millions of children from enjoying many fundamental rights. Child poverty reduction, as Cox and Pawar (2013:270) contend, is about meeting children’s needs and upholding their rights. In addition, the United Nations General Assembly resolution 71/186 of 2016 reaffirms that, “the existence of widespread extreme poverty inhibits the full and effective enjoyment of human rights...” (United Nations General Assembly, 2017:para.28). To promote and protect child rights,

the first SDG seeks to, amongst other aims, "... end extreme child poverty and halve multidimensional child poverty by 2030" (c.f UNICEF, 2019a:20).

Zimbabwe is a signatory to the SDGs and has in sequence prioritised SDGs 8, 7, 2, 9, 6, 13, 17, 3, 4 and 5 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:12). These goals relate to child poverty reduction as they have implications on various dimensions of child poverty. The government argues that focusing on the ten goals will build a firm foundation for the attainment of the remaining seven outcome goals, culminating in ending poverty in all its varied forms by 2030 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:13). Thus, Zimbabwe by being a signatory to the CRC, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and SDGs affirms its commitment to the international community's vision to reduce and ultimately end child poverty. Consistent with this vision, this study advocates for ABCD as a strategy that can contribute towards significant child poverty reduction. It can also be noted that from the international context there are robust legal, policy and programme frameworks for child poverty reduction that provide the context for the legal, policy and programme frameworks in the African continent.

### **3.3 Legal, policy and programme frameworks: An African regional context.**

At the regional level, the African continent has solid legal, policy and programme frameworks for child poverty reduction. These include the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), African Union Agenda 2063, and sub-Regional Economic Communities' development blueprints, such as the Southern African Development Community Revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (SADC Revised RISDP) 2015–2020.

#### **3.3.1 Regional legal frameworks**

The ACRWC is the African continent's flagship legal framework that guides the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of the African child. The promotion and protection of children's rights are central to child poverty reduction. The ACRWC, as noted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:17), covers a range of civil, political, economic and cultural rights from an African perspective. Provisions of the ACRWC mirror those of the CRC, albeit with nuanced differences (Ministry of Labour



and Social Services, 2011b:17). One unique provision of ACRWC as noted by Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:17) is article 31 which state that all African children have a responsibility towards their families, society and different forms of community. The ACRWC was of significance to this study because Zimbabwe as a signatory to ACRWC is required to take steps to gradually achieve the rights of children that contribute towards child poverty reduction. This study focused on how ABCD as an approach can reduce child poverty in Bindura district and ensure the realisation of children’s rights. It can thus be concluded that the African region has an enabling legal framework for child poverty reduction which is complemented by policy and programme frameworks, as discussed next.

### 3.3.2 Regional policy and programme frameworks

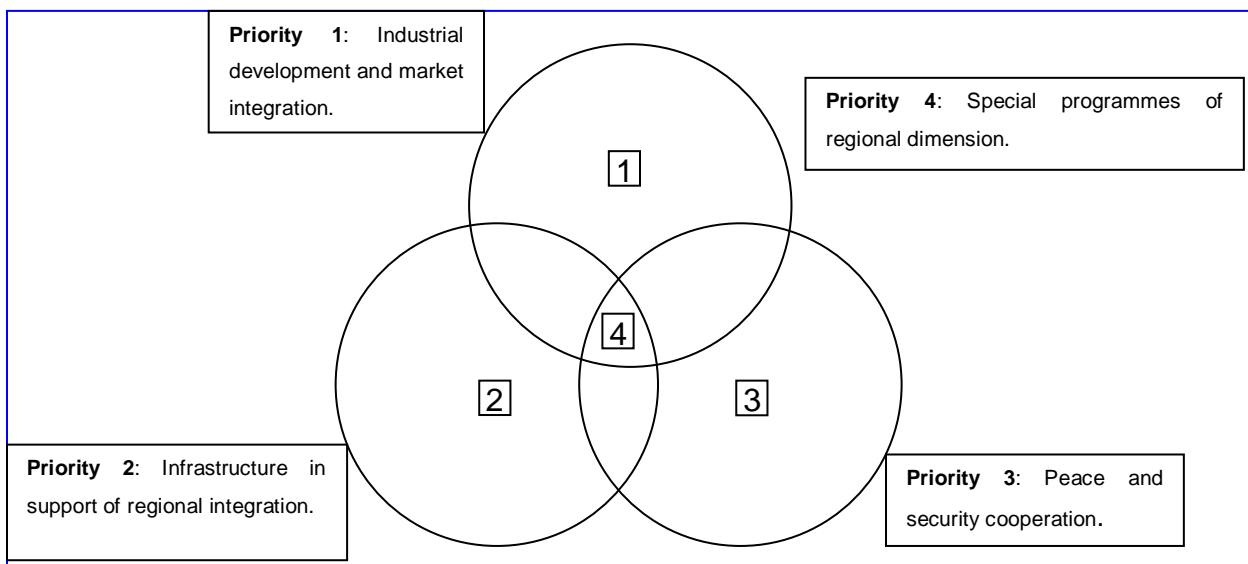
On the policy and programme fronts, the African region has the African Union’s principal framework, namely Agenda 2063. The vision for Africa, as stated by the African Union Commission (2015:4), is to have “...an integrated, prosperous and peaceful [Africa], driven by its own citizens and presenting a dynamic force in [the] international arena.” To realise this vision, the African leaders in 2013 agreed on Agenda 2063, which can be viewed both as a socio-economic policy and programme framework that will guide individual, sectoral and collective actions for the period 2013–2063 (African Union Commission, 2015:4). Enshrined in this framework are the seven aspirations, as presented in Table 3.1, which African countries need to realise through concrete programmes (African Union Commission, 2015:7).

**Table 3.1: The seven aspirations of Agenda 2063**

ASPIRATION 1	A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development.
ASPIRATION 2	An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa’s Renaissance.
ASPIRATION 3	An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.
ASPIRATION 4	A peaceful and secure Africa.
ASPIRATION 5	An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values, and ethics.
ASPIRATION 6	An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children.
ASPIRATION 7	Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner.

Although all the seven aspirations have important implications on child poverty reduction, the researcher is of the view that aspirations one and six have direct implications on this study. As spelt out by African Union Commission (2015:7), the first aspiration envisions a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development. The outcomes of this aspiration include well-educated African people with high standards of living coupled with sound health and well-being (Africa Union Commission, 2015:7). ABCD offers the best potential towards sustainable child poverty reduction with a view to promote high standards of living and well-being of children as an important segment of the population in Africa. The sixth aspiration advocates for an African continent whose development is people-driven and built around the potential mainly of its women and youth and also cares for its children (Africa Union Commission, 2015:8). The notion of caring for children resonated with this study which explored and described how ABCD as a people-driven and potential-based strategy can be used to reduce child poverty and enhance the care of children.

In the implementation matrix of Agenda 2063, the Africa Union supports sub-Regional Economic Communities' programmes that feed into the realisation of the continental dream (Africa Union Commission, 2015:10). In this regard, SADC, as a regional bloc, crafted its socio-economic development strategy, namely the RISDP 2015–2020.



**Figure 3.2: The four priorities of SADC Revised RISDP.** Source: SADC Business Forum (2015:5)

As noted by the SADC Secretariat (2003:56), since its inception, SADC has prioritised combating poverty at the core of its regional integration agenda. To combat poverty, the SADC Revised RISDP 2015–2020 is anchored in four priorities as shown in Figure 3.2. This study was aligned with the fourth priority which focuses on key domains of child poverty such as education, health and food security (SADC Business Forum, 2015:5). This section indicated that the African continent as a region has relevant legal, policy and programme frameworks that further guide similar frameworks at national levels for child poverty reduction, as discussed next.

### **3.4 The legal, policy and programme frameworks: A Zimbabwean context.**

Rising poverty at household and community levels has been pinpointed as a key determinant of the vulnerability of children in the country (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2016:23). The government of Zimbabwe, premised primarily on the CRC and the ACRWC and within the context of heightened vulnerability of children, has committed to child poverty reduction by putting in place robust legal, policy and programme frameworks (SOS, 2014:17). This is evidenced by the Bill of Rights for children, several pieces of legislation, the National Orphan Care Policy, the National Social Protection Policy, the National Action Plans for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (NAP for OVC), the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy, and the Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) 2018–2020.

#### **3.4.1 The legal frameworks**

On the legal front, the government's firm commitment to the care and protection of children from the multiple dimensions of child poverty is explicitly expressed by the progressive provisions in the national constitution. The constitution's section 81 enunciates the Bill of Rights for children which bind the government to offer services that guarantee all children their rights to education, health care, nutrition, shelter and protection from abuse (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No (20), 2013:38). The constitutional provisions are complemented by key pieces of legislation that include:

- *Children's Act* (GoZ, 2002): Chapter 5:06 give the government the power to protect children from conditions that compromise their rights. For instance, section 14 of the Act empowers social workers, health, education and police officers to remove

children from living conditions that compromise their rights or can lead to abuse, exploitation and neglect.

- *Social Welfare Assistance Act* (GoZ, 2001): Chapter 17:06 provides for the granting of social welfare assistance to persons in need, such as children living in extreme poverty.
- *Education Act* (GoZ, 2001): Chapter 25:04 guarantees every child's right to education and entitlement to enrolment at a government primary or secondary school.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011b:10) concludes that the child-sensitive legal frameworks attest the government's resolve to protect vulnerable children such as those living in extreme poverty at all times. The national constitution clearly provides that the state must put in place policies to ensure that the best interests of the children are promoted (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No (20), 2013:20).

### **3.4.2 The policy frameworks**

The policies that have direct implications on child poverty reduction in Zimbabwe include the National Orphan Care Policy (1999) and the National Social Protection Policy (2016).

As a response to the mass orphanhood crisis and the need to ensure that orphans in the country realise their rights in accordance with the CRC, ACRWC and national laws, the government in consultations with stakeholders developed the National Orphan Care Policy (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:18; SOS, 2014:21). The National Orphan Care Policy's main provisions are the six-tier safety net system that ensures that orphans are provided with social protection, support and care (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:18). The system identifies the six different forms of support and care in sequence of priority which are nuclear family, extended family, community care, foster care, adoption, and institutional care (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:18). It is important to note that the policy's guiding philosophy that puts more emphasis on family and community care as opposed to institutional care, is firmly

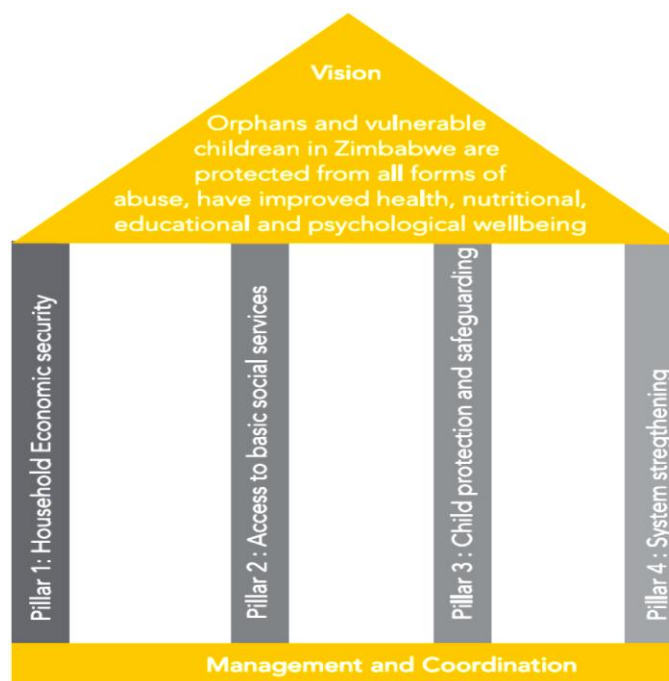
rooted in local culture (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:18). The policy, as its title suggests, was designed primarily with orphans in mind. However, the increased realisation that, besides orphanhood, there are other factors associated with vulnerability, such as poverty, resulted in the provisions of the policy also being extended to children living in extreme poverty ((Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011b:18). The notions of family and community care resonated with this study on the basis that ABCD supports sustainable family- and community-based interventions and moves away from the usually inadequate short-term social safety nets provided by the state and non-state actors (Homan, 2011:79; UNICEF, 2016a:99). From a social development perspective, Gray (2010:464) argues that community-based solutions are developmental rather than remedial in nature. Such interventions, as noted by Butterfield et al. (2017:322), capitalise on households and community strengths and capacities to produce goods and services for the benefit of children. This refocus in child welfare can be located within the broader approach where the conventional top-down paternalistic development system, led predominantly by governments and international agencies, is giving way to the community-led and bottom-up development model (UNICEF, 2016a:99). Firmly grounded in this shift, this study explored and described how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

The National Social Protection Policy is another policy framework that guides the protection of vulnerable groups, such as women and children, from poverty. The global aim of the policy is to “...reduce extreme poverty through empowering and building resilience in poor, vulnerable and disadvantaged households” (GoZ, 2017:1). It is envisaged that this aim will be realised through implementation of a wide range of social protection interventions anchored in four domains, namely social assistance, social insurance, labour market interventions, and livelihood support strategies (GoZ, 2017:7). To this end, this study fits into the livelihoods support strategies domain as it explored and described ABCD strategy that can be used by poor households to mobilise and combine assets that sustain livelihoods for child poverty reduction in the urban wards of Bindura district. Mathie and Cunningham (2005:180) emphasise that ABCD is a practical strategy that promotes sustainable livelihoods at community level. From a sustainable livelihoods perspective, the GoZ (2017:13) is of the notion that supporting

livelihoods of the poor will assist them to build their assets, gain access to resources and develop capabilities that enable them to attain sustainable livelihoods and build their resilience.

### 3.4.3 The programme frameworks

Tied to the National Orphan Care Policy, the government has designed successive programming plans in the form of the NAP for OVC, phases I (2005–2010), II (2011–2015) and III (2016–2020) (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2016:1). The various phases of NAP for OVC have shaped the multi-sectoral responses by government ministries and departments, development partners, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) operating at different levels to the difficulties faced by orphans and other vulnerable children (GoZ, 2017:14; Wyatt, Mupedziswa & Rayment, 2010:28).



**Figure 3.3: Structure of the NAP for OVC III**

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2016:22)

The NAP for OVC phase III (2016 to 2020) summarised in Figure 3.3 was applicable to this study and its overarching aim is to ensure that OVC in Zimbabwe are protected from all forms of abuse, have improved health, and improved nutritional, educational

and psychological well-being. This, will be realised through the above four pillars (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2016:22).

This study's overall goal of child poverty reduction through ABCD was primarily aligned to the first pillar on household economic security, which focuses on capacitating poor households to be in a position to meet the needs of their children (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2016:23). This is based on the notion that income poverty weakens the capacity of households to guarantee access to basic services and heightens child rights violation (Butterfield et al., 2017:321; Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2016:31). Another programme framework is the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy.

The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy is a programme framework that seeks to enhance inclusive economic growth that will culminate in many households moving out of poverty (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:1). The framework proposes a number of interventions under seven components, as shown in Table 3.2 below (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:4).

**Table 3.2: The seven components of the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy**

<b>Component I</b>	Agriculture Productivity, Growth and Rural Food Security
<b>Component II</b>	Social Sectors
<b>Component III</b>	Private Sector
<b>Component IV</b>	Infrastructure
<b>Component V</b>	Environment and Climate Change
<b>Component VI</b>	Gender, Women and Youth Empowerment
<b>Component VII</b>	Strengthening Governance and Institutional Capacity

This study, despite recognising the implications of all seven components on child poverty reduction, was primarily anchored in the social sectors component, which focuses on multidimensional poverty reduction strategies in the areas of health, education, social protection, water and sanitation, gender, women development, and youth development (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:92). This is

mainly based on the literature in chapter 2, section 2.5 on the manifestations of child poverty in the domains of health, education and child protection. Another equally important programme framework is the macro-economic TSP covering the period October 2018–December 2020.

The TSP framework proposes wide-ranging measures to realise the vision of “...a prosperous and empowered upper middle income society [Zimbabwe] by 2030” (GoZ, 2018:iii). This study is aligned with measures aimed at human development focusing on education, health and social protection. The TSP acknowledges the central role of education in the poverty reduction agenda, as was also alluded above under pillar two of the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy. This is in line with SDG 4, which focuses on quality education and African Union Agenda 2063, Aspiration six. To this end, the government through the TSP and within the overall goal of ensuring access to basic education for all seeks to inter alia “...early identify children at risk of not entering the education system, dropping out or falling behind and unable to meet fee and levy charges” (GoZ, 2018:271) with a view to provide them with support. As noted in chapter 2, section 2.5.2, children living in extreme poverty have a higher risk of failing to enter the education system, of dropping out of the system, or of their households struggling to meet the education costs. The TSP, by providing support to such children, contributes towards child poverty reduction.

On the health front, the TSP will undertake measures aimed at promoting child health and contributing towards child poverty reduction. The government has committed to implement urgent interventions to address challenges such as poor water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), malnutrition and food insecurity (GoZ, 2018:280). These challenges as demonstrated earlier (see chapter 2, section 2.5.1), are causes as well as manifestations of child poverty.

In terms of social protection, the government in the TSP acknowledges that poverty and vulnerability are core challenges in Zimbabwe (GoZ, 2018:288). Against this backdrop and guided by the National Social Protection Framework, the TSP endeavours to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of child poverty reduction safety nets, mainly



BEAM and HSCT (GoZ, 2018:289). In addition, the TSP also focuses on promoting the protection and development of children, which is a core dimension of child poverty reduction. In line with the child-related constitutional provisions, the GoZ (2018:290) notes that the TSP prioritises resource allocation to programmes for the protection and promotion of child rights, encompassing awareness campaigns to end child marriages, child sexual exploitation and abuse. Such interventions are critical to child poverty reduction which was also the aim of this study. In view of the foregoing discussions, the researcher concurs with SOS (2014:17) that Zimbabwe has enabling legal, policy and programme frameworks that established structures and systems to guide the multifaceted responses to child poverty.

### **3.5 Responses to child poverty**

Zimbabwe has a suite of social protection schemes for the care and protection of orphans and vulnerable children. Chirisa (2013:121) posits that formal and informal social safety nets are one of the broad pillars of social protection being implemented in the country. This study focused on safety nets because they are the main form of non-contributory social protection accessible to children living in extreme poverty and their usually labour-constrained households (GoZ, 2017:25; UNICEF & Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011:10). The main formal safety nets include BEAM, HSCT, medical assistance and residential care (Chirisa, 2013:121; SOS, 2014:25). Informal mechanisms in the form of family and community support networks also provide care and protection to children living in extreme poverty (Chirisa, 2013:148). To complement government efforts, SOS (2014:22) notes that NGOs such as Plan International, Save the Children UK, SOS Villages International, World Vision, the BUCST and many others have also stepped in to meet the food, education, health and livelihoods needs of some children from poor households across the country. Social services, such as education and health care, are important for children living in extreme poverty because they positively contribute towards breaking intergenerational poverty (Devereux & Getu, 2013:7). Although, from a human rights perspective, these social protection schemes and services are aligned with developmental social work, they are inadequate because of the residual character of social safety nets (Moser, 2008:44).

The social protection responses to child poverty can be located within the “needs-based approach” to community development. This approach’s points of departure are the children’s needs, deficiencies, and problems, as opposed to the “asset-based approach” which begins with unravelling existing and available assets (Mathie & Peters, 2014:406; Yeneabat & Butterfield, 2012:151). Scholars such as Chirisa (2009:31) attribute this to the social egalitarian philosophy, adopted by the Zimbabwean government at independence, which fits within the community needs paradigm and hence influences how community development is approached. A focus on needs, deficiencies and problems is the antithesis of genuine change and empowerment. Homan (2011:39) argues that change efforts initiated within this deficit orientation tend to illuminate problems and amplify people’s limitations. Such responses do more harm as they enervate poor individuals, households and communities by undermining their ability to assert their capabilities and thereby stifle self-help (Hutchinson, 2016:20). This is further compounded by the perception that people in distressed communities are needy, dependent, apathetic, indifferent, disorganised, and lack the capacity for self-help (Homan, 2011:130; UN-HABITAT, 2008:5). Resultantly, the responses to child poverty by the government and NGOs struggle to incorporate and capitalise on community assets.

The responses are designed within the residual, expert-driven and top-down framework. They are characterised by external agents, either government or NGOs, and their experts who come to poor communities to identify needs, deficiencies and problems and then design the responses they think are the panacea for the identified needs (Patel, Kaseke & Midgley, 2012:13; UN-HABITAT, 2008:2). Assistance of this nature, as Mohan (2009:259) correctly puts it, “...fails the very people it seeks to help” because it is wrongly packaged. Another challenge with such responses, as asserted by Cox and Pawar (2013:186), is that they are often less effective as they promote limited local participation and circumvent the locals’ abilities. This was aptly captured by Butterfield et al. (2017:330) quoting an Ethiopian phrase that says “what you do for others without the others is against the others.” Thus, to improve effectiveness and tap into service users’ assets, Berg-Weger (2010:166) asserts that the current responses need to be recalibrated. It can thus be noted that although government and NGOs’ responses are

commendable, they cannot substantially reduce child poverty. They are limited in scope to mobilise and combine the wide range of local human, social, physical, financial and natural assets necessary for child poverty reduction (DFID, 1999b:para.11; Moser, 2008:51). To significantly reduce child poverty, Ortiz et al. (2012:12) advocate for a distinct shift from the narrow safety nets that serve as adjuncts of the neoliberal economic development model.

Mathie and Cunningham (2005:181) further state that the responses can be placed within the “welfare service delivery model” which views service users as passive and dependent consumerist clients, not as productive citizens. Associated with the model is the provision of residual and short-term services which bring modest change because they are guided by the principle of subsidiarity, hence mainly serve to alleviate discomfort and prolong need (Cox & Pawar, 2013:120; Homan, 2011:78). The welfare service delivery model also depends on public or donor funding and during periods of economic downturn such programmes and services are the first to suffer from reduced funding (Homan, 2011:79). In Zimbabwe, the social welfare services sector is reeling from underfunding, administrative challenges and low coverage as is the norm in many countries of the Global South (Midgley, 2014:187). In light of intensifying poverty and vulnerability, the need for safety nets is substantial but consistent with a decline in financial resources, and the coverage of the main interventions such as HSCT and BEAM is limited (GoZ & United Nations Zimbabwe, 2016:28). Due to the economic challenges, the Department of Social Welfare has experienced massive brain drain, resulting in heavy caseloads on the few social workers, which makes it difficult to offer effective social protection to vulnerable groups such as children living in extreme poverty (Chirisa, 2013:133; UNICEF, 2010:30). As an illustration, as of 2010, a ratio of one social worker to 49,587 children in need has existed in the Department of Social Services (Wyatt et al., 2010:29). This ratio has worsened in view of the deepening economic crisis. The limited reach and unreliability of formal social protection in Zimbabwe, as is the case in many sub-Saharan countries, has provided the impetus to establish informal social protection mechanisms (Devereux & Getu, 2013:4).

The criticisms levelled against the responses to child poverty in Zimbabwe are akin to those of social work practice in Africa. This is because social welfare, in which social protection is an approach, encompasses social work (Zastrow, 2014:5). Various scholars have summarily criticised social work practised in Africa as being residual and focusing on symptoms as opposed to addressing root causes of problems, such as anti-poor structures and policies (Laird, 2008:135; Pawar, 2014:2; Umoren, 2016:192). There are increased calls to adopt developmental social work (van Breda, 2015:1).

Against this background, the following discussion explores a cluster of responses to child poverty and within this context, defines the human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used therein. The responses range from formal HSCT to informal community care.

### **3.5.1 The HSCT programme**

The cash transfer programme was established to broadly reduce child poverty, focusing on reducing income poverty, boosting consumption expenditures and enhancing child protection outcomes at household level through providing regular and reliable cash transfers to extremely poor households (UNICEF & Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011:18). The programme relies on human and financial capital from the government, NGOs and donors. The Department of Social Welfare is offering this safety net as UNICEF and the Ministry of Labour and Social Services (2011:19) state that since the 1980s, cash transfers have been part of the public assistance scheme. However, what is unique in the current scheme is that in face of rising poverty, it has been scaled up with a view to reach more poor households (UNICEF & Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011:19). The programme is being implemented through financial resources from the donor-supported Child Protection Fund (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2016:16). To augment the government programme, NGOs are also providing direct cash transfers to extremely poor households. For example, cash transfer projects of Plan International Zimbabwe assisted 26,173 households in Chiredzi, Mutasa and Mutare districts in 2016 to build productive assets such as livestock (Plan International Zimbabwe, 2016:31).

Evidence from the impact evaluation of the HSCT indicates positive outcomes for the children in the form of diet diversity, food security and ownership of assets such as livestock (Angeles, Chakrabarti, Handa, Otchere & Spektor, 2018:iv). However, contrary to developmental social work's social inclusion focus (Patel, 2015:127), the social cash transfer programme is exclusionary because at its peak it covered 55,509 households, which is a fraction of the estimated 500,000 households which are deemed extremely poor households in the country (Angeles et al., 2018:2; GoZ, 2017:7). Due to funding constraints and economic challenges, Angeles et al. (2018:2) note that by 2014 the number of covered households had dropped to around 29,000 households. This is also against the intent of the ILO social protection principle of universal protection (ILO, 2012:para.3).

### **3.5.2 Educational assistance**

In view of child poverty manifesting in the form of limited access to education (UNDP, 2014:17), the government of Zimbabwe with support from development partners responded by establishing BEAM. This educational assistance scheme provides levies, tuition and examination fees to vulnerable children, such as those living in extreme poverty (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:16). Beneficiaries of BEAM are drawn from all the districts of the country, and for the period 2012–2016, a total of 3,097,317 children were reached (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:45). BEAM is being implemented using a collaborative approach that involves the mobilisation and integration of human and financial capital from the government, donors and communities (SOS, 2014:25). The programme is considered a community-driven response because beneficiary children are selected by a committee consisting of parents or guardians and school authorities (Smith, Chiroro & Musker, 2012:16). Although BEAM has managed to ensure that vulnerable children across the country have access to education, which contributes to human capital development and child poverty reduction, there are some challenges affecting the programme.

The effectiveness of BEAM is being hampered by not covering other necessities such as school uniforms and books, and its limited reach because of low and inconsistent funding (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:61). For instance, in the face of financial constraints, the government allocated US\$15 million, US\$7 million and

US\$10 million in 2014, 2015 and 2016 respectively (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2016:61). Coupled with the withdrawal by donors such as DFID in 2013, the programme funding was only enough to cover 83,000 secondary school children against a target of 250,000 (SOS, 2014:25). As a result of the challenges, many deserving children have fallen through this safety net with some dropping out of school. Homan (2011:79) states that it is characteristic of services provided under safety nets that they cannot cope during times of economic downturn because of the twin challenges of increasing demand and declining funding. Such is the obtaining situation in Zimbabwe, and to complement the government, NGOs are also providing educational assistance to children from extremely poor households. For example, using a multi-pronged approach that involves infrastructure development, school fees payment and block grants provision, Plan International Zimbabwe has ensured access to education and an improved learning environment for 11,211 children from Epworth (a poor peri-urban settlement near Harare) and Tsholotsho district (Plan International Zimbabwe, 2016:11). To be more effective, safety nets need to be strengthened by interventions that support the livelihoods of extremely poor households.

### **3.5.3 Medical assistance**

On the health front, the main government scheme of support for child poverty reduction is the Assisted Medical Treatment Orders which provides waivers to extremely poor households to access medical services (ZIMSTAT & UNICEF, 2019:1). However, in face of economic challenges, the scheme is no longer able to ensure extremely poor households' access to health care which limits the poor people to develop capabilities to participate in the social and economic spheres (GoZ, 2017:25). The scheme has very low coverage as ZIMSTAT and UNICEF (2019:1) report that a mere 25,000 people countrywide accessed the benefits. In addition, ZIMSTAT and UNICEF (2019:32) state that there is a rural area bias in terms of access to health care because it is where poverty is greater. However, what is disconcerting is the fact that because of low coverage of Assisted Medical Treatment Orders, children living in extreme poverty in urban areas lack access to health care (ZIMSTAT & UNICEF, 2019:32).

### 3.5.4 Livelihoods support interventions

In the face of increasing poverty and the need to support the poor to build assets that cushion their households against poverty, the government and NGOs have responded by initiating livelihoods support projects. A wide range of natural, physical, financial, human and social capital is being used to support livelihoods of poor households.

The government of Zimbabwe as enunciated in the National Social Protection Policy is implementing an array of interventions targeted to support the livelihoods of the poor (GoZ, 2017:39). One of the interventions is the Public Works programme (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:16). The programme is designed to supplement and transfer incomes (financial capital) to extremely poor households through temporary employment in labour-intensive (human capital) public works activities such as road and storm drains rehabilitation (physical capital) (Gandure, 2009:34; Tandi, 2015:13). Public works target the able-bodied but extremely poor rural households while the labour-constrained households are given free cash transfers (Gandure, 2009:34). In the field of poverty reduction, the public works programmes are attractive due to the fact that they are designed to reduce dependency and create employment and physical assets which support livelihoods (Gandure, 2009:34). However, the Public Works programme in the country, contrary to what it was designed for, focuses on reducing transient poverty and not chronic poverty because it is being implemented only during drought or lean harvest years. This anomaly, according to Gandure (2009:34), can be attributed to inconsistent funding. The net effect has been the limited role of the programme in tackling structural or chronic poverty. Another glitch relates to targeting, as Wallace-Karenga and Mutihero (2009:13) note, where participation in public works is supposed to be “self-targeted” with the needy households availing themselves for work, but instead, incidences of selective targeting by local councillors based on political party affiliation have been reported.

NGOs such as World Vision and Plan International Zimbabwe have also chipped in with programmes that support livelihoods. World Vision, since 2013, has been leading a consortium of five NGOs in implementing a five-year programme titled *Enhancing Nutrition Stepping Up Resilience and Enterprise* (ENSURE). The ENSURE programme is being financed by a US\$ 56 million grant from United States Agency for International

Development in Bikita, Buhera, Chimanimani, Chipinge, Chivi and Zaka districts of Manicaland and Masvingo provinces (World Vision, 2016:1). Under the overarching aim of empowering and capacitating poor rural households, the objectives of the programme, as outlined by World Vision (2016:1), are to “improve nutrition among women of reproductive age and children under the age of five [years], increase household income [through] improved agricultural production and marketing, and increase resilience of food insecure communities [through] improved disaster risk reduction and natural resource management.” The programme’s target is to reach 215,000 extremely poor people including children from the six districts (World Vision, 2016:1). Case studies drawn from the ENSURE programme sites show the mobilisation and integration of a wide range of assets in reducing poverty. At one of the sites, Chidzadza Dam and Irrigation Scheme in Chipinge district, as noted by Chara (2016:5), villagers identified a dam and irrigation site. During the dam construction, World Vision provided the building materials, technical support and food, while the villagers, using social capital, mobilised labour, which is human capital. The scheme uses water, which is natural capital, from the dam for irrigation to promote farming as a livelihood and a total of 105 beneficiaries are now engaged in year-round farming (Chara, 2016:5). At another site in Chimanimani district, farmers at Mhakwe irrigation scheme have been helped by World Vision to boost their productivity through being linked to microfinance institutions which availed credit, which is financial capital, to buy farming inputs (Chara, 2016:5). Therefore, evidence from the two sites highlights how the interventions by the consortium in the six districts are contributing towards child poverty reduction at household and community levels by means of enhancing livelihoods through mobilising and combining a basket of natural, physical, economic, human and social capital from external agents and beneficiary communities.

The NGO, Plan International Zimbabwe is implementing a project to support livelihoods for community development under its *Productive Assets Creation* project (Plan International Zimbabwe, 2016:31). The project has reached approximately 6,000 children from 3,000 households through rehabilitating five irrigation schemes and three nutritional gardens in Chiredzi district (Plan International Zimbabwe, 2016:31). Beneficiaries have also been capacitated through skills training (human capital) to



ensure that they engage in farming as a business. Similar to the ENSURE programme, and using the partnership approach, Plan International Zimbabwe and the beneficiary communities have been able to mobilise and combine a wide array of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets that are contributing towards direct and indirect child poverty reduction.

In summary, it can be noted that livelihoods support interventions by the government and NGOs such as the Public Works programme and empowerment projects for poor rural households are mobilising and combining a wide range of local and external assets for direct and indirect child poverty reduction. As further suggested by the discussion, the available literature on livelihoods support intervention is biased towards rural poverty as supported by case studies drawn from Bikita, Buhera, Chimanimani, Chipinge, Chiredzi, Chivi and Zaka districts. This status quo is based on the fact that poverty is widespread in rural areas. Thus, a gap exists in literature on the livelihoods support interventions focused on urban poverty. To bridge the gap, this study explored the assets being used in responses to child poverty in the urban wards of Bindura district.

#### **3.5.4 Informal community-based responses**

As noted in sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 above, the formal safety nets have limited reach and are in some cases unreliable (Devereux & Getu, 2013:4). This is supported by the Zimbabwe Child Rights Audit Report 1990–2011 which came to the conclusion that formal social protection interventions for vulnerable children are largely inadequate and exclusionary, and lack predictability, consistency and sustainability (ZNCWC, 2011:10). As a response, the vast majority of children living in extreme poverty in the country rely on alternative informal social safety mechanisms, mainly based on social capital. Katungu and Lombard (2015:201) noted that social capital was being utilised by communities to meet the needs of orphans in Mberengwa district. In another case study, Mhongera and Lombard (2016:12) observed that adolescent girls exiting from two child care institutions in Harare relied on social capital such as families and relatives, friends and churches. Mushunje (2014:99) affirms that in Zimbabwe, the extended family, especially grandmothers based on kinship ties, have often taken the responsibility of meeting the needs of vulnerable children. Chirisa (2013:148) concurs

that in the face of rising shocks and stress, the reliance on informal institutions is increasing in the country.

Based on social capital's norms of reciprocity and solidarity, people living in poor communities have often come together to solve matters of common interests, such as child poverty. In Zimbabwe, informal welfare groups that include community-based associations, savings clubs, burial societies, and women's clubs have emerged to reduce poverty as they meet the welfare needs of their members (Chirisa, 2013:149). The informal groups are providing cover against a range of contingencies, such as death and illness, without which poor households can deplete existing assets and sink deeper into poverty. By providing members with benefits such as clothes, food support, school fees and skills training (Chirisa, 2013:146; Gandure, 2009:9), the informal welfare groups also reduce poverty and enhance resilience among poor households and their children.

Without discounting the central role of informal community-based responses, there are attendant challenges for children. For example, in poor urban neighbourhoods, high rates of poverty and anti-social behaviours have resulted in declining social capital (Bartlett, 2012:145; Cox & Pawar, 2013:247). Factors such as increased individualism, HIV and AIDS, and migration have transformed the traditional family and community support structures and they no longer provide reliable care and protection (Mushunje, 2014:92; National AIDS Council, 2011:1). This has forced some poor households to resort to perverse coping mechanisms such as early marriages and prostitution that further entrench child poverty. In addition, cases of child labour, and sexual and emotional abuse have been reported from the extended family system (Mushunje, 2014:94). In the face of these challenges, some children living in extreme poverty have found refuge in child residential care, as will be discussed next.

### **3.5.5 Child residential care**

According to SOS (2014:25), some children who have fallen through the cracks of other safety nets have as a last resort found refuge in residential childcare institutions. Save the Children (2009:12) is of the view that institutional care provides places of safety for children affected by poverty, exclusion and discrimination as well as those with special

needs. The current exact number of children in residential care institutions in Zimbabwe is not known. Available estimates put the figure at 5,000 children (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:5). The modus operandi in residential care facilities run by either government or NGOs, is that a portfolio of human, physical and financial resources are mobilised and combined to meet the children's needs. Besides the government's monthly institutional grants of US\$15 per child, both public and private residential facilities also rely on support from donors, corporates, churches and individual well-wishers within Zimbabwe and abroad (SOS, 2014:54). The challenges being faced by the residential care response mirror those being experienced by the cash transfers and BEAM programmes. However, there are some challenges that are unique to residential care. Save the Children (2009:6) asserts that in many cases institutional care is rarely provided appropriately, which is detrimental to children. Institutional care in general has deleterious effects on children, especially those who enter at a young age, such as developmental delays, psychological and behavioural problems (Save the Children, 2009:6).

To sum up, in this section it was revealed that the responses to child poverty by the state, voluntary sector, communities and households are providing essential services through mobilising and combining a wide array of natural, physical, economic, human and social assets. It was also demonstrated that while literature is available on responses to child poverty, much of it focuses on rural areas and work on urban child poverty is limited. This study attempts to bridge this gap by focusing on responses to child poverty using the case study of the urban wards in Bindura district.

The responses are meeting the needs of some children living in extreme poverty, notwithstanding a host of challenges that have resulted in the provision of exclusionary, inconsistent, patchy and rudimentary services. This has compromised the care and protection of many children living in extreme poverty. It is evident that the responses have been stretched to the limit and are no longer able to reduce burgeoning child poverty. This can partly be attributed to the "needs-based" approach embedded within the residual framework which is guiding the responses. Thus, to reduce child poverty there is scope in shifting to the alternative "asset-based" approach which is underpinned

by a developmental framework. ABCD is one of the strategies under the “asset-based” approach, as will be discussed next.

### **3.6 Asset-based community development**

ABCD, as noted by Walker (2006:25), has evolved since the 1970s in the US urban communities to address issues that include poverty, public health, education and criminal justice. It can be viewed both as an approach and a group of strategies that rely on community assets to promote social change (Boyd, Hayes, Wilson & Bearsley-Smith, 2008:191). ABCD fosters social change when community members identify their assets and find productive ways to use them (Homan, 2011:8). The ABCD strategy was crystallised by McKnight and Kretzmann at the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University, United States, culminating in the publication of the seminal book *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilising a Community's Assets* in 1993 that outlines the five steps towards ABCD (Mathie & Cunningham, 2002:2; Walker, 2006:26).

There is growing consensus that residual interventions, headlined by social safety nets, only ameliorate and cannot substantially reduce child poverty as they tend to be surface interventions that primarily focus on symptoms and less on tackling the underlying drivers of child poverty. This is akin to “...mowing over the weeds rather than pull them by the roots” (Homan, 2011:14). Despite their documented limitations, the residual safety nets still dominate responses to challenges such as child poverty in developing countries like Zimbabwe. Homan (2011:14) attributes this to the beliefs that the problems such as mass poverty are too complex to uproot and significant interventions to tackle the root causes are costly. In addition, Cox and Pawar (2013:269) suggest that politics is another factor because naïve politicians consider tackling the roots of poverty as a threat to the status quo and their power base of people living in extreme poverty.

To significantly reduce child poverty, social workers need to adopt the social development approach (Umoren, 2016:198), as it addresses the causal factors and consequences of poverty (Cox & Pawar, 2013:270). Social development, as Patel (2015:130) argues, is well-positioned to deliver welfare services with a developmental focus to vulnerable groups like children living in extreme poverty. In a similar vein, Gray

(2010:466) views asset-based development strategies such as ABCD as central to social development. To this end, Ssewamala, et al. (2010:433) opines that asset-based strategies emerged to reduce poverty and promote development. In this context, this study explored and described how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district. Thus, this study can be contextualised within the broader ongoing scholarship in social work in developing countries that seeks to drift away from the residual approach and embrace developmental social work.

The researcher concurs with Lombard (2007:300) that the shift from residual to developmental social work is not about totally discarding remedial responses but entails adopting a new approach that involves first taking stock of existing assets and strengths rather than the conventional starting point of focusing on deficiencies. This inward focus of ABCD, as Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:376) argue, ensures the development of the community capacity before leveraging outside resources. Such an approach enhances the impact of external support as it is invested in the community's solutions rather than driving the community development process (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:367; Mathie & Peters, 2014:407). ABCD can contribute towards significant child poverty reduction in Bindura district in view of UNICEF's (2014b:14) argument that:

Experience has proven that ventures that spring from community members' initiative, ownership, empowerment and participation stand a better chance of creating enduring change and addressing community needs in a manner that is acceptable and sensitive to local social, cultural and political factors that outsiders may well miss.

Therefore, ABCD is better suited to reduce child poverty as it promotes "...collaboration, empowerment and innovation" (Butterfield et al., 2017:322). In the context of child poverty, ABCD can also address the challenge noted by Patel et al. (2013:13) of the mismatch between local community responses and modern interventions by both governmental and NGOs. As envisaged by Lombard (2007:300) as well as Homan (2011:79), what will emerge is a practice model in which professional social workers are able to partner with communities within a broader developmental framework characterised by the utilisation of a wider network of community assets. In this context, as Cox and Pawar (2013:216) rightly note, ABCD can contribute towards transforming government agencies from being bureaucratic structures providing welfare services to

few individuals, to being people-centred systems operating relatively informally in close cooperation with local community groups to render services to more people (Cox & Pawar, 2013:216). This is central to the decolonisation of social welfare delivery systems in developing countries such as Zimbabwe that Patel and Hochfeld (2012:691) acknowledge were designed during the colonial era in a bureaucratic milieu with a purpose to serve a few people. This is because ABCD integrates the frequently overlooked community efforts and external support (Cox & Pawar, 2013:120; Homan, 2011:61). Social development in which ABCD is a strategy, as Patel (2014:4) asserts, advocates for service users to be active social change agents and not passive recipients of services and external support. Furthermore, ABCD resonates with the current trend in the field of development, where the conventional siloed and top-down approach is giving way to a more horizontal and cross-sectoral approach (UNICEF, 2016a:99). However, this recast, as Gray (2010:464) argues, in the context of social development does not mean that governments have to abdicate their community development role to communities. Rather, Homan (2011:367) correctly points out that it entails redirecting government resources and services towards supporting community initiatives. Midgley and Conley (2010:198) weigh in by emphasising that developmental social work relies on huge public resources outlay. To this end, the approach can foster robust exchange of resources, technologies and knowledge between poor communities and technocrats (UNICEF, 2016a:99), thereby creating the necessary synergic partnerships and sustainable solutions to common challenges such as child poverty. In addition, ABCD will empower poor communities in Bindura district by counteracting the influence of imposed interventions that are usually expert-driven and top-down, and which tend to supplant and stifle the valuable work and potential of local communities (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:376).

Scholars generally converge on the view that compared to overall social work literature, community development literature is sparse (Cox & Pawar, 2013:178). The problem is accentuated in the Global South as supported by Pawar (2014:3) who argues that the few scientific journals, such as *Community Development* and *Journal of Community Practice* from the UK and US respectively, often include few articles from developing countries. This may be either a result of limited use of the approach or little documented

literature on community development. Hence the increased need for research with a community development thrust, such as the current study which focuses on ABCD. Yeneabat and Butterfield (2012:137) assert that there is limited literature on the application of ABCD in Africa. This partly indicates limited use of the social development approach on the continent (Laird, 2008:148). Van Breda (2018:3) attributes this to difficulties social workers have experienced in the practical application of the social development concepts. However, to garner international recognition as a practical alternative to residual forms of social work practice, Laird (2008:148) advocates for clear elaboration on the use of the social development approach in social work practice. The challenge as noted by Midgley and Conley (2010:194) is that proponents of developmental social work have seldom provided sound explanations about the approach and clear examples of its practical application, which points to limited research on the approach. Towards this end, Patel and Hochfeld (2012:700) underscore the need for research on the use of the approach in diverse cultural, economic, and political contexts. This study's focus on ABCD and child poverty reduction in Bindura district is a response to this call.

Despite the limited rigorous testing of ABCD in Africa, evidence abounds that the asset-based approach has been used to address a wide range of social development issues in communities across the globe (Ssewamala et al., 2010:433), as it identifies and builds on the existing community assets (Pawar, 2014:4). The approach has been widely adopted and supported in many countries often sustained with funding and technical expertise from prominent international development organisations such as DFID and USAID (Midgley, 2014:165; O'Leary, 2005:1). A review of literature from the countries of the Global North and South show that ABCD has been used in diverse communities to address varied social development issues. Among others, these issues include: housing in poor neighbourhoods of Boston and Harbor Point in US (UN-Habitat, 2008); youth mental health care and integrated community development in rural and urban Australia respectively (Boyd, Hayes, Wilson & Bearsley-Smith, 2008; Pawar and Torres, 2011); child poverty in Canada (Worton, Caplan, Nelson, Pancer, Loomis, Peters & Hayward, 2014); and to address poverty and promote community development in both rural and urban areas of Egypt and Ethiopia (Centre for Development Services,

2005; Yeneabat & Butterfield, 2012). Although the literature has thus far shown the wide application of ABCD in diverse countries as well as from both rural and urban contexts, little attention has been given to the integration of ABCD and child welfare as a social work practice model (Butterfield et al., 2017:321). To address this gap, Butterfield et al. (2017) conducted a study on a model under which NGOs integrate community development and child welfare in Ethiopia.

In addition, rich literature from South Africa, a country renowned for adopting social development in 1997 as a government policy through the *White Paper for Social Welfare* (Midgley, 2010:12; Patel & Hochfeld, 2012:691), indicates the emergence of innovative practice models that use ABCD concepts to address child welfare issues such as child poverty. For instance, Lombard, Kemp, Viljoen-Toet and Booyzen (2013) studied the use of an integrated developmental model for poverty reduction by an NGO, namely the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie (SAVF) under the Thuthukani project and observed that the model has contributed towards child poverty reduction. Still in South Africa, Thurman et al. (2009:3) conducted a case study of the Isibindi model which relied on community assets to provide psychosocial care, and create a safe and caring environment for orphaned and vulnerable children. However, such clear models are yet to emerge in Zimbabwe. To this end, Lombard et al. (2013:192) urge other African countries such as Zimbabwe to develop similar developmental social work and child welfare practice models. Hence this study as a starting point focused on proposing guidelines for the ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district.

The literature review on Zimbabwe indicates that despite child poverty being a major theme in the field of child welfare, there is limited research on ABCD and child poverty reduction. From the available recent research on child poverty, studies which focused on community responses to vulnerable children (Madziva, 2017), adolescent girls leaving institutional care (Mhongera, 2015), social entrepreneurship, and orphans' needs (Katungu, 2013) have glimpses of ABCD and child poverty reduction. Other researchers have focused on varied but child poverty-related topics, these include: poverty in general (Manjengwa et al., 2016); child poverty among street children (Manjengwa, Matema, Tirivanhu & Tizora, 2016); child poverty and academic



performance (Chinyoka & Naidu, 2013); and urban housing (Chirisa, 2009). Zooming in on Bindura district, Mashange et al. (2008) researched the socio-economic environment of orphans and vulnerable children and the challenges they faced. It can thus be concluded from the literature review that most studies on child poverty have not explicitly focused on child poverty reduction. To this end, there is an existing knowledge gap on child poverty reduction strategies generally in Zimbabwe and more specifically in Bindura district. With a view to build on the existing literature as well as bridge the identified gap, this study explored and described how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district. The ensuing discussion outlines the iterative five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) and how they can be applied to reduce child poverty in the district.

### **3.6.1 Asset mapping**

Asset mapping is the indispensable first step in ABCD without which a successful shift from a “needs-based” to an “asset-based” approach to community development is impossible. Green and Haines (2012:3) reiterate that the asset-mapping exercise which focuses on current and potential assets of individuals and communities is the bedrock of ABCD. This is premised on two principles of the strengths perspective by Saleebey (2006:16) that, “every individual, group, family, and community has strengths, and that, every environment is full of resources.” In the context of Bindura district, identifying and understanding the existing and available assets empowers the poor communities to start to envision possibilities such as child poverty reduction. Berg-Weger (2010:166) defines empowerment as the process in which professionals such as social workers work in collaboration with service users to recognise their strengths, such as the assets they possess. On the same note, Zastrow (2014:52) states that empowerment spans the micro, mezzo and macro levels as it involves helping individuals, families, groups, communities, and even organisations to expand their political, social and economic strengths with a view to improve their conditions. Empowerment according to Cox and Pawar (2013:110), can be either psychological if it boosts self-confidence, or practical when it assists poor people to exercise their agency and exert greater influence over the development processes in society. In addition, UN-Habitat (2008:11) identifies the three components of empowerment, namely getting organised, having access to internal community resources and receiving external assistance. This explains why Yeneabat

and Butterfield (2012:138) assert that asset-mapping informs the development agenda for the community as it asks the critical question, “What resources do we have to solve this problem ourselves” (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:346). The answer is an inventory of a range of assets that include: the capacities of individuals, gifts of strangers who are usually the marginalised citizens such as the older residents, associations of citizens, local institutions, and community physical assets that can drive the problem-solving process (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:347). To map the assets, one of the research questions asked about the human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in response to child poverty in Bindura district. This question, as noted by Butterfield et al. (2017:329), primes the poor households and communities, such as in the district, to first identify and utilise their own assets as opposed to starting off by depending on external assistance. Once community assets are identified, they need to be fully mobilised and combined to solve local problems such as child poverty through establishing linkages among them (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:346).

### **3.6.2 Building relationships**

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:346) acknowledge that building robust relationships among the mapped community assets through connecting them is a crucial step towards ABCD. Homan (2011:63) argues that existing resources need to be connected as they are usually scattered across the community. In addition, linking or mobilising the community assets enables communities to realise their capabilities and possibilities to solve local problems through self-help (Homan, 2011:61). This is based on the notion that by connecting diverse assets, poor communities can begin to see their inherent strengths and competence for self-help in reducing social problems such as child poverty (Cox & Pawar, 2013:112; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:346). An innovative approach to connecting assets may for instance entail linking an existing physical asset such as a school to the local economy or the broader community development agenda (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:173). This is because assets located in the communities have the potential to serve multiple functions (Green & Haines, 2012:8). To this end, one of this study’s objectives was to determine how a pool of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets can be mobilised and combined for child poverty reduction in Bindura district. The need to build strong relationships among community assets is geared towards establishing a firm foundation for economic development (Yeneabat &

Butterfield, 2012:136). Economic development enables the people in poor communities to transcend poverty as they venture into varied livelihoods strategies.

### **3.6.3 Mobilising assets for economic development**

From an ABCD perspective, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:350) affirm that assets are identified and mobilised for the purpose of revitalising economic development in poor communities. The soaring levels of poverty in SSA countries, Zimbabwe included, reveal the centrality of interventions that focus on identifying and mobilising assets that can promote economic development. Van Breda (2018:8) is of the idea that economic development is the basis for human well-being as it gives people the opportunities to earn an income and reduce poverty. In a similar vein, Laird (2008:147) argues that the main problems faced in the SSA region include endemic poverty which has socio-economic rather than psycho-social causes. Midgley (2014:114) is of the view that the problem of poverty can be reduced effectively through the participation of poor people in social investments that fosters local economic development. These investments according to Midgley (2014:12), entails small-scale economic activities such as microenterprises that can create employment and improve the well-being of poor individuals, families and communities. Van Breda (2018:3) posits that economic development at a macro level tends to favour the minority rich and bypass the majority of the people who in developing countries such as Zimbabwe are living in poverty. To this end, Patel (2015:98) supports micro social work interventions such as ABCD that put more attention on the poor and prioritise economic development at a local level. ABCD can be viewed as a microeconomic strategy to achieve poverty reduction (Cox & Pawar, 2013:267). Such interventions are necessary for child poverty reduction as Butterfield et al. (2017:321) suggest that at household and community levels, there is a correlation between poverty and issues of child abuse and neglect. The notion of economic development is imperative to this study as its aim is to explore and describe how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, and the development of the local economy is at the core of ABCD (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:350). However, this is only possible if there is a clear vision and a sound plan.

### **3.6.4 Development of a community vision and plan**

The fourth step of the ABCD process is about the development of a community vision and plan poised towards solving locally felt needs. For an asset-based approach to community development, Cox and Pawar (2013:197) note that communities need to have a local, people-driven development vision and plans that constitute a guiding framework for solutions to local problems. According to Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:351), fundamental to developing a community vision and plan are the answers to questions such as, what the community values most and what do the citizens want the community to look like in the next five, ten and twenty years. This is an outcome of the preceding steps of asset mapping, linking the identified assets and mobilising them for economic development. In the context of this study, it can be argued that there is a need to develop a community vision and plan that encompass and prioritise the reduction of child poverty in Bindura district.

To spearhead the process of designing such a community vision and plan, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:352) recommend that communities adopt community-based planning models. One such model is the CBOs-driven planning model, which is popular in ABCD (Green & Haines, 2012:13). This model is widely used in ABCD based on a number of factors. For instance, Cox and Pawar (2013:193) note that CBOs are “people’s organisations” because they are established by local people to, inter alia, meet their needs, promote their interests and fulfil their aspirations. The process of developing a community vision and plan needs to be broad-based and representative through involving different interest groups such as community leaders, business people, as well as representatives of formal and informal organisations (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:352). Since CBOs are rooted in local communities, they can constitute the core representative community group around which representatives from other interest groups can coalesce in coming up with a community vision and plan based on esprit de corps (Yeneabat & Butterfield, 2012:136). Mathie and Cunningham (2002:2) further assert that local associations have the capacity to steer the community development process. Also, as affirmed by Cox and Pawar (2013:141), local community development organisations can foster participation and empowerment. Based on the CBOs planning model, this study identified BUCST as a grassroots CBO that can drive the process of

crafting a community vision and plan towards child poverty reduction in Bindura district. For BUCST, this can present an avenue to address a challenge that often beset CBOs, which Sinclair (2016:25) identifies as "...direct client and community work without the underpinning approaches of empowerment, participation and inclusion..." Next to be discussed is the fifth and final step of ABCD which focuses on mobilisation of external resources to support locally initiated community development efforts.

### **3.6.5 Leveraging outside resources to support locally driven development.**

For authentic ABCD to take root, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:353) contend that a community must think of seeking external resources to support locally initiated community development plans. This is based on the notion that no community today can be self-sufficient, hence the need to mobilise additional resources from external sources (Cox & Pawar, 2013:120). However, outside resources can be attracted and used effectively only after communities have fully mobilised their internal assets underpinned by a shared development vision and implementable plans. In this state, Homan (2011:65) points out that poor communities are able to assert their interests when they interface with external forces and are better positioned to counteract the excesses of external assistance. What emerges as the outcome is the synthesis of local community-led development initiatives and external support (Mathie & Peters, 2014:406). This phenomenon is anchored in the ABCD principle of "... working from the inside out" (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:376). In the context of this study, the fifth step of ABCD can guide efforts towards child poverty reduction in Bindura district as it articulates how the poor communities can be in a position to leverage outside resources to support the local responses to child poverty.

In conclusion, the above discussion has explored how the five steps of ABCD can be used to reduce child poverty in Bindura district within the context of transforming responses to child poverty from the "needs-based" to "asset-based" approach. This section also demonstrates that the five steps of ABCD provide a roadmap to comprehensive, integrated and sustainable community development.

### **3.7 Summary**

This chapter noted that the existing robust legal, policy and programme frameworks at international, regional and Zimbabwe levels provide a firm foundation for child poverty reduction. This was shown by the varied provisions in a plethora of legal, policy and programme instruments namely, the CRC, ACRWC, SDGs, Agenda 2063, SADC RISDP, Zimbabwe National Constitution, National Orphan Care Policy, National Social Protection Policy, NAP for OVC, the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy, and the TSP.

The legislative, policy and programme frameworks in place have supported a mix of responses to child poverty by the government, NGOs, communities and households in Zimbabwe. The responses span from the formal cash transfers to informal community-based interventions. However, it was argued in the chapter that the responses, because of their residual nature, and in the context of rising and endemic poverty, are failing to meet the needs of the large numbers of children living in extreme poverty. This untenable situation has necessitated the need for a rethink and consideration of alternative approaches that can significantly reduce child poverty. The “asset-based” approach is considered as an alternative to the “needs-based” approach. It is in this context that this chapter proposed the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993), which falls under the “asset-based” approach, and discussed how its five steps can be applied to child poverty reduction in Bindura district. The chapter indicated that the “asset-based” approach has not been vigorously tested in the SSA region and Zimbabwe in particular, hence this study focused on ABCD and child poverty reduction. The next chapter discusses the research methodology which was employed to answer the research questions.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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#### 4.1 Introduction

Research methodology, as expressed by Denzin and Lincoln (2018:97), is concerned with the identification and utilisation of the best means to gain knowledge about the world. This study sought to answer the following questions:

1. How does child poverty manifest in Bindura district?
2. Which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets are being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district?
3. How can the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) be applied to child poverty reduction in the district?
4. How can human, social, physical, financial and natural assets be combined for child poverty reduction in Bindura district?

This chapter outlines the research methodology of the study, starting with the research paradigm, and followed by the research approach, type of research, research design, research methods, pilot study, ethical considerations applicable to the study, and finally, limitations of the study.

#### 4.2 Research paradigm

The selection of a research approach, as postulated by Gray (2009:37), stems from the adoption of a specific research paradigm or worldview. As asserted by De Vos and Strydom (2011:41), "...all scientific research is conducted within a specific paradigm." In social research, Hart (2010:2) notes that paradigms or worldviews are mental maps that contain a set of assumptions that guide researchers in their choice and justification of using a particular research approach. This study adopted the pragmatic worldview to underpin the research approach.

Pragmatism views research as an approach to addressing social problems (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017:24). The core philosophical assumption of pragmatism is that, in social research, what matters is the use of methods that best answer the research questions and solve problems (Creswell, 2014:19; Ormston, Spencer, Barnard & Snape, 2014:22). Pragmatism, as Padgett (2008:9) acknowledges, is not concerned with philosophical conundrums but rather accepts that knowledge development is fallible and hence puts emphasis on the utility of research methods over philosophical purity. This opens the possibility of selecting research approaches that use different methods in the same research study (McLaughlin, 2012:41). Research paradigms, as noted by Sarantakos (2013:29), encompass ontological, epistemological and methodological aspects that, taken together, inform social research.

Ontology, as defined by Ormston et al. (2014:3), is about the nature of reality in the social world. It is also concerned with what social researchers are expected to study in the social world (Sarantakos, 2013:29). The ontological position of pragmatism is that there are multiple realities to social world phenomena (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017:21). This ontological standpoint was aligned with this study's core concept of child poverty, which is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Cox & Pawar, 2013:224). As demonstrated in the literature review (see chapter 2, sections 2.3.1 & 2.3.2) child poverty exists in multiple objective and subjective dimensions ranging from lack of income to capabilities, social exclusion and limited assets. In addition, assets are also multidimensional (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.2). To understand the multiple dimensions and complexities of child poverty and assets in Bindura district, the study was grounded in the pragmatic epistemology.

In social research, epistemology focuses on how and where knowledge to understand reality is to be sought (Ormston et al., 2014:7; Sarantakos, 2013:29). Pragmatism, as asserted by DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2017:21), is of the epistemological belief that some "truths" exist and are shaped by contexts. In the same vein, Denzin and Lincoln (2018:106) state that "... all truths are partial and incomplete." Pragmatism, as noted by Robson (2011:28), is of the notion that knowledge exists in the world and is also constructed and grounded in what people experience in the world they live. Sarantakos



(2013:50) states that acquiring this knowledge requires the utilisation of both quantitative and qualitative methods in the same research project but underpinned by their distinct epistemological assumptions as in single-method studies. Ormston et al. (2014:22) argue that pragmatism is not aligned with a specific epistemological perspective. To this end, the study was informed by the combination of empirical and constructivist epistemologies of quantitative and qualitative research. The empirical epistemology of quantitative research, as pointed out by Creswell (2014:7), is grounded in the thinking that objective knowledge exists in the world and can be gained using an etic approach, which relies on the use of scientific methods that are characterised by careful observation and measurement of variables. As such, the researcher used quantitative research methods to measure variables such as households' sources of income, monthly income, food consumption pattern, housing conditions and assets. This was done with a view to explore manifestations of child poverty and to determine the assets being used in current responses to child poverty by the extremely poor urban households of Bindura district. In addition, qualitative research is premised on the constructivist epistemology, which, as propounded by Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2013:10), asserts that knowledge is subjective or contextual and is produced through emic understanding of the study participants; that is, *Verstehen*. Johnson and Gray (2010:80) are of the notion that *Verstehen* also entails empathetic understanding of a phenomenon.

This study employed qualitative methods to gain *Verstehen* of the manifestations of child poverty and the assets being used in current responses to child poverty by the extremely poor urban households in the district. The use of empirical and constructivist epistemologies in this study facilitated the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data that contributed to a deeper understanding of child poverty and its reduction in Bindura district. This understanding provided the impetus to adopt a mixed methods research approach, which was appropriate and consistent with the pragmatism paradigm.

### 4.3 Research approach

Research approach, as Creswell (2014:3) suggests, covers the methodological aspects of research. Sarantakos (2013:29) specifies that methodology addresses issues of research design and methods. Rooted in pragmatism, the researcher adopted the mixed methods research approach which Creswell (2014:4) defines as "... an approach to [research that] involve collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct [research] designs [in the same project]...". Johnson and Gray (2010:72) emphasise that our world consists of multiple objective and subjective realities which can be interconnected and understood through the mixed methods research approach. This middle ground approach emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a response to tensions between quantitative and qualitative approaches in social research (Creswell 2014:217; Ortiz, Sosulski & Sherwood, 2012:348). The mixed methods research approach, as stressed by De Cuir-Gunby and Schutz (2017:24), opens the avenue to using whatever research method best answers the research question and subsequently addresses the research problem. To this end, the mixed methods research approach provided answers as to how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

The mixing of quantitative and qualitative approaches, as postulated by Jones and Sumner (2011:34), serves a range of functions. Social researchers, as McLaughlin (2012:41) states, need to discuss the purpose for their "mixing" of research methods. The mixed methods research approach is often used by researchers to explore understudied phenomena (Engel & Schutt, 2013:330). As demonstrated in the literature review (see chapter 3, section 3.6), there is a gap in relation to research on ABCD and child poverty reduction in Zimbabwe. Jones and Sumner (2011:29) note that, generally in developing countries such as Zimbabwe, there is limited research on child poverty and of concern is that the available research has been dominated by quantitative assessments that focus on the extent and causes of child poverty. In Zimbabwe, various domains of child poverty have been quantitatively assessed by periodic Poverty and Income Expenditure, Multi Indicator Cluster and Demographic and Health Surveys (ZIMSTAT, 2015a; ZIMSTAT, 2013b; ZIMSTAT & ICF International, 2016).

The tradition of quantitative research dates back to the early 19th century when policymakers challenged social researchers to provide “realistic, specific and quantifiable data” (Sarantakos, 2013:6) to address industrialisation- and urbanisation-induced social problems. However, the earliest systematic attempts to define, measure and understand poverty, as noted by Hall and Midgley (2004:46), were qualitative accounts such as the extensive work by Henry Mayhew titled *London Labour and the London Poor* of 1851. Despite this history, Jones and Sumner (2011:29) regret that “...qualitative researchers have engaged less with discourses of [child] poverty reduction...” This underlines the hegemony of the quantitative research approach on poverty research since the pioneering and classic poverty surveys conducted by Seebohm Rowntree in 1899 in York and Charles Booth in London in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Asia Development Bank, 2014:3; Sarantakos, 2013:8). To counter this dominance, the mixed methods research approach emerged to occupy the middle ground and blend the seemingly incompatible quantitative and qualitative research approaches (Creswell, 2014:14). As Jones and Sumner (2011:31) assert, the mixed methods research approach has been recently embraced in child poverty research. However, in Zimbabwe the mixed methods research approach is yet to take root in child poverty research. DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2017:7) concede that the mixed methods research approach has not been extensively used to study a variety of topics in some fields. The literature review only managed to identify a recent *Specialised Urban Poverty* study by Manjengwa et al. (2016) that used the mixed methods research approach. To add to this emerging scholarship in child poverty studies, this study used the mixed methods research approach to explore and describe how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

Many social problems such as child poverty, as noted by DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2017:3), are complex and require multiple perspectives to be understood and solved. Modern society, as Denzin and Lincoln (2018:106) contend, is characterised by “...multivocality...and contested meanings...” of social problems. The multiple perspectives, which allow a deeper understanding of research problems such as child poverty, can be gained by using a mix of research methods that ask different questions and obtain multiple answers within a single research study (McLaughlin, 2012:42).

Johnson and Gray (2010:72) are of the view that mixed methods research interconnects the multiple perspectives of the world. As affirmed by Creswell and Clark (2011:12), this perspective allows a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. This is because the approach enables a researcher to ask a wide range of “which” and “how” questions that can be exploratory and confirmatory in nature (Delpont & Fouché, 2011a:436; Ritchie & Ormston, 2014:40). In this study, the quantitative research methods asked exploratory questions that identified and quantified child poverty manifestations and also mapped the assets being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district. As a follow up, the qualitative research methods asked confirmatory questions that described how child poverty is manifesting, the assets being used in current responses to child poverty, and those assets that can be combined through ABCD to reduce child poverty in the district. Thus, by asking a range of exploratory and confirmatory questions, an in-depth understanding of ABCD and child poverty reduction was achieved as the data was generated and verified, which both quantitative and qualitative research methods could not separately provide (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017:38; Delpont & Fouché, 2011a:436). As summed by Biesta (2010:96), the use of a mixed methods research approach is determined by the nature of questions that the research seeks to answer.

Despite the varied reasons for adopting a mixed methods research approach, Padgett (2008:232) points out that mixed methods research studies pose various challenges. In this study, the researcher had to cope with the time-intensive nature of the mixed methods research approach (Creswell, 2014:21) as extensive quantitative and qualitative data on child poverty manifestations and assets had to be collected and analysed in the same study. The dual nature of mixed methods research also has resource implications for the researcher (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017:6). In this regard, the researcher had to transcend financial resources constraints to meet the rigorous demands of the mixed methods research approach fieldwork in the face of the economic challenges in Zimbabwe during the period of the study.

#### **4.4 Type of research**

The study has elements of both basic and applied social research. As asserted by Ritchie and Ormston (2014:28), basic research focuses on the production of new

knowledge for increased scientific understanding of a phenomenon within a given discipline. A core purpose of applied research, as Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:68) note, is to explore social phenomena about which little is known. This requires collection of in-depth data from social actors to comprehensively explain and understand the social phenomena (Engel & Schutt, 2013:47). As indicated in the literature review (see chapter 3, section 3.6), there is limited research and knowledge on ABCD and child poverty reduction in Zimbabwe. To this end, the study explored how ABCD can reduce child poverty and in this regard adds new information to the body of knowledge in developmental social work.

Applied research is a type of research that is practically oriented at solving identified social problems and confronting people in a given society, through the application of knowledge from basic research (Bless et al., 2013:56; Ritchie & Ormston, 2014:2). Delpont and De Vos (2011:46) state that the knowledge from basic research is applied in various policy frameworks and approaches used by social workers in problem-solving. One of the purposes of applied research, as Engel and Schutt (2013:48) suggest, is to describe how the knowledge from basic research can be used to solve practical problems. In this study, basic knowledge on child poverty, assets and ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) was applied to describe the value of an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district.

Bless et al. (2013:59) argue that no social research is without the applied component, which renders the distinction between basic and applied research rather superficial. Basic research is the source of knowledge in the form of theories and methods used in applied research; hence all applied research has elements of basic research which blurs the boundaries between the two (Neuman, 2012b:12; Ritchie & Ormston, 2014:28). In this study, both basic and applied research addressed the research goal as they explored and described how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

#### **4.5 Research design**

Research design refers to a clear plan or roadmap that consists of components such as study population, sample and sampling procedures, data collection, and analysis methods which are logically integrated and implemented in a bid to find answers to a set

of research questions (Babbie, 2014:94; Kumar, 2014:122). As further noted by Sarantakos (2013:29), research design is about the execution of research within the framework of the selected research paradigm.

Guided by the pragmatic paradigm, the researcher adopted the explanatory sequential mixed methods research design (Creswell, 2014:224) due to its emphasis on using qualitative research to explain and interpret the quantitative findings. The explanatory sequential mixed methods research design is characterised by two research episodes: the first phase involves the collection and analysis of quantitative data, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data in the second phase (Creswell & Clark, 2011:83; Leedy & Ormrod, 2014:270). Thus, a survey was first conducted using questionnaires that were administered among heads of extremely poor households that are currently receiving child welfare services from BUCST in the urban wards of Bindura district.

Child poverty as highlighted in chapter 2 section 2.3.1 has a quantitative dimension. In this regard, the survey was used to quantify the manifestations of child poverty, which is a vital step towards child poverty reduction in Bindura district. Furthermore, the first step of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) involves the mapping of assets (see chapter 3, section 3.6.1) and the survey was able to map the assets being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district. Green and Haines (2012:13) state that asset mapping is commonly done using surveys. The survey yielded numerical scores in the form of frequency distribution of percentages and averages for the manifestations of child poverty and assets being used in current responses to child poverty, which were relatively abstract and decontextualised (Bless et al., 2014:338; Leedy & Ormrod, 2014:270). Qualitative researchers argue that surveys cannot capture the essence of human experiences, as they do not recognise the critical contextual details of participants (Babbie, 2014:294; Bless et al., 2014:338). To address this challenge and explain the quantitative findings, the researcher further gathered qualitative data using a case study design in the second phase of the study. The in-depth qualitative case study explained the survey findings as it was able to "...situate the numbers in the contexts and words of participants" (Creswell & Clark, 2011:21),

thereby adding depth and meaning to the survey results. This is because in-depth qualitative data was collected on the manifestation of child poverty and assets being used in current responses to child poverty in the urban wards of Bindura district.

Case study design relies on multiple sources of evidence and data collection methods (Sarantakos, 2013:151; Yin, 2014:17). The researcher used a range of data collection methods to collect extensive qualitative information from the heads of households, children, BUCST reports, and key informants being staff members from BUCST and the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) in Bindura district.

#### **4.6 Research methods**

Creswell (2014:16) and Sarantakos (2013:29) delineate research methods as the data collection instruments, type of data collected, and the methods of data analysis and interpretation. One of the reasons for mixing research methods, as Creswell (2014:14) suggests, is grounded in the notion that both quantitative and qualitative methods are not immune to biases and shortcomings. In this regard, Ritchie and Ormston (2014:40) suggest that a more effective approach to neutralise the biases and weaknesses is to blend the methods with a view to capitalise on their respective strengths and minimise their inherent weaknesses. In child poverty studies, the main strength of quantitative assessments is their ability to generate generalisable quantitative data on the amount and location of child poverty (Jones & Sumner, 2011:34).

The survey method used in this study generated quantitative data on the extent of child poverty, its manifestations and assets being used in current responses to child poverty which can be generalised to extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. However, one weakness of quantitative research methods is that they "...separate the object from its context" (Sarantakos, 2013:36) which in the study is child poverty from the lived experiences of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. From a child poverty research perspective, Roelen (2015:2) notes that despite being important, quantitative assessments provide an incomplete picture of child poverty. This is because quantitative methods are biased towards decontextualised statistical data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014:270).

Qualitative researchers, as Robson (2011:18) argues, are of the view that statistics provide valuable but limited understanding about people and their problems. Thus, to gain a more comprehensive and experiential understanding of child poverty, Lister (2015:3) emphasises on the need to go beyond statistics. A core assumption of the mixed methods research approach, as Creswell (2015:2) posits is that a combination of statistics (quantitative data) with narratives and personal experiences (qualitative data) provides a better understanding of the issues under investigation. This feat is impossible in research that uses a single form of data. In this study, to have a better understanding of child poverty and assets, as Sarantakos (2013:42) suggests a mix of numbers and words were collected.

Assets, as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2.2.2, are diverse. Sparr and Moser (2007:7) further note that some assets are tangible while others are intangible. Thus, the best approach to measure and understand the different assets that are being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district was to use a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. To contextualise the research methods of this study, the study population and sampling will be first explained. This will be followed by discussions on the methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation.

#### **4.6.1 Study population and sampling**

In this section, the study population and the sampling procedures employed in the two phases of the study will be discussed.

##### **4.6.1.1 Study population**

Within the context of rising child poverty in the urban areas of Zimbabwe, the study provides an urban-based view of how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district. In research, the study population needs to be identified as well as its characteristics and size (Creswell, 2014:158). Robinson (2014:25) defines study population as the entire set of cases, individuals or events from which a sample is drawn. The statistics from *Zimbabwe Food Poverty Atlas 2016* indicate that an estimated 2,019 people from 513 households are extremely poor in the urban wards of Bindura district (ZIMSTAT, 2016:52). As of December 2017, BUCST provided services to 106 extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. These households were targeted because they are the



primary social and economic units that meet the needs of vulnerable members such as children (Patel, 2015:201; UNICEF, 2010:22). For both the survey and case study, the population was the 106 heads of the extremely poor urban households who are receiving child welfare services from BUCST. These households have heightened vulnerability as they are usually labour constrained and require regular and reliable social protection to meet their basic needs (UNICEF, 2010:28). In addition, the target population for the case study besides the 106 heads of households also included 233 children between the ages of six and 17 years from the 106 households, six key informants consisting of four staff members from BUCST and two from DSW as well as nine reports from BUCST for the period 2015 to 2017.

#### **4.6.1.2 Sampling**

Sampling can be defined as the procedures employed by researchers to select samples from the study population and make decisions on the sample sizes (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007:281; Sarantakos, 2013:167). Guided by the explanatory sequential mixed methods research design, sampling was done in two stages, namely random quantitative sampling for the survey and purposive sampling for the case study (Creswell, 2014:224).

In mixed methods research, researchers are expected to determine appropriate sample sizes for each phase (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007:287). According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007:115), "if interpretations and theories [are to] remain strictly localised, then the size of the sample is not crucial." The findings of the study were primarily interpreted within the context of the 106 extremely poor urban households being served by BUCST in Bindura district. The study utilised a large sample in the survey and a small sample in the qualitative study to enable the generation of inferential statistics and in-depth understanding of manifestations of child poverty and assets being used in current responses to child poverty (Creswell, 2014:222; Hennink et al., 2013:16).

#### **4.6.1.3 Quantitative sampling**

In the survey, the researcher used the saturation survey option, which in theory involves studying the entire target population (Sarantakos, 2013:167). This meant that all the 106 heads of households had equal chance to participate in the survey. However, 73 of the

106 heads of households were available and consented to participate in the survey phase of the study. The researcher and research assistants closely worked with BUCST in approaching and negotiating with the heads of households to be participants in the survey because of the rapport that exists between BUCST and its service users. The researcher is known to BUCST and was permitted by the organisation to approach the households (see Appendix 1).

#### **4.6.1.4 Qualitative sampling**

For the qualitative study, the sample sizes of heads of households, children, key informants and BUCST reports were determined by data saturation (Bless et al., 2014:164; Kumar, 2014:248). Creswell (2014:189) refers to data saturation as the stage when the data collection process is ended because no new insights about the research topic are generated by continued data collection. However, Robinson (2014:29) supports the idea of suggesting provisional sample sizes at the design stage. Provisionally a sample of 12 heads of households who participated in the quantitative phase had been proposed for the in-depth interviews. During the empirical study the saturation stage was reached in the ninth interview. In addition, a sample of 12 children had been proposed and was to be recruited from households whose heads would have participated, either in the survey or individual face-to-face interviews. From the population of six key informants, three were to be drawn from BUCST and one from DSW.

The proposed plan was to use quota and availability sampling to recruit the heads of households for the in-depth interviews. Robinson (2014:34) defines quota sampling as a procedure in which the researcher sets categories of participants to be selected from a population by defining the basis of choice and actual number of participants per category. Availability sampling, according to Engel and Schutt (2013:123), entails the selection of elements based on being available or accessible. The proposal was to select three heads of households from the four categories of extremely poor households which UNICEF (2010:27) identifies as child-headed households, households with a generation gap, households headed by a chronically ill adult, and single-parent households. However, due to a number of factors, this was revised during the empirical study. The quantitative results indicated that there were no child-headed households

amongst the survey participants. In fact, BUCST officers informed the researcher that the closest to this category were households headed by an adult sibling but their number was insignificant.

In addition, the researcher learnt that at its inception, BUCST used HIV-positive status for the head of a household as one of the criteria to recruit its service users. This was during the period before the government of Zimbabwe rolled out a mass anti-retroviral therapy programme for persons living with HIV. Thus, households headed by an HIV-positive person at the time had heightened vulnerability as these heads of households were usually terminally ill and unable to work. However, the researcher was informed by BUCST officers that the situation has since changed because the increased access to anti-HIV drugs by its service users had significantly reduced the vulnerability of households led by HIV-positive adults as most are now able to engage in less labour-intensive work. This information prompted the researcher to also drop the intended category of households headed by a chronically ill adult from the survey. Eventually the researcher decided to set aside quota sampling and interviewed heads of households who were accessible and willing to participate in the study. The researcher managed to interview nine heads of households of diverse wards of residence, years of residence, age, gender, marital status and education levels.

Furthermore, the study originally intended to obtain a sample of 12 children, using both quota and availability sampling. The children were to be drawn from the mentioned four categories of poor households based on the criteria that the household head either had participated in the survey, or in the individual face-to-face interviews. Three child participants per household type were to be engaged from wards that were within walking distance of BUCST premises. In addition, the sample was to be further divided into two groups with six participants respectively. The first sample group had to consist of children who were six to ten years old, and the other group, children who were 11 to 17 years old. The research study was as far as possible supposed to have representation of half male and half female participants. However, this plan was also revised during the empirical study. The search for children in the six to ten years age group from households in the vicinity of BUCST premises, yielded only a single child,

while 12 children were identified for the 11 to 17 years age group. As a result, the researcher made use of availability sampling to select 12 children within the age group of 11 to 17 years. Eventually, 11 of the 12 children comprising six females and five males turned up for the two focus group discussions.

The sample of four key informants was to be selected based on their position, and knowledge and expertise in the issues under investigation (Engel & Schutt, 2013:126; Sarantakos, 2013:178). To qualify for inclusion in the study, the key informants had to have at least two years' experience working for BUCST and be in a leadership position at either BUCST or DSW. In the empirical study, the above sampling criterion was followed and saturation was reached with three key informants comprised of two BUCST staff members and one officer from DSW. On BUCST reports, the researcher used the nine reports that were available. The next section discusses the data collection methods which were used in the two phases of the study.

#### **4.6.2 Data collection**

According to Sarantakos (2013:237), data collection is the stage of the research when the researcher approaches and collects information from the participants. Creswell (2014:189) identifies the three important steps of data collection, which guided this study, as: delimitation of the study boundaries, data collection, and establishment of data recording protocol. The two phases of the explanatory sequential mixed methods research design require the collection of complementary quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 2014:21). In mixed methods research, one data set may be weighted stronger and be prioritised; in this study quantitative data was prioritised (Delpont & Fouché, 2011a:441; Lund, 2012:56). This enabled the researcher to use qualitative data to further explain the quantitative results, which added depth to the study findings (Creswell, 2014:15; Ritchie & Ormston, 2014:43).

##### **4.6.2.1 Quantitative data collection**

In the quantitative phase, the researcher designed a questionnaire (see Appendix 2) to collect data suitable for statistical analyses (Babbie, 2014:262). The questionnaire's section on child poverty was based on the MPI (Santos & Alkire, 2011:5), while the part on assets was premised on the DFID SLA "assets pentagon" (DFID, 1999b:para.11).

The questionnaire was translated from English into the main vernacular Shona language (see Appendix 3) by a language expert from the Department of Languages and Communication at Bindura University of Science Education, which ensured face and content validity (Sarantakos, 2013:100). The questionnaire was administered by the researcher and two research assistants because some of the participants had low literacy and some were of advanced age (Babbie, 2014:293; Kumar, 2014:181). This also allowed the researcher to clarify some of the survey questions, which enhanced the quality of the data as well as increased the response rate (Neuman, 2012a:227). The two research assistants who assisted with data collection were graduate social workers from the Department of Social Work at Bindura University of Science Education, but unemployed at the time of the study. The main drawback of the questionnaire was that it was not designed to capture in-depth data (Sarantakos, 2013:36) as some of the participants during the interviews were eager to share their lived experiences in detail. However, this drawback was counterbalanced by the qualitative data collection methods, which enabled the collection of in-depth data from some of those participants. The aim of the survey was to collect quantitative data that meets the accepted standard for poverty and assets research. The instrument allowed for an exploration of the following variables:

- Heads of households' level of education;
- Sources of income;
- Households monthly income and consumption expenditure;
- Households food consumption patterns;
- Housing conditions (tenure, room occupancy ratio, water and sanitation facilities);
- Durable household goods;
- Household children profile (number, sex, school attendance, child abuse, mortality, drug and substance abuse);
- Human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used to meet the material and emotional needs of household children.

The research assistants who were unemployed graduate social workers underwent an intensive one-day training workshop, which covered a broad range of issues that included interviewing techniques, questionnaire administration, dealing with difficult

emotional situations, and research ethics. At the conclusion of the training, the research assistants were requested to sign a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix 4) in which they committed to uphold research ethics during and after the research study.

The researcher and the two research assistants were deployed to the various urban wards of Bindura district to interview the heads of households who were on the list of residential addresses availed by BUCST. At the end of each day of the fieldwork, the research assistants handed in the completed questionnaires to the researcher for quality checks, which focused on completeness, accuracy and consistency. If the quality was satisfactory, the researcher approved the completed questionnaires and then stored them in a secure place before they were forwarded to the Research Consultant at the University of Pretoria, Department of Statistics for capturing and analysis. In a few cases, the research assistants were requested to revisit some of the households to collect missing information on the administered questionnaires.

#### **4.6.2.2 Qualitative data collection**

In the study, the qualitative data collection methods complemented the quantitative method as they allowed the collection of detailed and contextualised data (Sarantakos, 2013:45). Rich qualitative data from different sources was gathered and three methods were used namely, interviews, observations and document analysis (Kumar, 2014:157; Leedy & Ormrod, 2014:143). The three data collection methods added complexity, depth and rigour to the study (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016:160). The researcher conducted face-to-face interviews and observations with nine heads of households. This was followed by two focus group discussions with groups of six and five children respectively, which were facilitated by the researcher with the aid of one of the research assistants. Three interviews were then conducted with three key informants comprised of two BUCST staff members and one DSW officer. Finally, the researcher analysed nine reports from BUCST. The respective data collection methods will be discussed next.

- **Face-to-face interviews**

Face-to-face interviews were used to gather in-depth qualitative data from nine heads of households, 11 children and three key informants. As a core qualitative data collection

method, Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:146) emphasise that interviews gather highly contextualised, in-depth and rich data. The face-to-face interviews captured the personal “voices and stories” (Hennink et al., 2013:110) of the participants. The researcher utilised four different interview schedules for the respective three participant categories. The interview schedules allowed for semi-structured interviews as they consisted of loosely designed lists of questions to collect rich qualitative data in the case study (Babbie, 2014:329; Kumar, 2014:195).

- **Heads of households’ interviews**

In qualitative research, interviews are considered a powerful method for gathering rich descriptive data that is enmeshed in participants’ contexts (Yeo, Legard, Keegan, Ward, McNaughton Nicholls & Lewis, 2014:178). One approach to interviews, which is commonly utilised in exploratory studies, is the use of semi-structured interviews, as in the case of this study, which rely on interview schedules that normally contain “specific and tailored follow-up questions [which are asked] within and across interviews” (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016:154). The interview schedule for the heads of households (see Appendix 5), which was translated also into the vernacular Shona language (see Appendix 6), focused on their experiences with child poverty, how child poverty is manifesting in their homes and in the community, the assets they are using in current responses to child poverty, and assets that can be combined for child poverty reduction. A total of eight heads of households were interviewed at their homes while one was interviewed at his workplace, this enabled some observations of the home and community environments. Hennink et al. (2011:110) state that in-depth interviews are usually conducted in participants’ familiar environments where they may be comfortable to share their experiences and perspectives on the research topic.

- **Key informant interviews**

In the study, a set of interviews was conducted with key informants. Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:131) define key informants as people who possess vast knowledge and are in a position to give important insights on the research topic. The information collected during the interviews with the two key informants from BUCST and one from DSW added another layer of qualitative data on the manifestation of child

poverty, assets being used in current responses to child poverty, and assets that can be mobilised and combined for child poverty reduction in the district. Two interview schedules in English (see Appendices 7 & 8) were used during the interviews as the researcher sought to gather the unique experiences of the two organisations on the manifestation of child poverty and the assets they are using in responses to child poverty.

The major strength of the interviews conducted with the heads of households and key informants was their flexibility because they allowed the researcher to ask follow up questions (Hennink et al., 2013:109), thus providing an opportunity to probe the emergent ideas, thoughts and feelings, as the interview processes evolved (Gray, 2009:373; Sarantakos, 2013:289). This opened avenues to a deeper understanding of how child poverty is manifesting in Bindura district, what assets are being used in current responses to child poverty, and what assets can be combined through ABCD for child poverty reduction.

The weaknesses of using face-to-face interviews were the possibility that some of the participants would give biased responses as a result of reacting to the presence of the researcher, and also the possible need to hide embarrassing child poverty information (Creswell, 2014:191; Neuman, 2012a:228). However, the effects of these weaknesses on the credibility of the data were minimised by means of data triangulation as additional data was collected using observation and document analysis (Franklin, Cody & Balla, 2010:362).

- **Observation**

During the process of interviewing the eight heads of households at their homes and one at his workplace, the researcher also observed the surrounding home and community environments (Neuman, 2012a:228). McNaughton Nicholls, Mills and Kotecha (2014:244) underscore that in social science research, the observation method can be used creatively to complement other data collection methods. The researcher used an observation schedule (see Appendix 9) to observe how child poverty is manifesting, what assets are being used in current responses to child poverty, and the



mix of assets that can be combined to reduce child poverty in the homes and surrounding community. Thus, the focused observation ensured data triangulation and deepened the meaning of the data garnered from interviews beyond what was conveyed by the verbal accounts (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016:160). As pointed out by McNaughton Nicholls et al. (2014:244), observation is useful in research, such as the current study, that involves complex processes that are difficult to describe fully with a single data collection method. The observations were conducted with the consent of the participants during the interviews. Rubin and Babbie (2014:266) refer to this as participant-obtrusive observation because the researcher's observer role is known by the participants. The observations were recorded as field notes (Franklin et al., 2010:358), because fieldnotes is the most common method of capturing observational data (McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014:259). Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:160) affirm the primacy of fieldnotes during observation by stating that writing fieldnotes generate data from observations.

The advantage of observation was that it was done concurrently with interviews thereby allowing the researcher to collect two data sets at once and also verify data obtained during the semi-structured interviews (Lewis & McNaughton Nicholls, 2014:59; Yin, 2014:114). In addition, the value of observation in the study was grounded in the notion that it enriched the study findings as the researcher got some first-hand data (McNaughton Nicholls et al., 2014:246). However, the disadvantage of observation was that the observation data was subject to observer bias (Sarantakos, 2013:245) arising from the researcher focusing on some observations while possibly missing other equally important observations. However, this disadvantage was countered by corroborating the observation evidence with data collected through interviews and document analysis.

- **Focus group discussions**

The study also used the group interview in the focus group discussions (FGDs). Two focus group discussions were conducted with groups of six and five children respectively at the BUCST premises. Focus group discussions were suitable for collecting data on the multiple and intersecting lived experiences and opinions (Berg, 2009:159) of the children on the manifestation of child poverty in their homes and

community within a short period of time (Hennink et al., 2013:138). Group dynamics also enabled the collection of in-depth data from the group discussions (Bless et al., 2013:200). To facilitate the discussions, a semi-structured schedule was used (see Appendix 10), which was also translated into the vernacular Shona language (see Appendix 11), and comprised loosely developed questions and discussion points (Kumar, 2014:195) which guided the research team. In addition, to enable the children to discuss the research topic in greater depth and in a child-friendly manner, creative methods were embedded (Arthur, Mitchell, Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls, 2014:164).

In qualitative research, Arthur et al. (2014:165) identify drawing as a creative data collection method or aid in which participants are asked to create images to express their views or experiences on a research topic. Smilan (2009:381) points out that creative or expressive art, such as drawing, provide children with a safe medium which they enjoy and use for self-expression of feelings and understanding of the world. In the same vein, Phelps (2016:3) suggests that expressive art is appropriate for young children because they are yet to master the words to describe their experiences. Furthermore, Phelps (2016:5) and Smilan (2009:382) view creative art as a form of therapy for traumatised children because they cultivate self-awareness through self-expression. During the study, the children were asked to draw pictures on the manifestations of child poverty in their homes and community. This, in the researcher's view, provided a form of cathartic therapy to some of the children as they are experiencing poverty in their homes and in the community. The pictures were used to facilitate discussions that aimed to gather the children's views and experiences on manifestation of child poverty in their homes and community.

- **Document analysis**

To augment data from the interviews and observation, the researcher analysed documents in the form of reports from BUCST for the period 2015 to 2017. Document analysis, as Berg (2009:365) notes, is a useful data collection method in exploratory research studies such as this study. Guided by the concepts, assets and child poverty as units of analysis from the asset-building and SLA theoretical frameworks underpinning this study, the researcher used the directed content analysis method in

the document analysis (Babbie, 2014:341; Berg, 2009:34). The directed content analysis method focused on manifest content, which refers to the visible content of the document manifested in forms such as words and sentences (Berg, 2009:341; Sarantakos, 2013:315). The latent content was also analysed, which refers to the underlying meaning conveyed through the document (Berg, 2009:344; Sarantakos, 2013:315).

The researcher used a checklist matrix (see Appendix 12) which, as Engel and Schutt (2013:307) note, is able to analyse the manifest and latent contents of the documents during document analysis. In the study, the checklist matrix assisted in the analysis of reports from BUCST focusing on the manifestation of child poverty, assets being used by the organisation in responses to child poverty, and assets that can be combined for child poverty reduction. Permission to access and use the reports for the study was obtained by means of a permission letter from BUCST (see Appendix 1). Data from the document analysis was recorded in the fieldwork journal (Franklin et al., 2010:358). Document analysis was selected because, different from interviews and observations, it was an unobtrusive method and was not affected by the reactivity between the interviewer and interviewee (Babbie, 2014:340; Gray, 2009:425). However, there was concern regarding the quality of the documents and the researcher experienced a challenge associated with the use of documents as a source of data in research, which Gray (2009:428) refers to as selective deposit. This is because most of the reports from BUCST were inconsistent and not well-detailed, which limited the information for analysis. Despite this limitation, the document analysis contributed some useful qualitative data from BUCST on the research topic.

#### **4.6.3 Data analysis**

As guided by the study's explanatory sequential mixed methods research design, data analysis was done in two phases. Quantitative data was analysed first, followed by the analysis of qualitative data. Quantitative data analysis followed the six steps given by Creswell (2014:162) and in qualitative data analysis, the researcher used the thematic analysis method. Hennink et al. (2013:10) note that thematic analysis is an inductive approach to qualitative data analysis in which themes emerge from the data. After completing the data analysis, the findings were integrated and interpreted and

conclusions were made, as discussed in chapters five and six. The analysis of the quantitative data will be discussed next.

#### **4.6.3.1 Quantitative data analysis**

The six steps of Creswell (2014:162) were followed for quantitative data analysis. These steps were: reporting the response rate, discussing the response bias, discussing the plan for descriptive analysis of data, planning for statistical procedures and reliability, identifying statistics and statistical computer programme for testing the study's hypothesis or research question, and presenting and interpreting the results.

On reporting the response rate, the target population for the completion of the survey was 106 households. McLaughlin (2012:34) suggests that surveys rarely report a 100 per cent response rate. In the study, questionnaires were completed for 73 households who were available and consented to participate, yielding a 69 per cent response rate. The response rate was slightly below the 70 per cent threshold, which is generally considered as adequate (McLaughlin, 2012:34).

The second step involves discussing the response bias. Bhattacharjee (2012:80) defines response bias as the non-response in quantitative research when a questionnaire is used as a data collection tool. Response bias, as Bhattacharjee (2012:80) further argues, has to be reported by the researcher because, if non-response is high, it may reflect systematic reasons that raise questions about the validity of the study results. This means that non-response tends to bias the study findings. In this study, a 100 per cent response rate was not attained because some of the potential participants could not be accessed because of non-availability during the period of fieldwork, other potential participants were no longer staying at the residences as listed in BUCST database, while some were reported deceased.

The third step focuses on discussing the plan for descriptive analysis of data. In quantitative research as Bhattacharjee (2012:119) posits, "descriptive [data] analysis refers to statistically describing, aggregating and presenting the constructs of interest [to the study] or associations between these constructs." Quantitative research measures variables and produces figures to describe the distribution of and relationships among

variables in order to predict outcomes (Engel & Schutt, 2013:371; Sarantakos, 2013:49). In the study, variables such as heads of households' level of education, sources of income, monthly income and consumption expenditure, housing conditions, household children demographics, and the use of a range of assets in response to child poverty were measured. The findings allowed the researcher to explore the manifestation of child poverty and define the nature of assets being used in current responses to child poverty by the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

The fourth step is about planning for statistical procedures and reliability. On statistical procedures and reliability, the study results were measured at the ordinal level. At this level of measurement, as Sarantakos (2013:92) avers, the scores on variables are categorised into groups and ranked to indicate differences. Sarantakos (2013:94) further states that at the ordinal level of measurement, frequency scores such as always, often, sometimes and never are measured on the variables. To this end, the study measured how often the extremely poor urban households were using different assets in response to child poverty. The frequency scores were grouped according to asset type and ranked within and between asset types (see chapter five, theme 5). Gray (2009:452) asserts that ordinal data is typically presented in frequency graphs and tables which were followed in this study. Regarding reliability, which is the ability of a measurement to yield consistent results (Engel & Schutt, 2013:96), the researcher checked the internal consistency of the questionnaire results using the Cronbach's alpha coefficient method. The Cronbach's alphas were calculated on five Likert-type questions from section D of the questionnaire (see Appendix 2). George and Mallery (2003:231) state that the level of consistency ranges from excellent at 0.9; good at 0.8; acceptable at 0.6; questionable at 0.5; to unacceptable at <0.5. The Cronbach's alphas for the five questions were 0.820, 0.501, 0.650, 0.289 and 0.288 respectively. As shown above, the internal consistency on the five questions ranged from good to unacceptable. The very low level of consistency on two of the five questions can be attributed to the limited variability of the responses that resulted in restricted range of scores (Mohanty & Misra, 2016:859).

The fifth step involves the identification of statistics and the statistical computer programme for testing the study's hypothesis or research question. Bhattacharjee (2012:119) notes that to test hypotheses or answer the research questions, researchers rely on inferential data analysis to produce inferential statistics. As cited by Creswell (2014:163), inferential statistics are generated by statistical tests conducted on raw data. In addition, Engel and Schutt (2013:397) posit that many bivariate and multivariate statistical tests are available that can be used to test hypotheses and generate inferential statistics. The researcher, with the aid of the Microsoft Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences Version 24 computer packages, used the Spearman's test to produce inferential statistics and conclusions (Sarantakos, 2013:422) to answer the research question on how ABCD could reduce child poverty in Bindura district. Inferences, as Delport and Fouché (2011a:447) assert, generate conclusions that answer the research question.

Discussion on the presentation and interpretation of results is the final step of data analysis. Presentation of results, as noted by Sarantakos (2013:448), involves describing variables and their relationships in formats such as graphs, tables, figures and statements, while discussion or interpretation focuses on summarising, explaining and integrating the findings within the theoretical context and purpose of the study with a view to answer the research questions (Sarantakos, 2013:449). Research results in the form of conclusions influence practice and the trajectory of future research on the research problem (Creswell, 2014:165). In the presentation and interpretation of results, Creswell (2014:165) suggests that emphasis should be on "whether or not the hypothesis or research question was supported." In this study, the main research question was on how ABCD can be used to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

#### **4.6.3.2 Qualitative data analysis**

In the qualitative data analysis, the researcher used the thematic analysis method which relied on manual means as the volume of the data did not warrant computer software data analysis. Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:257) note that computer software is usually required in qualitative data analysis when working with large data sets. In the context of thematic analysis, the researcher followed the core tasks such as planning for recording data, data collection and preliminary analyses, data management, reading

and writing memos, data coding and categorisation, conceptualisation, theory development, and data presentation (Hennink et al., 2013:237; Schurink, Fouché & De Vos., 2011:404). The tasks were integrated and are discussed below under three broad sub-headings, namely preparation and organising the data, data reduction, as well as data presentation and display (Schurink et al., 2011:404).

#### **4.6.3.2.1 Organising and preparing data for analysis**

The first task under this stage is planning for recording data; in the study, data from the interviews, observation and document analysis was recorded in the form of digital recordings and notes (Hennink et al., 2013:70) that were managed in varied ways. Data management, as defined by Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014:50), basically involves the storage, retrieval and retention of data. In this study, data was stored and retained as interview recordings, observation and field notes in the form of paper and computer files (Engel & Schutt, 2013:307) that were later retrieved. The next task was that of data collection and preliminary analyses. In qualitative research, data collection and analysis are inseparable and proceed concurrently. The analyses followed a two-stage approach, namely that of during and after data collection (Schurink et al., 2011:404). The researcher conducted preliminary analyses during data collection with a view to refine the data collection tools and process, and to determine further sampling and data saturation (Bless et al., 2013:164; Schurink et al., 2011:404). Preliminary analyses and field notes were written and recorded as memos (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:117). The researcher continued writing memos during the data analysis as Corbin and Strauss (2008:118) note that it is an ongoing process. The memos were later used during the next stage of data reduction or post data collection analysis.

#### **4.6.3.2.2 Data reduction**

The stage of data reduction involves coding, categorisation and conceptualisation. A code is defined by Hennink et al. (2013:203) as an "...issue, topic, idea, concept and process that is evident in the data." Coding is the process of extracting codes from raw data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:163). The coding involved several cycles of going through the interview transcripts, a process that Hennink et al. (2013:220) describe as, "moving back and forth within and between transcripts." The coding consisted of predetermined and emergent codes on the manifestation of child poverty and assets from the

theoretical frameworks, literature review and data collection was used during data coding (Creswell, 2014:199).

The next task after coding was categorisation, which, according to Sarantakos (2013:380), is focused on grouping codes with similar attributes into themes and sub-themes. Themes and sub-themes are categories that have the same meaning (Sarantakos, 2013:379). In this study, the researcher developed the themes and sub-themes from the codes. The final task on data reduction was conceptualisation, which is the process of considering the relationships between categories with a view to interpret the research findings (Hennink et al., 2013:245).

During the process of interpreting the research findings, researchers explain the meaning of the findings through describing how the different concepts are connected, and what the possible causal linkages are (Engel & Schutt, 2013:309; Sarantakos, 2013:405). Interpretation, as noted by Gray (2009:499), is done with a view to find answers to the research question. In this study, the qualitative data interpretation was foregrounded in the theoretical frameworks and literature review (Delpont & Fouché, 2011a:447; Creswell, 2014:200). The researcher then used the qualitative findings to explain the quantitative findings, which Creswell (2014:225) considers as a form of data interpretation under the mixed methods research approach. This enabled a deeper understanding of the manifestations of child poverty and the assets being used in current responses to child poverty.

#### **4.6.3.2.3 Data presentation and display**

Data presentation and display, as cited by Miles et al. (2014:108), is the visual format of presenting study findings in order to draw conclusions. The researcher used direct quotes, summaries, and discussions to present and display themes and sub-themes from the study findings (Creswell, 2014:200; Miles et al, 2014:116). In qualitative research, there is a need to discuss the basis on which the findings can be trusted.

One method of determining the worth of research findings is to establish the criteria for evaluating trustworthiness (Bless et al., 2013:220; Rubin and Babbie (2014:485). The researcher adopted the criterion developed by two renowned qualitative researchers,



Lincoln and Guba to evaluate the trustworthiness of the qualitative study findings. The criterion as Schurink et al. (2011:419) note is based on the following concepts: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

- **Credibility**

Credibility in qualitative research is similar to the notion of internal validity in quantitative research, which refers to the level of accuracy of the study findings and is a function of the research design (Babbie, 2014:432; Morse, 2015:1212). In this study, credibility was assured by data triangulation (Lewis, Ritchie, Ormston & Morrell, 2014:358), thick description, and electronic recording (Hennink et al., 2013:70). Data triangulation was attained through the case study design adopted for the qualitative phase of the study, which allowed the researcher to collect extensive data from multiple sources using varied methods (Yin, 2014:17). In addition, thick description, which Hennink et al. (2013:238) refer to as provision of rich detail, was achieved through the extensive data collection from the multiple sources namely, the heads of households, children, key informants and BUCST reports. The accuracy of the data was also assured by means of electronically recording the interviews and focus group discussions with the participants' informed consent and assent (Franklin et al., 2010:358).

- **Transferability**

Transferability, as defined by Morse (2015:1212), is the extent to which research findings can be applied to other people, places, or events beyond the study location and population. It is a qualitative research concept similar to, but not exactly the same as, external validity in quantitative research (Bless et al., 2013:237). In the study, the themes that emerged from the study findings as a result of the extensive data collection strategy (Morse, 2015:1214) can with great confidence be transferred to other extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

- **Dependability**

In qualitative research, dependability is akin to reliability in quantitative research and refers to obtaining consistent or similar findings if the study is repeated (Engel & Schutt, 2013:96; Morse, 2015:1213). To ensure dependability of the study findings, the

researcher adopted the audit trail strategy. An audit trail, as cited by Franklin et al. (2010:368), involves meticulous recording of all the steps of research methods followed and decisions made during data collection and analysis to enable tracing and verification. The steps and decisions on data collection and analysis that can be traced and verified are listed above in sections 4.6.2 and 4.6.3. Delport and Fouché (2011b:428) emphasise that because of the lingering questions around the worth of qualitative research, researchers need to provide detailed accounts about their research procedures.

- **Confirmability**

Confirmability in qualitative research can be equated to quantitative research objectivity and ensures that the research process is transparent and free from personal biases (Morse, 2015:1213; Sarantakos, 2013:108). To guarantee the transparency of this study, the researcher used the external auditing strategy. In research, Creswell (2014:202) denotes an external auditor as a person outside the research study who is engaged to critically cross-check the data collection, analysis and conclusions. In this regard, the external auditor role was performed by the study supervisors who scrutinised the data collection and analysis of the study.

In qualitative research, confirmability is also achieved through reflexivity. Reflexivity is defined by Creswell (2014:186) and Robinson (2014:38) as openly acknowledging how the researcher's personal background, values, beliefs and biases influenced the interpretation and reporting of study findings. In this study, the researcher has resided in the study location for the past eight years and has a general understanding of the socioeconomic conditions of the urban wards of Bindura district. This background knowledge of the study location may have resulted in the researcher overlooking and/or overemphasising some manifestations of child poverty and assets being used in current responses to child poverty which biased his interpretation and reporting of the study findings.

Reflexivity, as noted by Engel and Schutt (2013:312), is also about being open "...about how the researcher interacted with subjects in the field, fieldwork problems

and how these were or were not resolved.” In this study, the main fieldwork problem encountered was on sampling for the focus group discussions when children of the six to ten years age cohort were unavailable from the households living in the purposively selected wards. This challenge was resolved by the recruitment of additional 11 to 17-year-old children who participated in the second focus group discussion.

#### **4.7 Pilot study**

A pilot study is a small-scale model or trial of the main study, which is conducted by researchers on the real site of the main investigation (Sarantakos, 2014:266; Strydom, 2011a:240). In the study, this was done in terms of all the research processes to determine the feasibility of the study; establish the reliability and validity of data collection instruments; and improve the instruments with a view to generate comprehensive information on the research topic (Engel & Schutt, 2013:246; Creswell, 2014:161; Sarantakos, 2013:266). The proposed sampling methods were tested and participants were kindly asked to complete informed consent forms as was done in the main study (Strydom, 2011a:240). The pilot study was conducted in two phases: first for the survey and then for the interviews, observation and document analysis on the case study.

The survey pilot study first involved the training of the research assistants followed by piloting of the data collection instruments. The research team with the assistance of one BUCST staff member, who assisted in locating the households, conducted a pilot study with four heads of households drawn from the 106 households in the BUCST database. All the protocols, including gaining entry and seeking informed consent (Robinson, 2014:32), were observed before data was collected from the four heads of households at their houses. After the data collection, the research team reviewed the completed questionnaires and noted that there were no revisions required on the instrument, but for the need to elaborate to participants some questions in section D on assets during the main study. The pilot data was internally valid as the researcher subjected the data to pragmatic and concurrent validity (Engel & Schutt, 2013:100) and found it consistent with the existing literature that households with limited assets have heightened vulnerability which affects household children (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.1). The piloted data was excluded from the main study.

For the qualitative phase of the study, the researcher used the first two interviews with the heads of households and the first interview with key informants from BUCST as the pilot for the two interview schedules. The researcher reviewed the interview transcript of one of the heads of households with the study supervisors who assisted the researcher to adopt interview techniques that enabled collection of in-depth information in a sensitive manner. In line with the pilot study and supervisors' suggestions, the researcher refined the interview schedule (Sarantakos, 2013:265). The questions on the schedule were restructured to be open-ended and give the participants the room to provide in-depth information which was the case in the subsequent interviews until data saturation. Regarding the focus groups, Greeff (2011:370) is of the view that the first focus group can be used to pilot test the group interview schedule. To this end, the first focus group was used to pilot test the group interview schedule and the data was included in the main study because only minor changes were required. The refinements pertained to wording the questions in a manner that enabled open and extensive discussion of the research topic during the second focus group discussion.

#### **4.8 Ethical considerations**

Ethical considerations are imperative for any research that involves collecting data or interacting with humans, such as in this study (Gray, 2009:73). In social work, ethical requirements also relate to the conduct of research (Shardlow, 2013:18). Research ethics, as noted by Creswell (2014:95), are applied at every phase of the research cycle. The study took into consideration the Zimbabwe Social Workers' Code of Ethics (Council of Social Workers, 2012:1030) which indicates the following:

In research and evaluation processes, the social worker must obtain the informed consent of participants or of the parent or guardian in the case of minors, and carry out the exercise with due regard to the dignity of participants and where appropriate ensure that the research benefit society or the individual and take steps to avoid or minimise harm, distress or pain to participants, and report accurately.

To this end, the researcher engaged with varied ethical considerations before, at the beginning, during data collection, data analysis, while reporting the study findings and on dissemination of the research findings as subsequently discussed.

#### **4.8.1 Ethical considerations prior to conducting the study**

Prior to conducting research, Mogorosi (2018:84) notes that researchers need to confirm that the research designs and data collection method comply with the expected standards of the discipline. To this end, before embarking on the study to ensure that the study's research methodology adhered to the required standards of social work research, the researcher sought and was granted ethical approval by the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix 13). In addition, Creswell (2014:96) states that informed consent also extends to seeking the permission of gatekeepers before conducting research. Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:351) define gatekeepers as individuals who are in position to approve or deny a researcher access to the research site and participants before a study commences. The researcher at the early stage of the study sought and was granted access to the research site and participants by the gatekeepers from BUCST and DSW respectively (see Appendices 1 & 14).

#### **4.8.2 Ethical considerations at the beginning of the study**

In social research, Sarantakos (2013:17) elucidates that it is a common ethical practice that participants are fully informed in writing about all the aspects of the study and given the opportunity to decide whether to participate or not. As stated by Rubin and Babbie (2014:98), in research involving adults and children this information is often availed through informed consent and assent forms. In this study, the ethical requirements of informed consent and assent was considered and upheld. To seek the consent of the heads of households to participate in the two phases of the study, the researcher used informed consent letters (see Appendices 15 & 16) which were translated into the vernacular Shona language (see Appendices 17 & 18) respectively. On consent and assent, Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:362) state that research participants have to be clearly informed that their involvement in research is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw at any moment without fear of harming themselves in any manner. In this study, to ensure voluntary participation and avoid coercion since the participants were BUCST service users, the consent and assent letters clearly informed all the participants that their involvement in the study was voluntary and that there were no benefits attached to their participation in the study. They were further assured that they

had the right to withdraw from the study at any time with no repercussions such as being denied services by BUCST.

Graham, Powell, Taylor, Anderson and Fitzgerald (2013:57) assert that parental consent is often sought for children's participation in research. To this end, consent was sought from the parents or guardians of the children who participated in the study (see Appendix 19), the consent letter was also translated into the vernacular language (see Appendix 20). In addition, Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:362) state that seeking assent is a central ethical consideration in research involving children. Assent is a process of providing children the opportunity to decide whether to or not participate in research and entails giving them information about the research (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016:362). In the context of seeking assent, Graham et al. (2013:570) affirm that, "children must be provided with information that is appropriate to their age, competencies, context and evolving capacities." In this study, the informed assent was obtained from the children using a child-friendly assent letter (see Appendix 21), also translated into the vernacular Shona language (see Appendix 22). The standard is that informed consent and assent is communicated by means of a written signature, thumb print or verbal agreement (Graham et al., 2013:60; Sarantakos, 2013:17). In this study, the participants used signatures, names and X signs on the consent and assent letters to indicate their agreement to participate, which the researcher continued to confirm during all the data collection.

#### **4.8.3 Ethical considerations during data collection**

During data collection an important ethical consideration of avoidance of harm or non-maleficence was upheld. Sarantakos (2013:18) defines avoidance of harm as ensuring that research refrains from using procedures that can physically, emotionally or legally harm the participants. To this end, the procedures of this study did not pose any physical or legal harm to the participants. However, Babbie (2014:66) is of the notion that asking research participants to reveal personal circumstances, such as their poor living circumstances, can be demeaning and cause emotional turmoil. In the study, questions on how child poverty is manifesting in the homes of participants resulted in them revealing their poor living conditions. To counter demeaning and emotionally harming the participants, the researcher first ensured that the wording of the questions

asked in the study was carefully formulated to avoid asking for and collecting information that could potentially harm the participants' self-perception (Babbie, 2014:66). Debriefing sessions, as spelt out in the consent and assent letters, were provided to the participants in which the researcher discussed with the participants their experiences in the study with a view to detect and alleviate possible emotional harm (Babbie, 2014:71; Engel & Schutt, 2013:65). A provision was also made to refer participants to the Bindura district DSW for professional help if necessary. During data collection, no incidents of emotional harm were reported by the participants or detected by the researcher.

In the process of data collection, the ethical requirements of privacy and confidentiality were also considered and respected. In research, privacy and confidentiality are jointly upheld when the researcher does not seek private and sensitive information, and does not publicly identify participants and their responses (Rubin & Babbie, 2014:87; Sarantakos, 2013:20). To protect the privacy of the participants, the research questions were asked in a manner that avoided seeking private and sensitive information from the participants. Strydom (2011b:119) sees confidentiality as an extension of privacy. Similarly, Makofane and Shirindi (2018:33) view confidentiality as ensuring the privacy and secrecy of the research participants' information. To ensure confidentiality, Babbie (2014:69) and Hennink et al. (2013:72) propose the use of identification numbers and pseudonyms in place of the names and addresses of participants. To this end, the researcher erased the public identity of the participants by using identification numbers in the survey and the interviews and pseudonyms in the focus group discussions. In addition, the research assistants were requested to sign a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix 4) in which they committed to uphold research ethics during the data collection and after the research study.

Closely tied to confidentiality is the issue of the storage of research data (Creswell, 2014:101). Applied to this study, the research data, in accordance with the university regulations, will be stored for a period of 15 years at the University of Pretoria, Department of Social Work and Criminology before it is destroyed.

#### **4.8.4 Ethical considerations during data analysis**

During data analysis, the researcher continued to safeguard the privacy and confidentiality of the study participants through using identification numbers. Creswell (2014:99) notes that there is a need to respect the privacy of the research participants. This ensured the protection of the research participants from any harm that could possibly emanate from the information they provided during the study. In the interpretation of research findings researchers are also ethically required to avoid manipulating such for whatever reason (Creswell, 2014:100; Strydom, 2011b:126). The external auditing role exercised by the supervisors of this study ensured that the results were accurately interpreted as they had access to all the collected data, which they could use to verify the data. In addition, the Research Consultant from University of Pretoria, Department of Statistics who assisted the researcher in the capturing and analysis of quantitative data also helped in accurate interpretation of the study findings. Babbie (2014:72) emphasises that science advances through honesty and transparency.

#### **4.8.5 Ethical considerations while reporting the findings**

In research, ethical considerations also feature in terms of reporting the research findings. Researchers are also ethically required to avoid falsifying findings and accurately report research results and conclusions (Creswell, 2014:99). The external auditing role exercised by the supervisors and the guidance provided by the Research Consultant from University of Pretoria, Department of Statistics also ensured the accurate reporting of the research findings and conclusions.

#### **4.8.6 Ethical considerations while releasing the research findings**

Ethical considerations also apply in terms of releasing the research findings. Strydom (2011b:126) emphasises that research findings need to be disseminated for use by others in the scientific community. In support, Engel and Schutt (2013:412) are of the view that one of the goals of research is to communicate new discoveries to a wider audience. Strategies for sharing research findings, as suggested by Creswell (2014:100), include availing copies of reports to participants, stakeholders and on websites. To this end, a summary of the study findings will be first shared with BUCST



and the DSW and later followed by the complete research report. Engel and Schutt (2013:412) state that research results can reach wider audiences in varied forms, such as publications in scientific journals and conference papers. As such, the findings of this study will be published as articles in scientific journals and conference papers.

Tied to the publication and dissemination of research findings, it is also imperative and ethical to give credit to all persons for their contributions to the research outcomes, which can be in the form of an acknowledgement when disseminating the results (Bless et al., 2013:36). As such, the researcher recognises the valuable contributions of the study participants in this final thesis.

#### **4.9 Limitations of the study**

Discussion on the limitations of the research is important in the scientific community as Babbie (2014:72) opines that researchers need to openly highlight the technical shortcomings of their research to the readers. As discussed in chapter two, child poverty is a complex phenomenon which is best researched through prolonged engagement with the affected. In this regard, the study was limited because it was cross-sectional in nature (Engel & Schutt, 2013:144) as data was collected once and the researcher could not investigate all the complexities of child poverty in the extremely poor urban households of Bindura district. The best option was to conduct a longitudinal study. Longitudinal research, as noted by Sarantakos (2013:10), studies social issues through prolonged engagement which can be characterised by collecting data more than once from either the same or different samples. However, a longitudinal study was impractical because of time and financial considerations. Despite this limitation, the study through quantitative and qualitative data triangulation explored the research problem in detail.

Another notable limitation of the study was related to sampling. From a child rights perspective, Graham et al. (2013:13) argue that research involving children, such as this study, needs to uphold their right to participation as enshrined in the CRC. Using the notion of justice, Graham et al. (2013:17) further propound that in studies involving children, researchers must guard against exclusion of certain categories of children who are competent to participate. The original sampling plan was to have a sample of 12

children for the two FGDs using both quota and availability sampling. Furthermore, the sample was to consist of two groups of children who were six to ten years old and 11 to 17 years old respectively, with six participants in each group.

Due to transport logistics considerations, all the child participants were to be recruited from the households in the vicinity of the BUCST premises. Unfortunately, the recruitment of the six to ten year age group only yielded a single child. As a result, the researcher decided to drop the six to ten year age cohort from the study and recruited additional 11 to 17 year old children for the two focus group discussions. This discretion, contrary to CRC provisions, resulted in the views and experiences of children in the six to ten year category being missed in the study. Nevertheless, data triangulation in the study managed to provide valuable insights into the lived experiences of children of all ages in the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

#### **4.10 Summary**

The chapter presented the various interrelated steps of the research process that were followed in the study. Given the complexity of child poverty, limited child poverty research in Zimbabwe and the multidimensional nature of assets, the research study was conducted within the philosophical framework of pragmatism. The research study adopted the mixed methods research approach which allowed the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Based on its goal, the research study was both basic and applied in nature. An explanatory sequential mixed methods research design was employed to collect the research data. All the data collection instruments were tested and refined during the pilot test to enhance the reliability and validity of the research findings. A range of research ethics was taken into consideration during the research process. The limitations of the study and how they have been contemplated were discussed. The next chapter focuses on the presentation and discussion of both the quantitative and qualitative research findings in an integrated manner.

## CHAPTER 5

### PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

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#### Introduction

The chapter presents and discusses the integrated empirical findings of the quantitative and qualitative phases of the study on how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura district. The researcher will answer the following research questions:

1. How does child poverty manifest in Bindura district?
2. Which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets are being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district?
3. How can the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) be applied to child poverty reduction in the district?
4. How can human, social, physical, financial and natural assets be combined for child poverty reduction in Bindura district?

Using the explanatory sequential mixed methods design, quantitative data was first collected from 73 heads of households by means of a survey questionnaire. The quantitative data was analysed using the Microsoft Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences Version 24 computer packages. Subsequently, qualitative data was gathered from face-to-face semi-structured interviews with nine heads of households and three key informants comprised of two BUCST staff members and one DSW officer; two FGDs with 11 children; field observations; and document analysis. The numeric data is presented by means of tables, graphs and charts while the qualitative data is presented using narrations and summaries. To add depth to the empirical findings, both quantitative and qualitative findings were integrated and are thematically presented.

The ensuing sections present the study findings. To begin with, the demographical details of the study participants are presented. This is followed by a presentation and

discussion of the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the quantitative and qualitative findings. A brief summary concludes the chapter.

## 5.2 Demographic characteristics of the study's participants

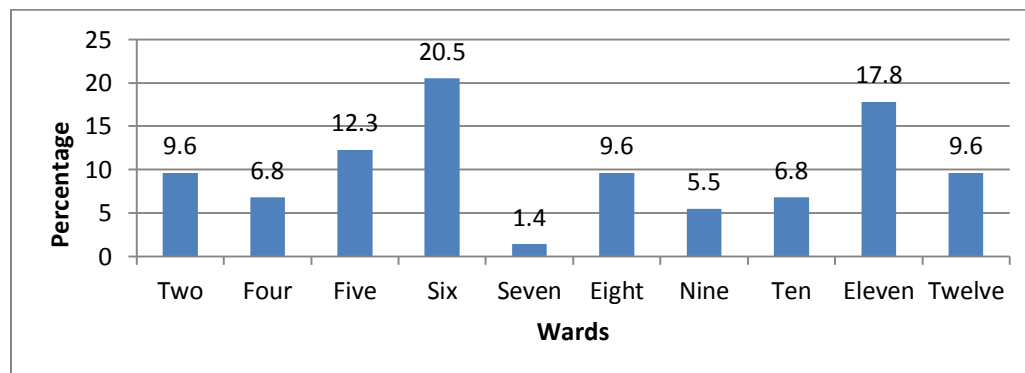
The demographic information of the participants will be presented in the order that the data was collected: first the data of the quantitative study participants followed by the details of the qualitative study participants.

### 5.2.1 Demographic information of the quantitative study participants

The demographic data of the quantitative study participants included the following variables, ward of residence, years of residence, sex, marital status, age and education levels which are presented and discussed next.

#### 5.2.1.1 Ward of residence

Seventy-three heads of households participated in the quantitative study. They were drawn from ten urban wards of the Bindura district. Figure 5.1 presents the distribution of the participants by their wards of residence.



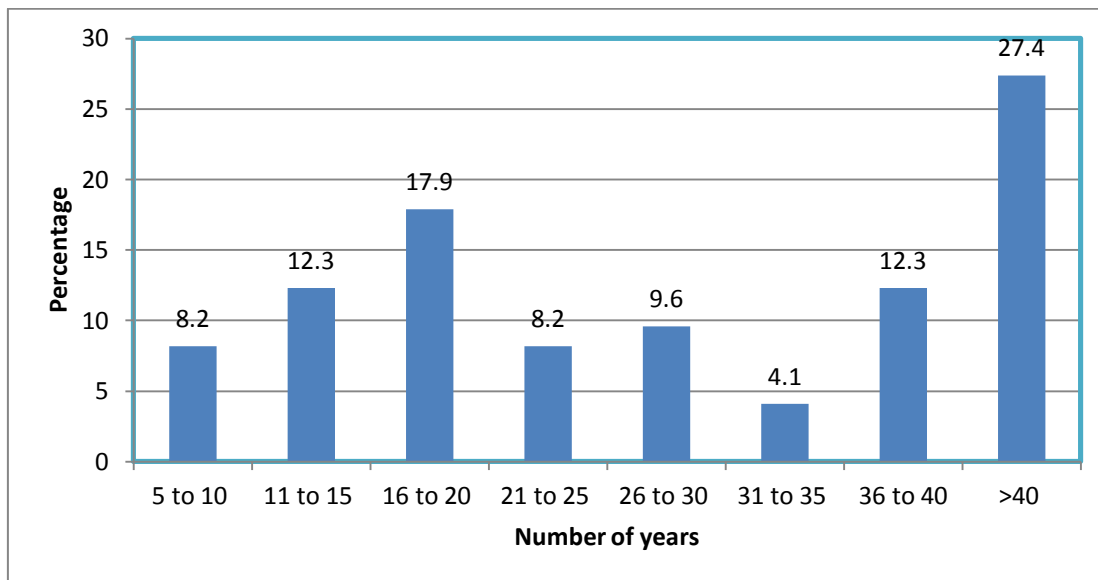
**Figure 5.1: Participants' ward of residence (n=73)**

The findings indicate that the highest percentage of participants were drawn from wards six (15, 20.5%), 11 (13, 17.8%) and five (9, 12.3%) which are all located in Bindura's oldest urban suburb of Chipadze. The lowest percentage of participants (1, 1.4%) was from ward seven. It is apparent that extreme poverty was concentrated in the oldest urban suburb of Chipadze in Bindura district. Typically, in Zimbabwe the burden of urban poverty is higher in such old and colonial era-established urban areas because they historically lack infrastructure and services due to past racially biased policies

(Madaka, 1995:156). These areas, as Todaro and Smith (2015:522) postulate, usually lack basic water and sanitation facilities, are overcrowded, and have inadequate housing. These squalid conditions negatively affect the normal development of children.

### 5.2.1.2 Number of years lived in the wards

The number of years that participants had lived in the wards ranged from five to over 40 years. The highest percentage of participants had lived in the wards for more than 40 years, namely 27.4 per cent (24) and the lowest (3, 4.1%) was between 31 and 35 years. The average number of years lived in the wards was 29.6 years. The number of years lived in the wards are shown in Figure 5.2.



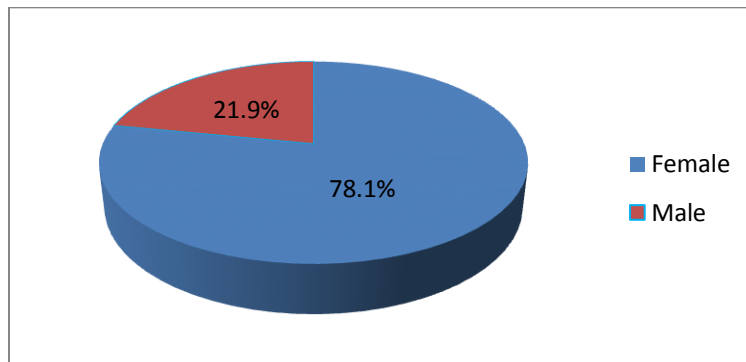
**Figure 5.2: Years lived in the wards (n=73)**

From the findings it is evident that as a result of extreme poverty most of the participants had lived for long periods in their respective wards. The downside of the long periods of residence in the wards is lack of upward social mobility, which is a consequence of chronic poverty. Harper et al. (2012:49) conceptualise chronic poverty as situations where people experience poverty their entire lives or for long periods. Thus, children in the majority of the poor urban households in Bindura district, either for their entire lives or for long periods, were being raised in a context of chronic poverty. According to UNICEF (2016a:69), being accustomed to poverty at a tender age has far-reaching consequences, such as poor health and education outcomes. If innovative

strategies such as ABCD are not adopted by social workers, these disadvantages can be passed from one generation to the next, thereby creating a vicious cycle of poverty. However, from an ABCD perspective, the upside of the high number of years that the participants had lived in the wards is the possibility of strong social capital in the form of social networks which are usually nurtured over long periods of residency in the same locality. As DFID (1999b:para.18) notes, social relations are core to social capital development which in turn underpins sustainable livelihoods and child poverty reduction. The levels of household poverty also vary based on the sex of the household head.

### 5.2.1.3 Sex of the study participants

Figure 5.3 below presents the sex composition in percentage of the heads of households who participated in the quantitative study.



**Figure 5.3: Sex of the study participants (n=73)**

As revealed in Figure 5.3, the majority of the heads of households were female (57, 78.1%) and only 21.9 per cent (16) were male. This finding points to the feminisation of poverty. Todaro and Smith (2015:252) note that throughout the developing world, a disproportionate number of extremely poor households are headed by women. Gender inequality, as Agbu (2019:13) posits, perpetuates poverty, especially among women. This gendered nature of poverty is embedded in the unequal social, economic, political and cultural institutions that limit females' access to different types of assets. Thus, children living in female-headed poor urban households in Bindura district were experiencing the harshest poverty. To meaningfully reduce child poverty, strategies such as ABCD need to take a gendered approach with a bias towards women empowerment. The female-headed households under the ABCD strategy can be

empowered through increased access to a range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets (Cox & Pawar, 2013:250).

#### 5.2.1.4 Marital status of the participants

As shown in Table 5.1 below, the biggest proportion of the participants (31, 42.5%) were widowed, followed by those who were married (27, 37.0%), divorced (9, 12.3%) and single (6, 8.2%).

**Table 5.1: The distribution of the participants' marital status (n=73)**

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	6	8.2
Married	27	37.0
Divorced	9	12.3
Widowed	31	42.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100</b>

Fisher's exact test was performed on the cross tabulation of sex and marital status of the participants as shown in Table 5.2 and revealed a statistically significant association (p-value=.007) between sex and marital status at the 5 per cent level of significance.

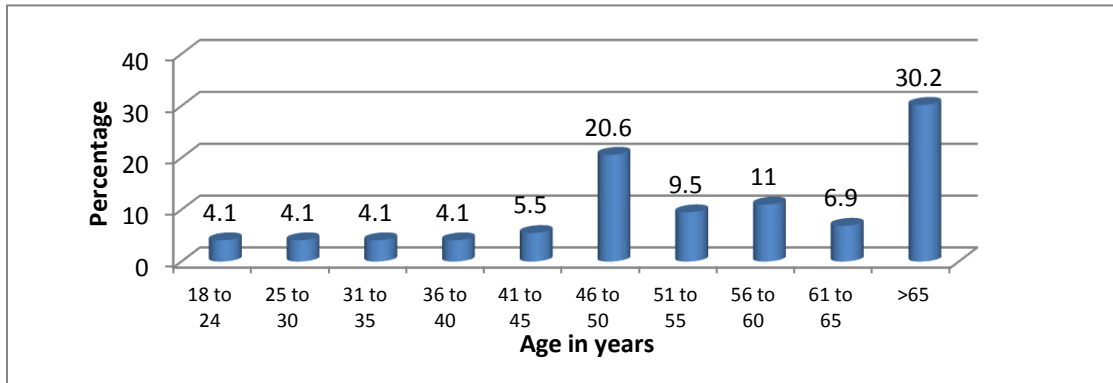
**Table 5.2: Cross tabulation of the participants' sex and marital status (n=73)**

	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female			
Marital status	n	%	N	%	n	%
Single	3	18.7	3	5.3	6	8.2
Married	10	62.5	17	29.8	27	37.0
Divorced	1	6.3	8	14.0	9	12.3
Widowed	2	12.5	29	50.9	31	42.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100</b>

It can thus be noted that most of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district were being headed by females of whom most were widowed whilst others were divorced or single. They were probably sole breadwinners for their households. This further increased the poverty and vulnerability of the female-headed households.

### 5.2.1.5 Age of the participants

Figure 5.4 presents the distribution of the participants by age.



**Figure 5.4: The age distribution of the participants (n=73)**

An examination of the age cohorts in Figure 5.4 reveals that a large percentage of the participants (36, 47.9%) were over 55 years of age and the remaining 52.1 per cent (37) was distributed in the broad 18 to 55 years age range. Notably, the highest percentage (22, 30.1%) of the participants was over 65 years old, a category that is normally associated with retirement and dependency due to old age. The mean age of the heads of households was 55.4 years and the standard deviation of the ages was 16.76 years.

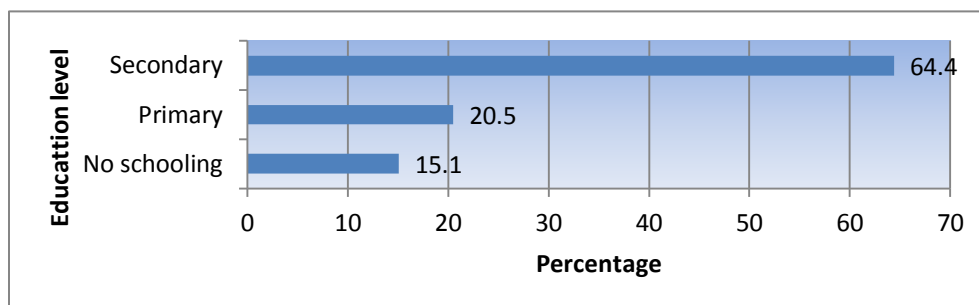
The findings suggest that a large number of households headed by the study participants were possibly labour-constrained. UNICEF's (2010:28) definition of labour-constrained households encompasses households headed by older persons. As a result of old age, these heads of households are past the primary economically active age group of 15 to 54 years. USAID (2008:27) posits that older heads of households, due to factors such as low education, lack of skills or poor health, typically have reduced capacity to generate adequate income to support themselves and children under their care. To this end, the households headed by older persons or generation-gap households require regular and reliable social protection to be in a position to meet their households' basic needs (UNICEF, 2010:28). However, as indicated in the literature review (see section 3.5), social protection in Zimbabwe is not guaranteed, which exposes households headed by older persons to heightened poverty and vulnerability.



Thus, in the face of mounting poverty and the deaths due to the HIV and AIDS pandemic in Zimbabwe, as Chirisa (2013:138) notes, some elderly heads of households have re-assumed the breadwinner role by looking after their orphaned grandchildren. This phenomenon is contrary to the norm that old age is time for retirement and rest.

### 5.2.1.6 Education levels of the participants

Worldwide, according to Montenegro and Patrinos (2014:2), there is an association between level of education and income with an additional one year of education correlating to a 10 per cent increase in income. Conversely, a low level of education for the head of a household can also translate to poverty through low income. Figure 5.5 below shows the distribution of the education levels of the heads of households.



**Figure 5.5: Education levels of the participants (n=73)**

From Figure 5.5, it can be noted that the majority of the participants (47, 64.4%) completed secondary education, while 20.5 per cent (15) completed primary education; the remaining participants (11, 15.1%) never attended school. The findings point to low levels of education especially among the majority female participants. This indicates that a sizeable percentage of the participants (26, 35.6%) had only completed primary education while some never attended school.

Todaro and Smith (2015:252) confirm that women in the developing world have less access to education. Female education can contribute to child poverty reduction as it is associated with positive maternal and child health outcomes (UNICEF, 2016a:16). Equally, lack of female education is linked to high levels of child poverty.

In the survey, the question on the education level also included tertiary and vocational education options. It is evident from the findings that none of the participants had

completed either tertiary or vocational education. This indicates minimal education and lack of necessary skills from tertiary and vocational education for either formal wage-employment or self-employment. UNESCO (2014:144) asserts that education through skilled labour can lift households out of poverty. Kanyenze et al. (2011:296) postulate that vocational education and training, and not education in general, equip individuals with skills for specific occupations. Thus, access to gender and age appropriate tertiary and vocational education by the participants under the ABCD strategy has the potential to significantly reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

## **5.2.2 Demographic characteristics of the qualitative study participants**

Consistent with the explanatory sequential mixed methods design, a small sample was utilised in the qualitative study to generate in-depth data (Creswell, 2014:222). The qualitative data was gathered from the nine heads of households drawn from the 73 participants of the quantitative phase, three key informants comprised of two BUCST staff members and one DSW officer, 11 children from households with heads who had participated in the quantitative phase of the study, field observations, and document analysis. The demographic characteristics of the qualitative study participants are presented below.

### **5.2.2.1 The demographic information of the heads of households**

As shown in Table 5.3 below, the sample of nine heads of households who participated in the in-depth interviews was purposive to reflect the diversity with respect to: ward of residence, years of residence, age, sex, marital status and education. The participants were purposively drawn from varied urban wards with a view to gain different experiences with child poverty and the assets they were using in responses to child poverty.

The participants had resided in their respective wards for periods spanning ten to 47 years. The majority of the participants (6) were female with only a few males (3). This was intentionally done to give more voice to the female-headed households who, according to the quantitative results, constituted the largest proportion of the extremely poor households in the urban wards of Bindura district

**Table 5.3: Heads of households' biographical profile (n=9)**

Head of Households (HH) codes	Ward of residence	Residence in years	Age in years	Sex	Marital status	Education
HH-1	6	13	45	Female	Widow	Form 2
HH-2	2	33	48	Female	Widow	Form 3
HH-3	11	20	59	Female	Widow	No formal
HH-4	5	10	43	Female	Married	Grade 7
HH-5	8	12	38	Female	Separated	Form 2
HH-6	6	47	82	Male	Married	Standard 4*
HH-7	11	43	78	Female	Widow	No formal
HH-8	4	15	54	Male	Married	Form 4
HH-9	12	40	79	Male	Married	Standard 4*

\* Education level used in the grading system during the colonial era that is equivalent to Form 2 in the current grading system.

The findings indicate that most of the participants were widowed, as was also flagged in the quantitative findings. In terms of education, two of the participants had no formal education, four did not complete the whole education cycle and three completed their education cycles. Overall, the participants had low education levels.

### 5.2.2.2 The demographic information of the child participants

The selection of the cohort of 11 children who participated in the two FGDs was purposive to ensure heterogeneity and was also based on availability. The focus group participants were identified as indicated in Table 5.4.

**Table 5.4: Biographical information of child participants (n=11)**

Child	Code	Sex	Age	Schooling status
<b>Focus group 1</b>				
1	Child Participant (CP-1)	Female	17 years	Form 2
2	CP-2	Male	16 years	Grade 7
3	CP-3	Female	13 years	Form 1
4	CP-4	Female	13 years	Grade 7
5	CP-5	Male	15 years	Form 1
<b>Focus group 2</b>				
6	CP-6	Male	15 years	Form 3
7	CP-7	Female	17 years	Out of school
8	CP-8	Female	13 years	Form 1
9	CP-9	Female	14 years	Out of school
10	CP-10	Male	12 years	ZALP*
11	CP-11	Male	12 years	Grade 7

\*Zimbabwe Accelerated Learning Programme (ZALP), which is an intervention by the government of Zimbabwe to promote access to education for children who had never enrolled for education because of barriers such as poverty.

The available children were invited to participate in each FGD based on identified characteristics, namely their age, sex and participation of their parents or guardians in the earlier quantitative phase. As can be noted in Table 5.4 there was almost equal representation of boys and girls, which assisted to gain different insights from both sexes on the manifestations of child poverty. There was variation in the ages of the children who participated in study from 12 to 17 years which enabled the generation of diverse perspectives on the research topic as (UNICEF, 2016c:2). asserts that manifestations of child poverty are mediated by age. Notably, in terms of schooling status, some of the children [CP-1, CP-2 & CP-5] were overage for their level of schooling, which points to late enrolment, while two [CP-7 & CP-9] were out of school and one child [CP-10] attended a special education programme that is reflective of extreme poverty.

### 5.2.2.3 The demographic information of the key informants

The three key informants that were interviewed in the study were selected based on their knowledge and experience on the manifestations of child poverty in the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district and assets that were deployed by their organisations in response to child poverty. The organisations and work experience of the key informants are presented in Table 5.5.

**Table 5.5: Biographical information of the key informants (n=3)**

Key informant	Codes	Organisation	Work experience
1	KI-1	BUCST	9 years
2	KI-2	BUCST	9 years
3	KI-3	DSW	5 years

Two of the key informants were from BUCST and the other one was a social worker from the government's DSW in the district, which is mandated to respond to child welfare issues such as child poverty. The experience of the key informants in the field of child poverty was relatively long and ranged from five to nine years. Thus, the key informants shared rich information on the manifestations of child poverty in Bindura district and the assets their organisations were using in response to child poverty. Narrations and summaries drawn from the in-depth interviews are denoted according to the respective codes of heads of households, children and key informants.

### 5.3 Themes on integrated qualitative and quantitative findings

This section presents and discusses the themes and sub-themes on the manifestations of child poverty, the assets being used in current responses to child poverty, and how the assets can be combined using the five steps of the ABCD strategy to reduce child poverty in the district that emerged during data analysis. The themes and sub-themes are presented in Table 5.6.

**Table 5.6: Themes and sub-themes on child poverty and assets in Bindura district**

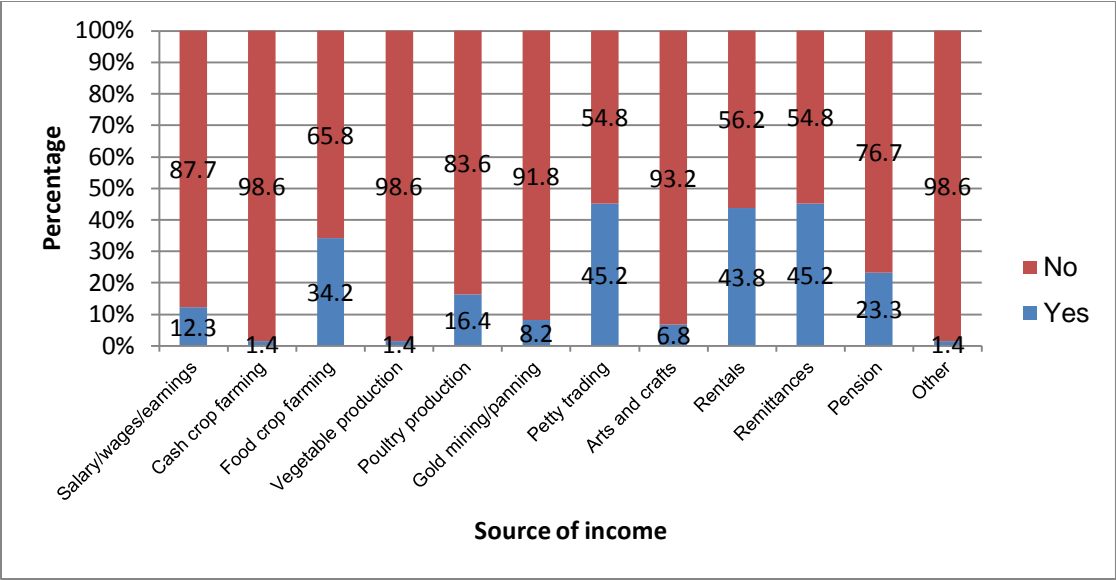
<b>Themes</b>	<b>Sub-themes</b>
1. Characteristics of poverty at household level	1.1 Diverse but constrained sources of income 1.2 Low income levels 1.3 Low monthly consumption expenditure 1.4 Overcrowded housing conditions 1.5 Constrained access to water and sanitation 1.6 Lack of ownership of durable household goods
2. Manifestations of child poverty in the health domain	2.1 Less than recommended number of meals per day 2.2 Low dietary diversity and poor nutrition 2.3 Child mortality
3. Manifestations of child poverty in the education domain	3.1 Low ECD enrolment 3.2 High rate of school dropouts 3.3 Low progression to upper secondary education
4. Manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain	4.1 Child labour 4.2 Gambling and stealing 4.3 Drug and substance abuse 4.4 Child sexual abuse
5. Assets being used in current responses to child poverty	5.1 Human assets 5.2 Social assets 5.3 Physical assets 5.4 Financial assets 5.5 Natural assets
6. Applying the five steps of ABCD strategy to combine assets for child poverty reduction	6.1 Mapping assets for child poverty reduction 6.2 Connecting the mapped assets for child poverty reduction 6.3 Mobilising assets for economic development and child poverty reduction 6.4 Developing a child-centred community development vision and plan 6.5 Leveraging outside resources to support support locally driven child poverty reduction

## **Theme 1: Characteristics of poverty at household level**

Poverty is increasingly viewed as a broad and multidimensional concept that encompasses income deficits and material deprivations (Oppong, 2013:50). Household poverty, besides low income, also includes such multiple deprivations as lack of housing, water and sanitation (Santos & Alkire, 2011:3). Child poverty is embedded in the multiple deprivations that characterise poverty at household level. As UNICEF (2016a:71) posits, child poverty, inter alia, is associated with lack of income and lack of access to education, health, water and sanitation services, which compromise children's rights to survival, development, protection and participation. These factors in the context of children living in urban areas, as UNICEF (2012:42) asserts, entrench their exclusion and disadvantage. In this study it was imperative to first collect both numeric and qualitative data from the participants on the following indicators that characterise household poverty: sources of income, income levels, consumption expenditure, meals intake (nutrition), housing, water, sanitation and durable household goods ownership. The sub-themes that emerged are: diverse but constrained sources of income, low income levels, low consumption expenditure, overcrowded housing conditions, constrained access to water and sanitation, and lack of ownership of durable household goods.

### **Sub-theme 1.1: Diverse but constrained sources of income**

A unique feature in the livelihoods sphere in countries of the Global South such as Zimbabwe is that the majority of the poor pursue diverse livelihood activities to generate income to meet varied needs (Conway, 2011: 88). Furthermore, for poor households the diversification of income sources, as Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002:88) postulate, is a strategy to maximise income from sources that yield low returns or to hedge against risks of failure associated with unpredictable income sources. As shown in Figure 5.6, the participants identified varied sources of income, with the highest (33, 45.2%) sources being petty trading and remittances respectively; followed by rentals (32, 43.8%), food crop farming (25, 34.2%), pension (17, 23.3%), poultry production (12, 16.4%), salary/wages/earnings (9, 12.3%), gold mining/panning (6, 8.2%), arts and crafts (5, 6.8%), vegetable production (1, 1.4%), cash crop farming (1, 1.4%) and other (none specified) (1, 1.4%).



**Figure 5.6: Sources of income (n=73)**

The quantitative findings reveal diversification of sources of income among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district which is a core element for sustainable livelihoods and poverty reduction. The SLA, as DFID (1999b:para.47) notes, “seeks to promote choice, opportunity and diversity” in the activities that are pursued by the poor in their quest to earn a living. However, valuable insights that emerged from the qualitative study, but that were masked in the quantitative findings, indicated that, though diversified, most of the sources of income were fraught with challenges. These challenges embedded in the hostile economic environment include: low returns from the income sources, unreliability of the income sources, limited income sources, lack of support, climate change, erosive income sources, and rigid enforcement of local authority by-laws.

The hostile economic environment in the country characterised by soaring inflation and cash shortages had seriously undermined the returns from income sources, leading to extreme poverty. Hyperinflation, as participants HH-4 and HH-8 expressed, had eroded their pensions and they were now unable to meet their numerous household needs. Cash shortages, as pointed out by participant HH-5, forced her to discontinue selling candles as it had become unprofitable.

Participants highlighted that some income sources were unreliable. This was noted when participant HH-1 shared her experience on rentals as a source of income. She stated that her household no longer relied on rentals because her tenants, who were commercial sex workers, no longer had a reliable source of income. Their main clients were illegal gold miners whose mining activities had been disrupted by the periodic police clampdowns on illegal gold mining that is prevalent in the district. Resultantly, the tenants were struggling to pay rentals on time or at all. Participants HH-3 and HH-6 also indicated that the remittances they received from their children were unpredictable and inadequate.

Contrary to the quantitative study findings that the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district had diversified sources of income, the qualitative study exposed that some participants' households had very limited sources of income. Interviews with two older participants, HH-7 and HH-9, revealed that their households depended mainly on food crop farming. The challenge with depending on a single source of income was illustrated by participant HH-7 when she elaborated that to meet household needs, she sold some of the grain reserved for household consumption, a practice she acknowledged left her household food insecure.

Lack of support and unpredictable weather patterns had resulted in low yields from farming as a source of income. A number of participants commented in the following manner:

[Umm]... we are not getting adequate farming inputs. We have a farming plot [but] most of the seasons we don't harvest much. This is because the soils require fertilisers which we usually don't have. This is the reason why we realise modest harvests. [HH-5]

If we get enough fertiliser, we can harvest more than twenty 50kg bags of maize because we have a big piece of land. We used to have good harvests during the time SOS provided farming inputs. [HH-3]

There are many impediments associated with farming, for instance when I plant the seed without the basal fertiliser the yields are negatively affected. In addition, low rainfall has also resulted in poor yields leading to more poverty. [HH-4]



As a household one of our sources of livelihood is farming and in a good season when we get satisfactory harvests, we will not be poor. But this season, as a result of the drought we have a poor harvest because most of our maize crop was a write-off. When we have good harvests, we sell surplus maize to get income which relieves us. [HH-3]

The above quotes reveal the adverse effects of changing rainfall patterns on farming as a source of livelihood among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. Shocks due to climate change, such as recurrent droughts as noted by Todaro and Smith (2014:503), have changed rainfall patterns and one of the worst affected sectors is rain-fed farming through decreased grain yields that have culminated in food insecurity.

Some sources of income are erosive as illegal and socially unacceptable means were also being employed to earn a living. For instance, participant HH-5 who was involved in petty commodity trading disclosed that she smuggled dried kapenta (sardines) from Mozambique for resale. On the same note, key informant KI-1 stated that some members from the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district were engaged in prostitution, where, because of limited space, children sleep in the same room, which has implications for children's rights. UNDP (2014:10) notes that some poor households adopt harmful practices to cope with poverty.

Rigid enforcement of local authority by-laws by municipal police, especially for petty trading at undesignated but profitable sites such as the bus termini, was also cited as an obstacle by some participants engaged in selling their wares in the central business district of Bindura town. One participant worded it as follows:

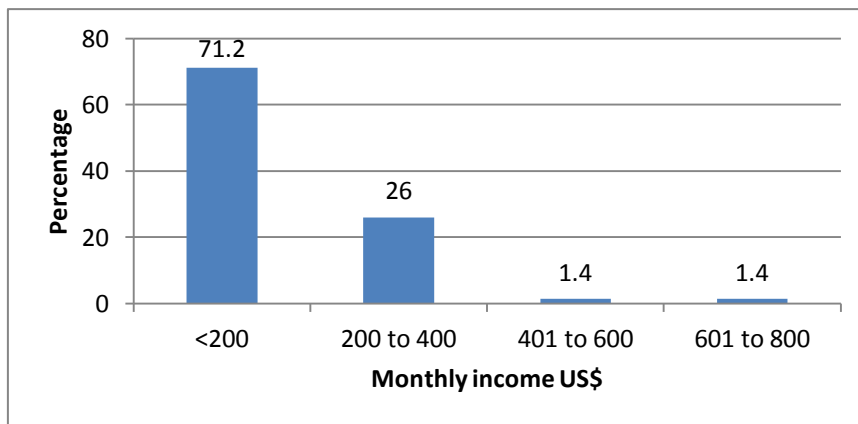
The local authority should desist from harassing and arresting people who have resorted to petty trading at undesignated places especially in town because there is no formal employment. [HH-1]

In this context, Patel (2015:295) postulates that local authorities' regulatory policies for microenterprises are in some instances creating a hostile operating environment and inhibiting poor people's ability to pursue livelihoods activities.

Overall, the findings show that the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district had diversified their income sources as an adaptive strategy. Laird (2008:146) emphasises that for poor households, livelihood diversification is a survival strategy. The diverse income sources are beset with a plethora of challenges which undermines their viability leading to increased vulnerability and poverty. Thus, the pursuit of a mix of productive activities, as Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002:10) argue, serves to maximise income in the face of poor returns from most of the income sources.

### Sub-theme 1.2: Low income levels

In Zimbabwe as stated in chapter 2, section 2.3.1.2, income poverty is measured using two national poverty lines, namely the lower bound FPL and upper bound TCPL (Manjengwa et al., 2016:26). The poverty lines using the proxy of monthly income, measure levels of poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2016:1). The quantitative study participants were requested to provide information on their monthly income in US dollars. Their responses are provided in Figure 5.7.



**Figure 5.7: Monthly income levels (n=73)**

The available March 2019 monthly FPL for five persons in Mashonaland Central province was US\$292.66 (ZIMSTAT, 2019:16). The findings reveal that the majority of the participants (52, 71.2%) were living below the food poverty line as they had a monthly income of less than US\$200. However, of the remaining 28.8 per cent (21) of the participants who indicated monthly incomes in the US\$200 to US\$800 range, some were not food poor as their monthly income was above the US\$292.66 monthly FPL threshold for five persons (ZIMSTAT, 2019:16). Thus, a large number of the households

headed by the participants were living in extreme income poverty with monthly incomes below the FPL. Such households are usually food insecure as their monthly income is too low to meet the minimum households' food requirements (ZIMSTAT, 2016:1).

Findings from the qualitative study further confirmed low incomes and the inability to meet basic needs in most of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. Participant HH-5 stated that her household monthly income was US\$100, which was supposed to cater for electricity, funeral policy premiums, and groceries. She indicated that the income was inadequate, and the groceries did not last for a month. When asked to elaborate further she put the figure at US\$150 for monthly groceries only.

In another interview, participant HH-8 estimated that his household monthly income was around US\$200, which was not sufficient to meet his basic household needs. He pointed out that his household was vulnerable because they had low income and could not save money for contingencies such as funerals and medical care. Another participant, HH-6, said his household had very low monthly income which ranged between US\$15 and US\$20. He further indicated that as a household of ten members, they experienced severe food shortages because of the very low income. One of the key informants reiterated that many of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district were living below the poverty datum line:

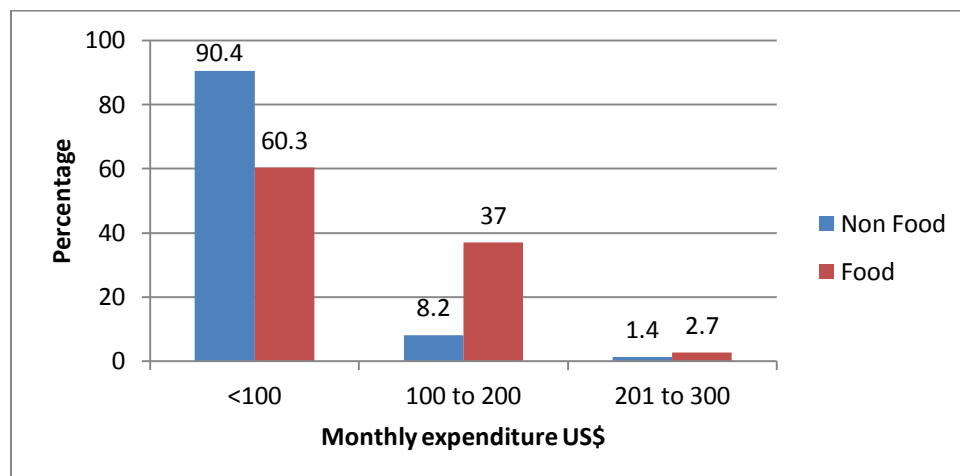
Most of them are living way below the poverty datum line. In 2013 we conducted the Household Targeting Survey in the district which was a fact-finding exercise for the HSCT programme. It focused on human capacity at household level as well as food poverty. The findings of the survey indicated that a significant number of urban households were living below the poverty datum line. [KI-3]

Some underlying causes of the low incomes, which mirror the challenges associated with sources of income as presented in sub-theme 1.1, were identified by the qualitative study participants. Lack of income streams, unreliability of the sources of income and poor returns were cited as the more notable factors leading to low monthly incomes. On drivers of the low incomes, a key informant, KI-1 pinpointed the prolonged harsh economic environment in the country characterised by high levels of unemployment. He added that in response, most households were engaged in small-scale ventures in the informal sector where they realised meagre incomes; hence the extreme poverty.

In sum, the findings validate Hall and Sambu's (2017:105) assertion that insufficient household income compromises children's rights to basic nutrition, quality education and comprehensive health care. Monetary poverty presents barriers to accessing basic goods and services, which in turn prevent children from realising their potential (UNICEF, 2019b:20). In addition, UNICEF (2016a:69) stresses that household income is a key determinant of children's life course.

### Sub-theme 1.3: Low monthly consumption expenditure

Poverty surveys, as Hall and Sambu (2015:107) state, use the proxy of household monthly food and non-food consumption expenditure to assess poverty at household level. Figure 5.8 below displays the monthly food and non-food consumption expenditures as stated by the quantitative study participants.



**Figure 5.8: Monthly consumption expenditure (n=73)**

As Figure 5.8 reveals regarding non-food expenditure, the majority of households (66, 90.4%) spent less than US\$100, followed by 8.2 per cent (6) who allocated US\$100 to US\$200, while a minority (1, 1.4%) indicated that they spent US\$201 to US\$300. Regarding food items expenses, the highest proportion of the participants (44, 60.3%) channelled less than US\$100, followed by 37.0 per cent (27) in the US\$100 to US\$200 range and the lowest percentage, 2.7 per cent (2), utilised between US\$201 and US\$300. The findings show that households' expenditure was skewed towards food compared to non-food items. This is based on the findings that in all the higher

expenditure ranges, that is those above US\$100, the non-food expenditure was lower than the food expenditure. The findings are reflective of extremely poor households, who as result of low income usually prioritise food for survival over other basic needs.

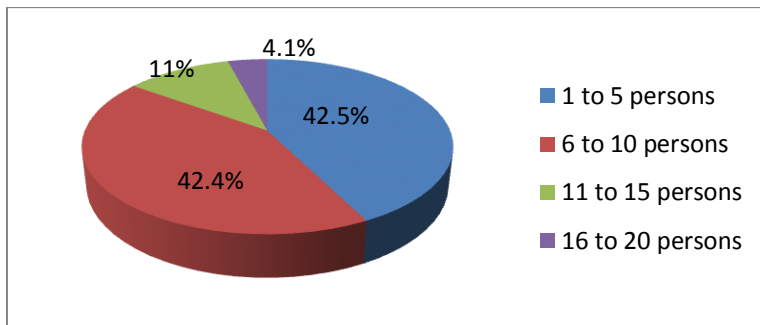
In the qualitative study, the participants explained how they spent their income between food and non-food items. The qualitative findings (see sub-theme 1.2) confirmed the quantitative results that the majority of the extremely poor households in the urban wards of Bindura district had low monthly incomes. Most of the income was spent on food that was not sufficient and little or no income was left for non-food items. This was illustrated by one participant, HH8, who outlined that, from a monthly income of US\$200, his five-member household spent US\$80 on food items. The remainder was allocated to electricity, housing and water expenditure, and school fees. To confirm the inadequacy of the income, he said that his household opted for second-hand clothes, which were cheap, and they were unable to save some money for funeral and medical expenses. Thus, because of low income, the food situation of most extremely poor urban households in Bindura district was precarious and they were not in a position to allocate sufficient funds to non-food items. Participants HH-4 and HH-9 informed the researcher that their households experienced food shortages and they were beneficiaries of the government food aid scheme.

The key informant KI-3 from the DSW confirmed that they had cushioned some extremely poor urban households from food insecurity by including them in the Drought Relief Programme. UNDESA (2010:54) states that social transfers by the state or non-state actors can be used to supplement the food requirements of extremely poor households.

The findings on low consumption expenditure which is skewed towards inadequate food, are typical of low-income households (Vermeulen et al., 2020:1). Children living in low-income households because of low consumption expenditure are at higher risk of being undernourished, which makes them vulnerable to poor health, stunted growth and mortality (Hall & Budlender, 2016:35).

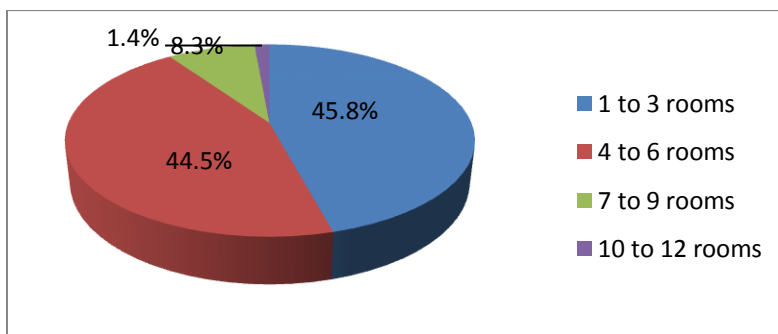
### Sub-theme 1.4: Overcrowded housing conditions

The quality of housing is considered a strong predictor of child poverty because poor housing conditions predispose children to adverse health outcomes and rights violations (Hall, 2014:112). High quality housing, as Hall (2014:111) notes, is expected to be 'habitable' which means it is not overcrowded. Further, international standards consider a house as overcrowded if the occupancy ratio is above two persons per room (Hall, 2014:111). The occupancy ratio is derived from the number of persons per house divided by the rooms per household (Santos & Alkire, 2011:5). In this regard, the participants were asked about the number of persons and rooms in their houses. The responses are outlined in Figures 5.9 and 5.10 respectively.



**Figure 5.9: Number of persons per house (n=73)**

Figure 5.9 indicates that the highest number of persons per house were in the six to ten persons range at 42.5 per cent (31), closely followed by 31 (42.4%) in the one to five persons category, then 11.0 per cent (8) in the 11 to 15 persons range, and a small portion (3, 4.1%) in the 16 to 20 persons group. The average number of persons per house was 7.04 persons.



**Figure 5.10: Number of rooms per house (n=73)**

Figure 5.10 reveals that the highest proportion of participants (33, 45.8 per cent) lived in houses with one to three rooms, followed by 44.5 per cent (32) in four to six roomed houses, 8.3 per cent (6) indicated seven to nine rooms and the lowest, 1.4 per cent (1), stated ten to 12 rooms. The average number of rooms was 3.93. Thus, the average 7.04 persons per house divided by the average 3.93 rooms per house yields an occupancy ratio of approximately two persons per room. The low occupancy ratio suggests that children living in poor urban households in Bindura district generally lived in habitable houses, which were not overcrowded. However, caution should be exercised with regard to the interpretation of this finding because the occupancy ratio alone provides incomplete and even misleading information about the quality of housing.

To have a fuller understanding of the quality of housing, multiple and interrelated variables had to be considered. The participants were further requested to provide information on the following: number of rooms being rented out; number of rooms being used by the members of their household; and number of rooms being used for sleeping by their household members.

**Table 5.7: Distribution of the number of rooms being rented out (n=73)**

<b>No of rooms</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
0	40	54.8
1	15	20.5
2	12	16.4
3	1	1.4
4	3	4.1
5	2	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 5.7 provides a summary of the responses on the number of rooms being rented out as displayed, over half of the participants (40, 54.8%) were not renting out rooms. On the other end, 45.2 per cent (33) were letting out rooms at their houses, with most of them (28, 38.3%) renting out one to three rooms, and 6.8 per cent (5) letting as many as four to five rooms. The mean for rooms being rented out was 0.88 rooms.

Performing Fisher's exact test on the cross tabulation of rooms being rented out and rentals as a source of income revealed a strong association ( $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ ). This finding highlights that for people living in extreme poverty, physical capital such as houses are essential as they serve dual functions of providing shelter and being a source of income. From an ABCD perspective, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:352) state that for poor people assets can serve multiple functions. In concord with the quantitative findings, the poverty-induced dilemma of having to live in overcrowded houses through renting out some rooms was highlighted during the qualitative study. In one interview when asked whether he was renting out rooms at his house, a participant had this to say:

[Aah] recently I had no choice and took in a tenant who is renting one room which was a bedroom for my daughters [but] the living conditions are now poor. My house has four rooms, now the girls are sleeping in the dining room, my son in the kitchen, my wife and I in the bedroom. The other room we had to [squeeze] by renting it out so that we can get money, some of which we use to pay children school fees. [HH-8]

In addition, participants HH-1 and HH-7 also indicated that they were renting out rooms at their houses, leaving their own households with inadequate living space. They further reported that they used the rentals to buy food and pay water and electricity bills.

To have a deeper understanding of the quality of housing in which children from the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district lived, the study focused on the participants' specific households. The participants were further asked to indicate the number of rooms they were using as a household. The highest percentage, 72.6 per cent (53), indicated one to three rooms, followed by 24.7 per cent (18) who indicated four to six rooms and the lowest, 2.7 per cent (2), mentioned seven to nine rooms. The average number of rooms being used by the participants' households was 3.05 rooms.

The number of rooms used by a household for sleeping provides vital information on how child poverty manifests under the housing domain. The majority of the participants (69, 94.5%) indicated that they used one to three rooms for sleeping while a small minority (4, 5.5%) used four to six rooms. An average of 2.26 rooms was being used for sleeping by the households. Thus, an average of 3.05 rooms per participant household, minus an average of 2.26 rooms used for sleeping, leaves an average of 0.79 rooms to



use for other purposes such as a kitchen, dining room and lounge. The inference suggests that at the participants' houses, some rooms were serving multiple purposes, which indicates limited and inhabitable housing among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

Findings from the qualitative study further confirm that the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district generally lived in overcrowded housing conditions. It also emerged that the housing conditions led to a range of challenges, which includes heightened risk of child sexual abuse, violation of child privacy rights, disregard of cultural norms, poor hygiene, tension among household children and embarrassment.

Overcrowded housing conditions heightened the risk of child sexual abuse. A participant who rented out a room at his house elaborated:

[Even security] of the girls is not guaranteed when they sleep in the dining room where the tenant passes through to his room. We usually have bachelors as tenants. So, it's a [huge risk] we take because of poverty we don't know what can happen when we (parents) are not around. [HH-8]

Lack of adequate living space was connected to violations of the children's privacy rights, especially the girls, mainly because they did not have their own bedrooms.

According to one participant:

The children sleep in the same room with the girl on a sofa and the boys on the floor. They are growing up and they cannot continue sleeping together. The girl is now supposed to have her own room to safeguard her privacy. The sleeping arrangement is a form of child abuse. For instance, the girl can [...] as she has reached puberty and can mess herself with the boys sleeping there which presents challenges on how she can clean herself. [HH-5]

The crowded living conditions had led to the disregard of cultural norms. Participant HH-3, who shared a single room with her three grandchildren, pointed out that one of her grandsons was now an adult aged 22 years. She said that sleeping in the same room with her grandchildren of a different sex, including one who was an adult, was a cultural taboo. Furthermore, she elaborated that she was allocated a housing stand through a government housing scheme for the poor but did not have the financial resources to construct a decent house. On the same note, another participant who had eight

household members including children and adults sharing one sleeping room, explained how this violated cultural norms and also led to disrespect among household members:

This living set-up is bad because we have both boys and girls sleeping in the same room. According to our culture this is a taboo [low tone]; this should not be happening. They are supposed to have separate bedrooms. It is bad in that they are growing up in this living condition and they don't respect each other because they lack privacy. This could not be the case if our house had more rooms for them to have separate bedrooms. They could then respect each other but as it stands, they don't because they sleep together. [HH-6]

The poor housing had resulted in unhygienic conditions as kitchens were also being used for sleeping and some participants shared the following sentiments:

The boys sleep in the room which we also use as kitchen and dining room. [HH-1]

[...] the boy has to find some space to sleep in our small kitchen. In the kitchen you find kitchen utensils and food and then for a person to sleep and sweat there you can see that it's abnormal [...] [HH-8]

In some households overcrowding had become a source of tension, especially among children. Participants also described that tension arose when a single room had dual purposes such as lounge and bedroom:

One child may want to do homework while the other without homework wants to watch television and they can start to quarrel. These can be emotionally disturbing moments to me as a parent. This should not be happening if we had extended the house with separate study and lounge rooms. [HH-8]

During another interview in a participant's house, when the researcher had observed that a single room had dual purposes, the participant [HH-5] also confirmed that this created some tension between household children through a clash of interests, for example when some of the children wanted to sleep while others still wanted to lounge around.

Overcrowded housing can pose embarrassing moments. A participant reflected on the embarrassment that emanated from the shortage of housing space:

To start with, there is a huge challenge because it's indecent for the girls to sleep in the lounge. This is where we have the television and suppose we want to watch soccer or a movie while the girls want to sleep. We then have to force the girls to wear trousers when sleeping and at sometimes

when asleep they can throw away blankets. To avoid such embarrassment, we sometimes with my wife just leave the room and go to our bedroom early. [HH-8]

The key informants shared their perspectives on the housing conditions of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. They acknowledged that there were variations in terms of the housing conditions, with some houses being of a high standard and habitable. However, other houses were poor and overcrowded. One key informant reported:

The houses differ [eh] some households live in the single quarters where a family will be using one room with the parents or guardians, and children of a different sex sleeping together. We have situations where up to six or seven members share a single room. [Of which] such living arrangements are not acceptable according to our tradition. [Then] we have others living in spacious houses with more rooms. [KI-1]

In support, another key informant added:

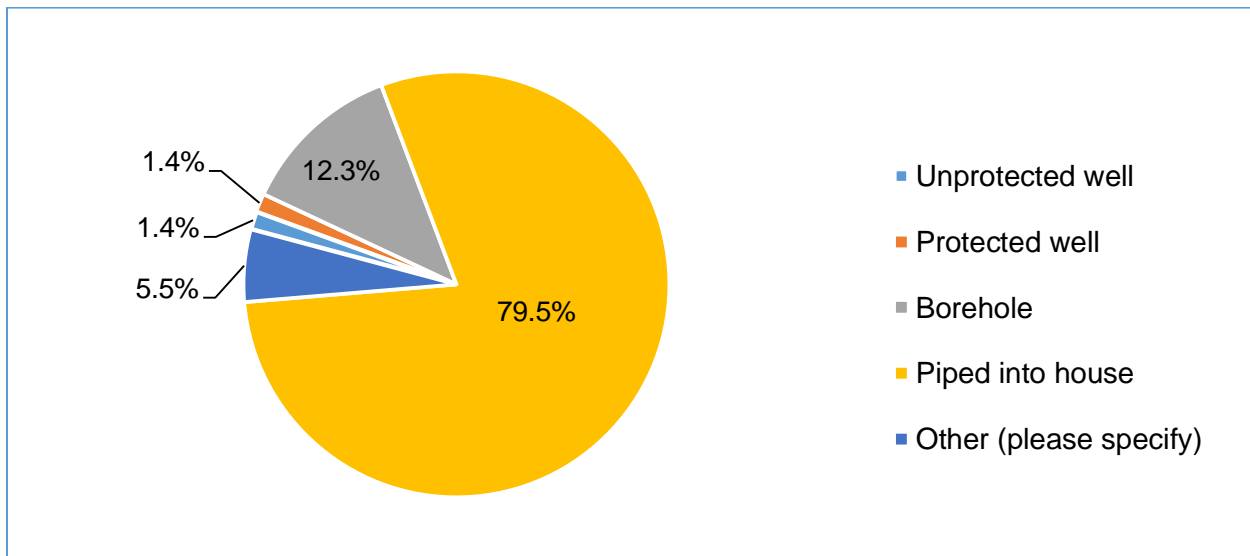
Most of the households living in single or two-roomed houses in Chipadze are overcrowded because of the high dependency ratio. The quality of the dwellings is poor, and they just provide basic shelter against the weather elements. [KI-3]

Overall, the emerging picture on the overcrowded housing conditions confirms Lall's (2017:17) assertion that due to high building costs, extremely poor urban households can hardly afford decent accommodation. Thus, extreme poverty had resulted in slum households in the urban wards of Bindura district. Slum households as UN-Habitat (2006:69) notes, are characterised by, among other factors, insufficient living space. However, the findings provide a different perspective to the adverse effects of overcrowded housing, in that they go beyond the documented poor health outcomes, violation of child rights and exposure to sexual abuse (Hall, 2014:112), to include other social costs such as disregard of cultural norms when adults and children of opposite sex and varying ages sleep in the same room.

### **Sub-theme 1.5: Constrained access to water and sanitation**

One of the serious threats to the health of poor urban dwellers in developing countries like Zimbabwe, as noted by Todaro and Smith (2015:522), is the inaccessibility of clean water. Households are deprived in terms of water when they lack access to a safe water

source (Hall & Sambu, 2014:114). Data on the participants' primary source of water was collected. Figure 5.11 presents the percentage distribution of the primary sources of water.

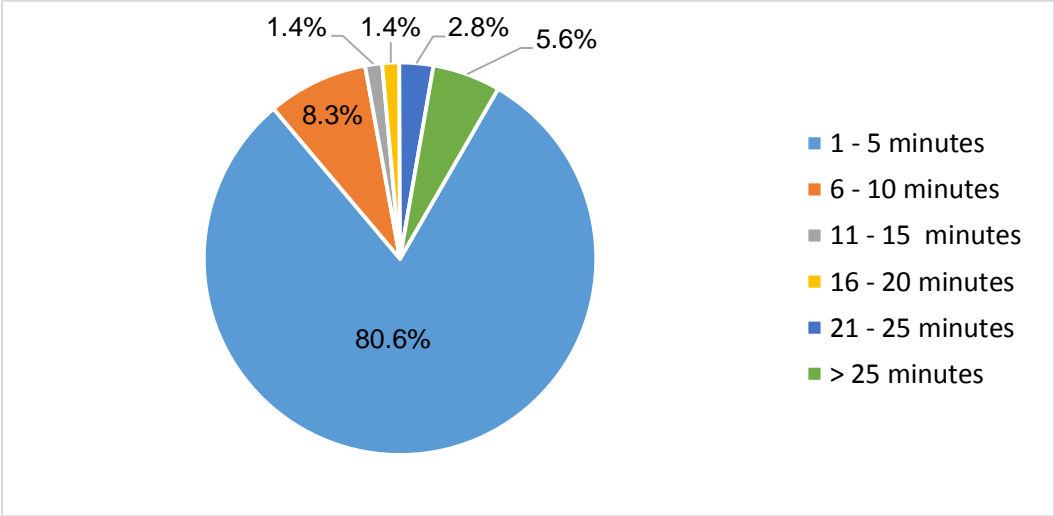


**Figure 5.11: Primary source of water (n=73)**

The primary sources of water for the majority of the participants can be deemed safe given that 79.5 per cent (58) had piped water in the house, 12.3 per cent (9) used boreholes and 1.4 per cent (1) relied on protected wells. The findings indicate that most of the participants' households were not water deprived as they used water from safe sources. Safe water sources promote proper sanitation and good hygiene (Hall, 2014:114). This reduces the spread of diarrheal diseases and the associated negative health outcomes among household members, especially children. Nevertheless, a small minority of the participants, possibly due to extreme poverty, were water deprived as 5.5 per cent (4) used water from unsafe sources, namely streams and damaged/leaking council water mains, and 1.4 per cent (1) relied on unprotected wells. Children in households using water from unsafe sources are susceptible to diarrheal diseases that contribute to poor nutrition, which in the long-term can manifest either as stunted growth or infant and child mortality (Hall, 2014:114; World Bank, 2017:43).

However, findings on the primary sources of water alone are inadequate to fully determine water deprivation. This is because some households can be counted as not being water deprived by merely stating that they draw from a safe water source. In

some cases, the sources of water were located at a considerable distance from their houses, which can be a barrier to accessing the water. The standard measure to determine household water deprivation using distance as recommended by UNICEF and World Health Organisation (2018:10) is the proxy of total time taken for a single roundtrip to the water source including queuing. According to Santos and Alkire (2011:6), a household is water deprived if travelling the distance to and from the water source takes more than 30 minutes. To determine the distance to and from their water sources the participants were requested to approximate the time they spent to and from their varied water sources. Figure 5.12 illustrates the results.

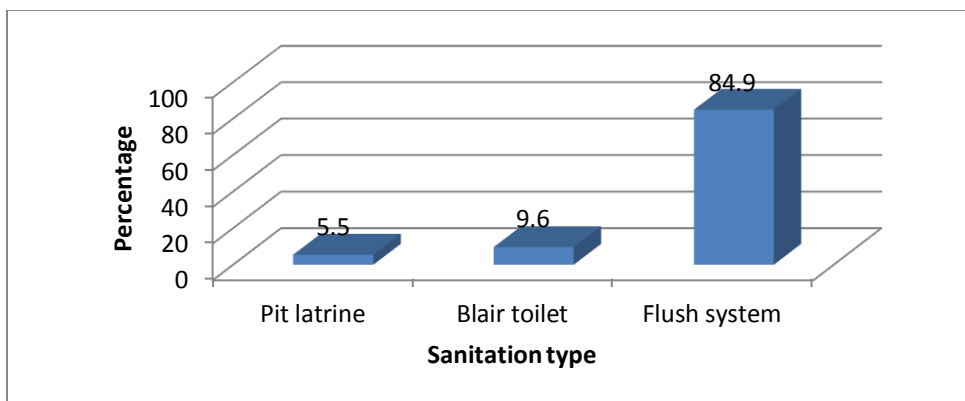


**Figure 5.12: Time spent to and from the water source (n=73)**

As depicted in Figure 5.12, a large percentage of the participants spent less than 15 minutes in a round trip to the water source. Of these, 80.6 per cent (59) expended one to five minutes. A total of 8.3 per cent (6) used six to ten minutes and 1.4 per cent (1) spent between 11 and 15 minutes. These findings suggest that the water sources for the majority of the participants were located within or near their houses. However, a small proportion of the participants spent more than 15 minutes to and from their water sources. Of these, 5.6 per cent (4) spent more than 25 minutes, 2.8 per cent (2) indicated 21 to 25 minutes, and 1.4 per cent (1) spent 16 to 20 minutes. The increase in time points to increased distance, possibly because of high levels of poverty that made it difficult for the participants' households to afford piped water or to drill boreholes at their houses. Hence, they resorted to alternative water sources such as boreholes, wells and streams located at a distance from their homes. Overall, the findings indicate that

none of the participants' households spent more than 30 minutes in a round trip to fetch water. Closely connected to access to safe water, is living in houses with adequate sanitation facilities, which, among other factors as noted by Hall (2014:114), determines the health status of children.

One of the indicators of adequate sanitation is the availability of a functional flush toilet or ventilated pit latrine in or near a house (Hall & Sambu, 2014:114). The study sought information on the type of sanitation facilities used by the participants' households and the findings are presented in Figure 5.13.



**Figure 5.13: Type of sanitation facilities (n=73)**

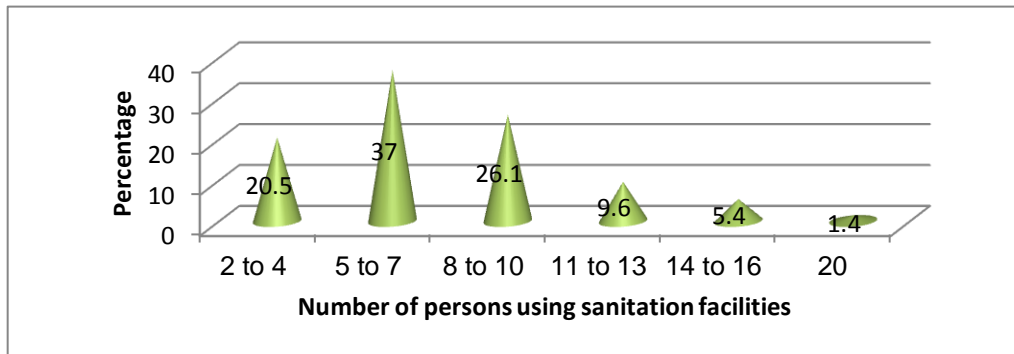
The main type of sanitation facility used by the majority of the participants' households (62, 84.9%) was a flush system, followed by Blair<sup>2</sup> toilets (7, 9.6%) and the lowest percentage (4, 5.5%) used a pit latrine. The findings indicate that based on the type of sanitation facilities, generally all the participants' households lived in houses with adequate sanitation facilities, as there was no open defecation. This is positive for child development because it enhances the health status of children through proper sanitation and good hygiene (Hall & Sambu, 2014:113). However, data on the type of sanitation facilities only provides a partial picture of the adequacy of sanitation facilities.

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<sup>2</sup> The Blair toilet, also known as a ventilated pit latrine, was designed in Zimbabwe in the early 1970s as part of a programme to improve rural sanitation.

Additional information, such as the number of persons using the sanitation facilities, is required to determine the overall adequacy of sanitation facilities.

A household is considered to be poor or deprived in sanitation terms if it uses shared toilets (Santos & Alkire, 2011:6). The proxy of the number of persons using the sanitation facilities was utilised to explore whether the participants' households were using shared toilets. Figure 5.14 presents the distribution of the findings.



**Figure 5.14: Number of persons using the sanitation facilities (n=73)**

The majority of the participants (42, 57.5%) indicated that the sanitation facilities at their houses were used by between two and seven persons, which can be considered to be low. This finding compares with 54.8 per cent (40) of the participants, who in sub-theme 1.4 stated that they were not letting rooms at their houses. This suggests that some of the participants lived as single households and did not share toilets. On the other hand, a total of 42.5 per cent (31) of the participants specified that eight to 20 persons were using sanitation facilities at their houses. The finding almost matches with 45.2 per cent (33) of the participants who in sub-theme 1.4 indicated that some rooms were being rented out at their houses. It is reasonable that at most of the houses with tenants the sanitation facilities were being shared which can compromise the health of children (Hall & Sambu, 2014:113).

Despite the positive findings that the majority of the participants' households were not water and sanitation deprived, insights from the qualitative study revealed that the participants were experiencing multiple constraints which had become barriers to

accessing clean water and proper sanitation. These include erratic water supply due to the ageing water supply chain system, power cuts and water disconnections because of unpaid water bills.

The majority of the participants indicated that they used water piped into houses by the local municipality in the morning and evening. They mentioned that sometimes they could go for days without water supply due to frequent breakdowns and electricity load shedding. When the municipal supplies were not available or disconnected, the participants reported that they used both safe and unsafe alternative sources. Participant HH-2 indicated that as a household they relied on a nearby borehole constructed by the local Member of Parliament, while participant HH-1 said they sometimes resorted to unprotected wells. Participant HH-7 depended on neighbours for water supplies. Participant HH-4 reported that because of perennial water challenges in their neighbourhood, the household, including the children, fetched water daily from communal boreholes. Fetching water from the various alternative sources had placed a heavy burden on children according to the following testimonies which the child participants shared in the two FGDs:

We are the ones involved in fetching water using 20 litre buckets. [CP-4]

In some cases, you can see a very young child carrying a huge water container from the borehole. [CP-6]

Water supplies do not reach all the houses in our neighbourhood including at our house. We have to fetch water from houses located on higher ground. [CP-3]

At some houses without water supply children source the water from unprotected wells down there and this can be a burden. Some use wheelbarrows to transport 20 litre containers while the adults are seated at home with some even watching [...] and for that the children can resent their parents or guardians. In some households, children are being ill-treated. [CP-10]

This finding on the heavy involvement of children in fetching water is consistent with existing literature as UNICEF and World Health Organisation (2018:8) affirm that women and children normally bear the burden of collecting water from distant water sources.



Ageing water and sewer systems were a barrier to accessing clean water and sanitation, and posed serious health hazards. Participant HH-4 indicated that in their neighbourhood, they experience perennial water supply challenges. She added that the Bindura municipal workers informed them that this situation was caused by their houses being located on high ground. This was despite the fact that they had good water supply whenever Bindura town hosted national or major public events. Participant HH-5 who lived in the oldest section of the Bindura district urban wards, reported that their neighbourhood generally experienced water and sanitation challenges. This was corroborated by the child participants:

The picture of sanitation is mixed as there are variations if I can give Chipadze [suburb] as an example. Some people live in [squatter houses] and do not have toilets. [Then] there are other houses with sewer system which became dysfunctional a long time ago. [CP-7]

Some of the toilets are not flushed because of lack of water. People can contract diseases that can result in death. [CP-10]

On the water and sanitation situation one of the key informants emphasised:

The water and sanitation infrastructure has deteriorated especially in Chipadze because of age and state of disrepair resulting in frequent breakdowns. This exposes the households to health hazards such as cholera. [KI-3]

Water disconnections by the local municipality because of households' inability to pay the water bills were pinpointed as another significant barrier to accessing clean water and sanitation. Participant HH-6 testified that water supply to his house had been disconnected for a long time and was restored recently after his children paid the outstanding water debt. On water supply disconnection, a key informant bemoaned:

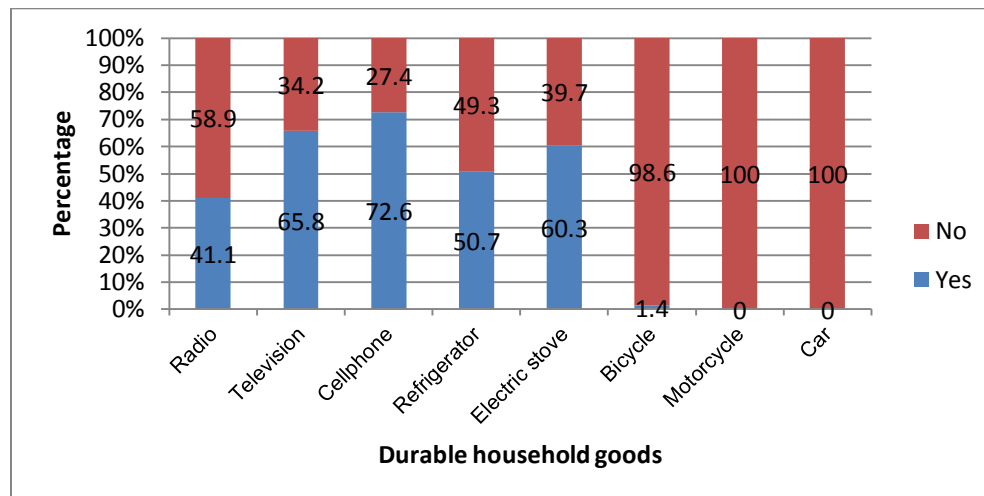
The local authority is not sympathetic to the plight of some of these extremely poor households. When there are water bills arrears, they simply cut the water supply regardless of the circumstances. This has negative effects on sanitation as some households then resort to use the bush as toilets. [KI-1]

The findings point to constrained access to water and sanitation which is not new, as Cox and Pawar (2013) posit that urban poverty essentially consists of inadequate basic services such as water and sanitation facilities. This, according to Bartlett (2012:145) and UNDESA (2013:59), is a manifestation of structural poverty and inequality which is

common in urban areas of many African countries. The lack of basic amenities reduces the well-being of poor urban households (D'Aoust et al., 2017:95). UNICEF (2019c:18) stresses that poor access to clean water and adequate sanitation by children living in poor urban households can lead to malnutrition through illnesses that inhibit the children's ability to absorb nutrients.

### Sub-theme 1.6: Lack of ownership of durable household goods

The ownership of durable household goods, as a component of physical capital (Moser & Felton, 2007:8), is an important and direct measure of a household's living standards and level of poverty. Santos and Alkire (2011:8) state that every person in the household is considered deprived if the household does not own more than one of the following: a radio, television, telephone or cellphone, refrigerator, electric stove, bicycle, motorcycle, and a car. In the study, participants were asked to indicate from a list provided, the durable household goods that their households owned. Findings on durable household goods owned by the participants' households are shown in Figure 5.15.



**Figure 5.15: Durable household goods owned by households (n=73)**

As Figure 5.15 shows, a cellphone was the most commonly owned durable household item, owned by 72.6 per cent (53) of the participants. It emerged from the qualitative study that participants who owned cellphones, used them to communicate and connect with relatives and friends. Participants HH-3 and HH-6 highlighted that they used the

cellphones to receive cash remittances from their children living outside Bindura district. However, it can be noted that due to extreme poverty, 27.4 per cent (20) of the participants did not own cellphones, which curtailed their ability to communicate and connect with relatives and friends.

A television was the second highest owned durable household item, owned by 65.8 per cent (48) of participants to access information and entertainment. From the qualitative study, participant HH8 elaborated that his household watched soccer, movies and current affairs on television. In addition, children in the two FGDs indicated that they watched trending music videos and soccer on television. Interestingly, the child participants reported that some children from households without televisions relied on their neighbours and local sports clubs to watch satellite broadcasted soccer matches. In third position was an electric stove, owned by 60.3 per cent (44) of participants, and used for cooking purposes; refrigerators are owned by half (50.7%, 37) of the participants' households, and less than half of the participants, 41.1 per cent (30), owned radios for information and entertainment. Participant HH4 specified that music from the radio kept her household children entertained. The children in the FGDs confirmed that they listened to the latest music on radio. The low ownership of radios among the study participants may be attributed to the high ownership of televisions as they performed similar functions in the participants' households. Another reason might be poverty, as televisions are more expensive than radios, and thus, the poorer participants' households opted for radios for information and entertainment.

A very small percentage (1.4%, 1) owned a bicycle, which was reasonable because in urban areas there is heavy reliance on minibuses as a mode of mass public transport. As can be observed in Figure 5.15, no household owned a motorcycle or a car, which are expensive and extreme poverty made it particularly difficult for the participants' households to afford such luxuries. However, the qualitative study shed more light on the dynamics of poverty and ownership of durable household goods. This is because it emerged that some participants previously owned high value durable household goods such as cars. One participant reminisced:

At the beginning of our marriage with my husband we had nothing and had to construct a makeshift bed from wooden poles. But after some years

of working hard we had our own house, we bought a lot of durable household goods including that car [pointing a finger] before the death of my husband. [HH-7]

The researcher saw the remaining rusty metal shell of the car that the participant was referring during the interview at the house. This finding elucidates Barrientos' (2013:45) assertion that poverty is a changing and not a static condition that households can get in and out of at different intervals as mediated by life course events. In the case of participant HH-7, it can be noted that the death of her husband resulted in her household's extremely poor status at the time of the interview and the depletion of durable household goods. Thus, the lack of ownership of durable household goods among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district has to be contextualised in the dynamic nature of poverty and life course events.

The lack of durable household goods confirms that some households lived in chronic poverty which is associated with multiple deprivations (Harper et al., 2012:49). Moser and Felton (2007:1) maintain that durable household goods are usually accumulated over time and are a strong indicator of the duration of poverty. This lack of basic durable household goods deprives members of extremely poor households of opportunities to develop capabilities, such as to imagine and think creatively, to be educated and to engage in social interaction (Nussbaum, 2003:4; Sen, 2005:158). For children, these capabilities, as De Milliano and Plavgo (2014:4) assert, are core to the fulfilment of their rights to survival, development, protection and participation, and deprivation thereof leads to children facing an uncertain future.

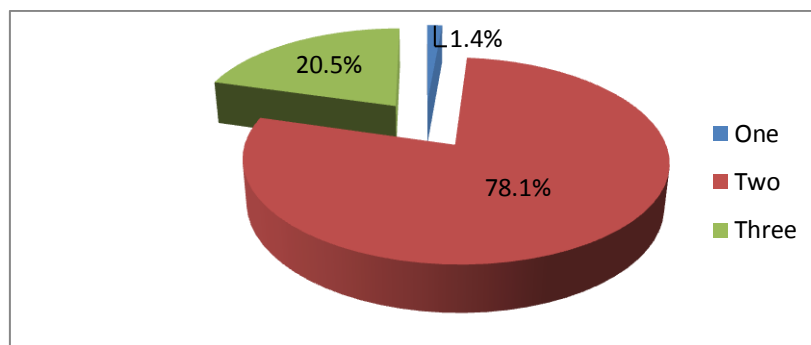
## **Theme 2: Manifestations of child poverty in the health domain**

Child poverty manifests in complex and multiple dimensions that include poor health outcomes (Harper et al., 2012:51). Children's health, as UNICEF (2012:4) asserts, is mainly determined by the socio-economic conditions in which they are brought up and live. From an early age, children from poor households, as pointed out by UNICEF (2019c:9) and Hardgrove et al. (2011:3), are commonly deprived of such direct and indirect health services as immunisation and an adequate and diversified healthy diet. This deprivation manifests through poor health outcomes that include stunted growth

and child mortality (UNICEF, 2019c:38). From SLA, Moser (2006:17) argues that poor health outcomes undermine human capital formation and perpetuate poverty through reduced ability to work and earn an income. To sustainably reduce poverty, UNDP (2014:4) rightly advocates for multidimensional human capital development strategies that include increased access to direct and indirect health services. The sub-themes that emerged from this theme are: less than the recommended number of meals per day, low dietary diversity and poor nutrition, and child mortality.

### **Sub-theme 2.1: Less than recommended number of meals per day**

An important indicator of the household nutrition levels and overall wellbeing is whether a household has access to an adequate number of meals per day. From a nutrition perspective, three meals per day are generally considered as adequate (SAHRC & UNICEF, 2014:43). Towards this end, the participants were asked about the number of meals they usually ate as a household per day. The findings are presented in Figure 5.16 below.



**Figure 5.16: Number of meals consumed per day (n=73)**

The findings above highlight that only a small proportion of the participants (15, 20.5%) were eating the adequate and recommended three meals per day. The majority (57, 78.1%) of the participants' households were consuming two meals per day, while a single participant's (1, 1.4%) household had one meal per day. The emerging picture is that the majority of the participants' households ate two meals per day instead of the adequate and standard three meals. Consistent with the quantitative results, the majority of the qualitative study participants confirmed that due to limited food, their households were eating two meals per day. They further highlighted when the meals

were eaten and the implications of inadequate food. As one participant aptly pointed out:

Here we eat two meals, that is, breakfast and in the evening is when we eat sadza that is how we are surviving. But that does not mean we don't want to eat in the afternoon. What limits us is the inadequate food which we want to prolong; this is why we then have sadza (refers to the staple meal of thickened porridge cooked from maize corn ground into maize flour) in the evening. [HH-6]

There were variations in the time of the day when the meals were consumed, with the households of some participants [HH-1, HH-2, HH-3, HH-6, HH-8 & HH9] having their meals in the morning and evening, participant HH5 indicating that they ate in the afternoon and evening, and participants HH-4 and HH-7 reporting that they ate three meals, namely in the morning, afternoon and evening respectively. To cope with lack of food a participant explained how they combined two meals into one, which is a common practice:

I don't want to lie most of the times we eat two meals per day and by eating the breakfast around 11am that way we combine breakfast and lunch. Then in the evening [we fight hard] to make sure that the children have something to eat because it is improper as a parent for children to sleep without eating. So, we can skip lunch but, in the evening [it's a must] that they have supper. [HH-8]

Children are not spared by the food constraints. In some households, children were going to school on an empty stomach, which had implications for their school performance. A participant said:

[Aah] [...] we don't have adequate food and the children experience the shortages as they sometimes go to school without eating and only eat after coming back from school. [HH-5]

From the two FGDs, the children also echoed similar sentiments that in most of the households they were eating less than the recommended three meals per day, which compromised their health through malnutrition (UNICEF, 2019c:12). They even mentioned that some children in their neighbourhoods begged for food. When asked about the number of meals they ate per day and when they ate them, their responses mirrored those of their adult counterparts that they mainly ate twice per day with variations on the timing.

Although cognisant of the adverse effects of the food constraints on children some participants claimed that members of their households including children had adapted to the food shortages and eating regimes. This is illustrated by the following quotes:

The food shortage indeed affects the children, but they are now used to the situation that they eat sadza in the evening. [HH-6]

Despite the fact that our food is not sufficient we have accepted this reality and we are satisfied with what we have. [HH-7]

One of the key informants summed the food situation in the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district as follows:

When we are talking of decent meals many households don't have specific mealtimes and sequence due to unpredictable food availability. In such scenarios they usually have what they refer to as zero zero one. This means that they have a decent meal only once per day and usually in the evenings. If such households could be able to have two decent meals per day I would consider it an improvement to the food situation. [KI.3]

The findings attest that poverty forces households to eat less than the recommended three meals per day as they cut back on food intake as a coping strategy (UNDP, 2014:17). This is an erosive coping strategy which makes children vulnerable to malnutrition, diseases, and also harms their chances of survival, optimal growth and development (UNICEF, 2019c:16; SAHRC & UNICEF, 2014:43). Ultimately, poverty is perpetuated across generations as these children lack capabilities to be well nourished and to live disease free lives (Sen, 2005:18).

### **Sub-theme 2.2: Low dietary diversity and poor nutrition**

A household's level of dietary diversity is a function of the type of food eaten during the meals. The level of dietary diversity, as the Zimbabwe National Nutrition Survey (2018:38) posits, measures households' access to food. To this end, the participants were also asked about the types of food they ate, and their responses are presented in Table 5.8 below.

According to Table 5.8, a total of nine of the listed 11 food types were being consumed during the morning meals. The most preferred foods, as reported by the participants, were cereals (51, 69.9%), followed by vegetables (35, 47.9%), then sugar (33, 45.2%) and bread (26, 35.6%). On the other end, the foods least consumed were pulses (3,

4.1%), milk (2, 2.7%), tubers and eggs (1, 1.4% apiece). Meat and fruits were not eaten at all during the morning meals.

**Table 5.8: Types of food eaten during meals (n=73)**

Type of food	Morning	Afternoon	Evening
Bread	35.6%	5.5%	1.4%
Tubers, e.g. potatoes	1.4%	1.4%	0.0%
Pulses, e.g. sugar beans	4.1%	1.4%	17.8%
Eggs	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Fruits	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Milk	2.7%	0.0%	12.3%
Meat	0.0%	0.0%	30.1%
Sugar	45.2%	9.6%	0.0%
Oils, e.g. peanut butter, margarine	20.5%	5.5%	2.7%
Vegetables	47.9%	28.8%	97.3%
Cereals, e.g. rice, maize (sadza)	69.9%	32.9%	95.9%

Seven food types were being eaten as part of the afternoon meals. Compared with morning and evening meals, fewer participants reported that they ate meals in the afternoon. The highest percentage, 32.9 per cent (24), ate cereals, followed by 28.8 per cent (21) eating vegetables, while sugar, bread and oils were consumed by 9.6 per cent (7); 5.5 per cent (4) and 5.5 per cent (4) respectively. Tubers and pulses at 1.4 per cent (1) were the least consumed food items. However, eggs, fruits, milk and meat were not being eaten during the afternoon meals.

Similar to afternoon meals, seven food types were being eaten during the evening meals. Vegetables were the most preferred food of 97.3 per cent (71) of the participants. This was closely followed by cereals (70, 95.9%), while meat was eaten by 30.1 per cent (22), pulses by 17.8 per cent (13), milk by 12.3 per cent (9), oils by 2.7 per cent (2) and the least percentage, 1.4 per cent (1), consumed bread. Foods such as tubers, eggs, fruits and sugar were not being consumed during the evening meals.

The findings seem to indicate high food diversity given that seven out of the listed 11 food types were being eaten in the participants' households. However, the concept of malnutrition is broad and complex as it is binary because it entails either eating inadequate amounts of the right food or eating too much of the wrong food (Creed,



2016:9). A closer analysis of the findings reveals that in the majority of the households, the dominant food types across all the mealtimes were cereals, mainly sadza, and vegetables which were starch, vitamins and mineral-rich foods.

This is hardly surprising because sadza is the staple food of Zimbabwe. During meals, sadza is served with other food items like pulses, sour milk, meat and vegetables as relish. This explains why vegetables also emerged as another dominant food type across all the meals. Vegetables are also commonly eaten in the country. In this context, most of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district could at least afford a simple meal of sadza and vegetables. From a nutritional perspective however, a diet mainly confined to only two food types is of concern because it lacks diversity and increases the risks of malnutrition in the form of micronutrient deficiencies (UNICEF, 2019c:12). Notably from the findings, fruits were not being eaten across all the meals. This is probably because fruit is a luxury that extremely poor households cannot afford, or knowledge of their nutritional value is low among the participants' households. In Zimbabwe, the National Nutrition Survey (2018:9) findings reveal that inadequate knowledge on appropriate and healthy diets for adults and children is one of the factors leading to malnutrition. Poverty and lack of knowledge leads to wrong eating habits which result in hidden hunger which entails micronutrients deficiencies (UNICEF, 2019c:12). Children shoulder the greatest burden of hidden hunger through several ways namely, compromised growth, poor cognition, weak immunity, poor tissue development, poor health and risk of death (UNICEF, 2019c:12).

The quantitative survey findings point to low dietary diversity among the participants' households. In the qualitative study, the participants further elaborated on the types of food being eaten during the meals and the implications of poor diets.

Household members with ill health were bearing the brunt of inadequate and lowly diversified diets. The account of a participant who confided that she was HIV positive captures her construction of the adverse effects of inadequate and lowly diversified diet on persons with medical conditions:

[Aah] especially on food it's very difficult I have nowhere to find food. I could have regained my body (health) because I am supposed to eat

healthy food in the morning, afternoon and evening [...] But I have no one to give me food, my son who used to provide is overwhelmed because he married and is now concentrating on his own family. We usually eat two meals per day, in the morning we eat the supper leftovers and then I take my medication. In the evening we again eat sadza usually with vegetables or okra. My wish is for my household to drink tea with milk, rice or homemade bread in the morning, and then sadza with quality relish in the evening. [HH-2]

In addition, a visibly ill child participant in one of the FGDs said:

In my case because I am a TB (tuberculosis) patient, I must eat a variety of food items. But currently we don't have sufficient food at our home and I have to look for supplementary food from well-wishers in our neighbourhood. [CP-1]

Poverty has restricted some households' diets to a few food items, which increased the chances of micronutrient deficiencies. The general sentiment from the children during the FGDs was that they were not eating adequately in their households. UNICEF (2019c:9) states that in cities many poor children live in "food deserts" characterised by absence of adequate and healthy food options. This was also confirmed by some of the adult participants when they said the following:

These days what other food can we think of, if we have maize meal (sadza) that is enough. [HH-3]

In terms of relish, currently we have pumpkin leaves and wild okra which are in season. When we have some money, we can buy a cup of beans. We rarely eat meat and most of the times we have vegetables. [HH-4]

We eat sadza with vegetables mostly and occasionally buy meat or dried kapenta (sardines) when we have money, this is what we eat. [HH-6]

Social protection interventions are central to reducing food deficits in extremely poor households. Some participants revealed that they were beneficiaries of the government food aid, the Drought Relief Scheme. They acknowledged that this social safety net had ameliorated their dire food situation:

Currently we are receiving maize grain once in two months from the Department of Social Welfare. When we are given the 50kg of grain it can sustain us for a while and we then look for other options when exhausted. [HH-4]

We sometimes experience challenges in terms of food. But I can say this year is better as they [government] have tried their best. They are giving

us maize grain at the Department of Social Welfare offices in town. Since February they are giving us 50kg. [HH-9]

The key informant from the DSW [KI-3] confirmed that they had included some poor urban households on the Drought Relief Scheme. He however underlined that due to resource constraints the numbers were low. To complement government efforts, the key informants KI-1 and KI-2 from BUCST reported that as an organisation they were implementing a supplementary feeding project targeting infants. This aimed at reducing the burden of malnutrition among infants from the extremely poor urban households in the district.

The findings on low dietary diversity and poor nutrition correspond with UNICEF's (2019c:45) view that in low income countries some communities survive on a few staples like grains and tubers. In addition, this situation is made more insidious by the fact that they only occasionally eat other nutrient-rich food items such as fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, eggs and dairy products (UNICEF, 2019c:45). In addition, UNICEF (2019c:8) states that the severe effects of different forms of malnutrition, such as micronutrient deficiency and hidden hunger are experienced by children from the poorest households and communities. Poor diets, as IFPRI (2016:1) propounds, translate to malnutrition and for children in severe cases, this leads to stunting. In 2018, child stunting was reported among 27 per cent of children in Mashonaland Central province where the site of this study, Bindura district, is located (Zimbabwe National Nutrition Survey, 2018:114). Stunted growth is a pathway for transmission of intergenerational poverty through lifelong compromised health and poor educational outcomes (Lancet, 2016:2; UNICEF, 2019c:38).

### **Sub-theme 2.3: Child mortality**

From a health dimension, infant and child mortality are conventional core indicators of poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2015b:24). Statistics on children's health, as noted by Harper et al. (n.d:29), focus mainly on infants and children under five years of age because this period is regarded as sensitive in child development. At this stage, infants and children are more susceptible to premature deaths as a result of curable diseases and malnutrition associated with poverty (Harper et al., n.d:29). To explore whether child

poverty has manifested as infant and child mortality in the poor urban households in Bindura district, the survey participants were asked whether their households had experienced the death of a child in the last five years. The majority of participants (71, 97.3%) indicated that they had not lost a child during the last five years, while only 2.7 per cent (2) reported that they had. Also, of great interest were the causes of the deaths. The two participants cited chronic illness and other (unknown cause) respectively. Globally, UNICEF (2018a:5) observes that an estimated 7,000 newborn babies die daily due to lack of affordability of quality health care and lack of access to safe water. These factors are drivers of chronic illnesses, which can lead to infant and child mortality. Thus, chronic poverty was a possible trigger of the chronic illness mentioned by one of the participants to have caused the death of the infant.

Parallel to the quantitative study finding of very low infant and child mortality among the participants' households, from the qualitative study, participant HH-2 reported that her married daughter lost an infant. The key informants attributed the near absence of infant and child mortality in the participants' households to two main factors, that is, the Prevention of Mother-to-Child HIV Transmission programme rolled out by the government and a supplementary feeding project for infants being implemented by BUCST:

This (infant and child mortality) used to previously happen before people got knowledge about HIV. But since the introduction of PMTCT which encompasses ART (anti-retroviral therapy) the cases have dropped significantly. Through this programme the government encourages pregnant women to book early for prenatal care and get tested for HIV. When they test positive for HIV, they are initiated on ART to prevent the transmission of HIV from the mother to the child either at birth or through breastfeeding. This in turn has greatly reduced child mortality. We also have a project aimed at reducing the burden of child malnutrition. [KI-2]

I can say the situation has improved because of the post-natal care programme at the hospital through which cases of malnourished infants are identified. We are providing supplementary feeding to some of the malnourished infants aged between 0 to 59 months courtesy of support from a donor. Monthly we give them corn and soya blend porridge. These infants are referred to us from the hospital if their Body Mass Index (BMI) is very low. We also work together with Chipadze clinic and on the feeding distribution days we also invite the nurses from the clinic to give proper child care education to the mothers and caregivers. These interventions have contributed in reduction of infant mortality. [KI-1]

The findings of low infant and child mortality contradict existing literature as UNICEF (2016a:10) posits that there is a strong connection between poverty and child mortality. This trend points to the efficacy of increased access to health care and adequate nutrition in combatting infant and child mortality (UNICEF, 2018a:2). However, on average, more children from poor households in rural areas where poverty is endemic, as compared to their counterparts in urban areas, experience multiple deprivations which can manifest as poor health outcomes such as infant and child mortality (Hardgrove et al., 2011:3).

### **Theme 3: Manifestations of child poverty in the education domain**

Education is widely acknowledged as one of the central transformative mechanisms that for generations have assisted children from poor households to transition cycles of poverty and inequalities (UNICEF, 2015b:13). From a human capital perspective, the World Bank (2018:41) argues that education builds human capital, which promotes economic growth, reduces poverty and ensures social mobility. However, UNICEF (2015b:42) avers that regardless of the known economic and social dividends of education, there is a crisis in the education sector because millions of children face many barriers to education and learning that undermine the role of human capital in child poverty reduction. In Africa, because of high levels of poverty and inequality as noted by Kanyenze et al. (2011:298), the challenge of access to education still looms large and manifests through various forms of exclusion experienced by children at various levels of the whole cycle of education. Rolleston (2014:135) outlines that access to education is broadly conceptualised as attendance, achievement, progression and completion of the full education cycle that is, from ECD to tertiary education.

Lewin (2009:155) asserts that the CREATE model encapsulates seven zones of exclusion (see chapter 2, section 2.5.2 for detailed discussion) through which child poverty manifests at the ECD, primary and secondary levels of the education cycle. In Zimbabwe, information on children's access to education is largely based on school attendance and the level being attended or enrolled (ZIMSTAT, 2017:62).

To explore the manifestations of child poverty in terms of access to education in the poor urban households of Bindura district, the study participants were asked questions on the school attendance status of their school-age children at the various stages of the education cycle. Table 5.9 below summarises the manifestations of child poverty within the education domain.

**Table 5.9: Children school attendance status (n=173)**

<b>School attendance status</b>	<b>No. of children</b>	<b>% in terms of all the children</b>
Attended ECD	11	6.4
Did not attend ECD	15	8.7
Never attended school	1	0.6
Left school	21	12.1
Primary Gr 1 to 2	16	9.2
Primary Gr 3 to 5	31	17.9
Primary Gr 6 to 7	25	14.5
Secondary Form 1 to 2	22	12.7
Secondary Form 3 to 4	30	17.3
Secondary Form 5 to 6	1	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>173*</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Total number of children of school going-age in the survey participants' households and the participants were asked to report up to six children.

Based on the findings in Table 5.9, the sub-themes that emerged from this theme are low ECD enrolment, high school dropouts, and low progression to upper secondary education.

### **Sub-theme 3.1: Low ECD enrolment**

A growing body of knowledge supports the view that ECD has multiple and far-reaching benefits for the development of children in various domains (European Commission, 2014:61). UNICEF (2014b:1) points out that early childhood education can reverse the adverse early experiences of child poverty that undermine school readiness and learning throughout the education cycle. Emerging knowledge from brain development research suggests that ECD can improve the cognitive functioning of children from poor backgrounds (Lancet, 2016:7). Furthermore, Education International (2010:11) concurs that ECD can ensure that children's health needs are met and that they receive the required stimulation and support.

However, one of the conspicuous manifestations of child poverty in the education domain, as noted by UNICEF (2016a:46), is that of children, mainly from the poorest quintile in any country, who are missing out on the ECD programmes. Table 5.9 reveals that 15 children of ECD-going age from the study participants' households were not attending ECD. These children fell in the CREATE model's zone zero of exclusion, which, as Lewin (2009:155) elucidates, is characterised by no access to pre-school or early childhood education. None of the nine heads of households who participated in the qualitative study indicated that they had a child of ECD-going age who was not attending school. However, inferences from the interview with one of the key informants connected the non-ECD enrolment of some children to low coverage of BEAM (see chapter 3, section 3.5.2 for detailed discussion), poverty and orphanhood status:

Right, most of the challenges being experienced by these households are linked to poverty. You will find that the majority of the children from the households we are working with are orphans. Based on the orphanhood status, the children are usually under the care of grandparents, some who are no longer able to work and are actually in need of support to make ends meet. As a result, these children experience numerous challenges. For children of school-going age, school fees is a challenge which is worsened when the child is not a beneficiary of BEAM. [KI-2]

The finding on low ECD enrolment is a trend in Zimbabwe because during the period 2005 to 2016, 17 per cent and 34 per cent of children from the poorest and richest quintiles respectively attended ECD (UNICEF, 2017:201). In urban areas blighted by poverty as UNICEF (2012:28) notes, ECD is usually non-existent. Many poor households cannot afford early childhood education and regard it as a luxury (UNICEF, 2015b:4). The low ECD enrolment is further compounded by the fact that in Zimbabwe ECD is not covered by BEAM which is a government scheme designed to promote access to education by vulnerable children, including those living in extreme poverty (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2011a:16). Consequently, many children are missing a perfect head start for academic success and an opportunity to escape poverty in the long term. This is because access to quality ECD provides a solid foundation for future scholastic achievement through holistic nurturing and development of children in the physical, social, moral, cognitive and emotional domains (UNICEF, 2015b:27; ZIMSTAT, 2015b:182). Access to quality education encompassing ECD establishes a

strong base for human capital formation and poverty reduction as Todaro and Smith (2015:382) postulate that education is one of the core elements of development.

### **Sub-theme 3.2: High rate of school dropouts**

In the education domain, child poverty also manifests in the form of children who, after initial enrolment, do not complete either primary or secondary education (Lewin, 2009:155). As Table 5.9 depicts, a total of 21 children from the participants' households had prematurely left either primary or secondary school and some had completed primary education but could not proceed to secondary education. These children, as pointed out by Lewin (2009:155), had experienced zones two, four and five of exclusion that entail children who do not proceed to secondary education, and those who drop out either in primary or secondary education. In low-income countries, the World Bank (2017:3) acknowledges that the retention of children in the education system after initial enrolment remains a challenge. Participants in the qualitative study attributed the high rate of school dropout to multiple economic and social factors that included lack of money and material possessions, anti-social behaviours, pregnancy, poor performance and taking adult responsibilities.

Lack of money to pay for school fees and various education-related material items, such as uniforms and shoes, was noted across the study participants. One of the participants in the context of explaining her understanding of poverty, elucidated:

Poverty is our failure to send our granddaughter to school; we have nowhere to source the money for her school fees. Our granddaughter here sat for her Grade seven examinations last year, but we are yet to collect her results so that she can proceed to Form One. Her former school withheld the Grade seven results because of outstanding school fees. This issue has really troubled us as we are pondering about her future because we are unable to send her to school. As a household, this has been one of our biggest challenges. [HH-3]

In support, another participant explained that the lack of a school uniform had led one of her daughters to drop out of school:

My second daughter reasoned that it was better for her to leave school because I was unable to buy her school uniform and shoes for a long period. She dropped out when she was in Form two. [HH-2]



On the same note, child participant CP-4 during one of the FGDs testified that her sister had dropped out of school citing that she felt embarrassed because her classmates always made fun of her lack of a school uniform. Another child participant [CP-7] emphasised that some schools are strict on wearing complete uniforms and those students with incomplete uniforms are turned away. This forces some children to completely withdraw from school. Furthermore, the child participants pointed out that lack of school uniforms can lead to low self-esteem, poor academic performance and in worst scenarios culminate in some children dropping out of school. A key informant echoed similar sentiments:

Usually for poor households, deprivations are multifaceted and interrelated. When a household is food poor, they also find it difficult to pay school fees for children. This results in the children attending school irregularly as they are often turned away for non-payment of school fees and some of the children eventually drop out. Although we have BEAM in place it cannot absorb all the children in need as the funds are limited. We have some partners who assist in this regard but still some children are left out. I also need to emphasise that for school attendance besides the issue of school fees there are other requirements like uniforms and stationery. [KI-3]

Anti-social behaviours which as Bartlett (2012:145) posits characterise extremely poor urban neighbourhoods also emerged as a factor underlying the phenomenon of school dropouts. One participant linked prostitution that was taking place in her neighbourhood to her daughter eloping and then dropping out of school. She poignantly recounted:

My other daughter dropped out in Form two after she eloped. This came as a surprise to me because she had an interest in school despite her being a below average student. I suspect she was influenced to indulge in sexual acts by a certain woman who is into prostitution whom she frequently visited in this neighbourhood. [HH-2]

Pregnancy is also leading to school dropouts. Participant HH-4 reported that her daughter fell pregnant when she was 17 years old and had to withdraw from school before completing Form four. The connection between pregnancy and school dropouts was also confirmed by the child participants. Factors such as poverty, early marriages, and child labour account for the globally low primary and secondary education completion rates recorded in the Africa region (UNICEF, 2016c:46). In Zimbabwe, 2016 figures from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education show that early marriages led 3,650 girls and 251 boys to drop out of secondary school (Chigogo, 2016:2).

Children also dropped out of school because poverty impelled them to assume adult responsibilities, including working in order to earn an income, as a coping strategy. A key informant narrated:

The government policy clearly enunciates that education is open to everyone. However, some children due to poverty-related reasons either have never enrolled into school or have dropped out. I can cite the sad story of a child who we once helped and stay with her siblings and grandmother. This year she was supposed to sit for her Ordinary level (Form four) public examinations. But she had to leave school early to work and meet household needs. [KI-2]

The findings on school dropouts correspond with a South African study on child support grants by the Department of Social Development, the South African Social Security Agency and UNICEF (2011:101) which established that multiple factors, including lack of school fees, uniforms and risky behaviour such as transactional sex, lead children from low income households to withdraw from school.

### **Sub-theme 3.3: Low progression to upper secondary education**

As Table 5.9 reveals, there is a huge gap between households with children attending lower secondary school (Form one to four) and those with children attending upper secondary education (Form five to six). A total of 52 children were attending Form one to four, compared with only one child who was attending Form five to six. This finding points to low progression to upper secondary education. A range of reasons emerged from the qualitative study to explain the low progression to upper secondary education. These include lack of school fees, child labour and poor academic performance.

Some participants said that their children could not progress to upper secondary education because of lack of school fees. As one participant clearly lamented:

My last born son completed and passed his Form four studies. However, this poverty prevented him from proceeding further with his education. He is intelligent and could have been the only [...] had he proceeded to Advanced (Form 5 to 6) level studies. [HH-6]

Secondary education is generally associated with increased costs (Rolleston, 2014:136) that poor households struggling to fund their children's education at all levels of the education cycle usually cannot afford. In addition, UNICEF (2012:6) states that many

urban children living in poverty are disadvantaged in terms of education and usually excluded from higher education. Thus, for some poor households upper secondary education is a luxury.

Child labour was another reason why some children were not progressing to upper secondary education. Key informant KI-2 alluded that some children drop out of school at the lower levels of education in order to work and this inevitably excluded them from upper secondary education. Todaro and Smith (2014:391) note that child labour interferes with children's education.

In Zimbabwe, progression to upper secondary education is not automatic but is conditional on good performance in Form four public examinations. When asked about the academic performance of their children, the common sentiment from the study participants was that the performance was poor. The participants further attributed the poor academic performance of their children to multiple and interrelated drivers such as lack of money for school fees, extra lessons, school-related costs, irregular attendance, compromised health, and child labour. Participant HH-6, referring to his grandchildren, highlighted that:

The children have been doing well in their academic studies. But their major drawback is the lack of school fees which has resulted in irregular school attendance as they are sometimes barred from attending classes because of school fees arrears. At the end, their performance will be adversely affected and without any support, their future is bleak. [HH-6]

The child participants also identified additional factors leading to poor academic performance, as highlighted in the following quotes:

Lack of school uniform can emotionally stress children leading to poor academic performance. [CP-3]

When you carry a lot of the water buckets at home you cannot concentrate in school because of tiredness. [CP-5]

At times before going to school a child has to fetch water from the boreholes and can be late to school. [CP-3]

Poor academic performance is linked to adverse childhood experiences that manifest later in life as difficulties in learning (UNICEF, 2016a:50). In addition, World Bank

(2015:101) posits that high levels of stress embedded in poverty can lead to poor learning outcomes. Stunted growth is also associated with suboptimal cognitive development and learning deficits (Lake & Chan, 2014:1816).

The findings on low progression to upper secondary education are aligned with UNICEF's (2015b:80) assertion that "...the poorest and most marginalised students are de facto excluded from the highest levels of education." This silent exclusion seriously undermines the widely recognised role of education in disrupting the transmission of chronic poverty across generations (Lewin, 2009:168; UNICEF, 2015b:13). In Zimbabwe, successful completion of upper secondary education is the entry requirement for tertiary education, which equips learners with tertiary skills that translate to higher earnings in prestigious occupations. Worldwide, studies as noted by Montenegro and Patrinos (2014:2) have confirmed that an additional one year of education correlates with a 10 per cent increase in income.

#### **Theme 4: Manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain**

In an attempt to cope with poverty, adults and children from poor households exercise their agency and adopt various survival strategies (Devereux, 2011:95; Lister, 2015:6). However, Devereux (2011:95) is concerned that some poor households adopt erosive coping strategies that violate child protection and are harmful to the normal development and well-being of children. The harmful practices assume various forms such as child sexual abuse, child labour and anti-social behaviours. The sub-themes that are associated with manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain include child labour, gambling and stealing, drug and substance abuse, and child sexual abuse.

##### **Sub-theme 4.1: Child labour**

In the developing countries as observed by Corsaro (2015:303), child poverty is intricately aligned with child labour. Poverty, and by extension child poverty, acts both as one of the determinants and consequences of child labour (ILO, 2015:7). In the survey, the participants were requested to mention from a list the harmful practices adopted by children from their households. A small population of the participants (7, 9.6%) indicated that children from their households were engaged in child labour. In the

qualitative interviews the study participants shed light on the nature, drivers and detrimental effects of child labour among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

Children were doing part-time menial jobs such as laundry and hair dressing. Participant HH-2 confirmed that her daughter was earning some money for her household through being hired by community members for laundry and hair dressing. In addition, some participants supported the practice of child labour because the children's labour contributed immensely to household income. One participant said:

We sometime give our children freezits to sale at church. I agree that some people consider this as children abuse. This is because the children are working during weekends and no longer have time for their homework and leisure. But we will be saying that is our source of income. [HH-8]

Child participants also alluded that child labour was being experienced in their households and community. They further elaborated that some children were being hired by community members to work as grass cutters and grain porters to the grinding mills and were paid in cash or in kind, for example with food. It also emerged that in some households, children were engaged in labour to cope with food shortages. One of the child participants engaged in child labour relayed her experience:

I want to give my example, at our home I am the one who stay behind as others go to work and school. They are [comfortable] to leave me without food saying I am grown up and I have to feed myself. This affects me as I have to find instant part time jobs such as doing laundry and being a baby minder for me to have money to buy food. [CP-7]

Two key informants [KI-1 & KI-2] revealed that in the face of poverty some children have dropped out of school to engage in income-generating activities such as petty commodity trading and selling cooked food, either as sole breadwinners or to supplement meagre household income. Key informant KI-3 added that, because of poverty some children are involved in hazardous work:

Poverty is associated with many circumstances that are harmful to children. It accounts for a lot of child rights violations such as child labour. Recently, there was a story of a girl that was reported on national television who was engaged in illegal gold panning in the crocodile infested Mazowe river almost submerged by water. [KI-3]

The findings on child labour are similar to a study on child rights in Zimbabwe conducted by ZNCWC (2011:29) that established the sad reality that in the context of poverty, children who should be the most protected are the most abused as they work in sectors such as mining, domestic employment and “street” jobs. Rori (2020:3) states that because of poverty some children have become artisanal gold miners. To survive, UNICEF (2012:5) notes that members of poor urban households, including children, are usually engaged in low-paid labour for instance as domestic workers. ILO (2015:6) bemoans that child labour curtails human capital development through poor education and health outcomes, which sustains chronic poverty.

#### **Sub-theme 4.2: Gambling and stealing**

Many poor urban neighbourhoods, as Bartlett (2012:144) posits, are characterised by high rates of crime and violence. Conspicuously, in this study none of the heads of households in both the survey and qualitative interviews admitted that children from their households were involved in criminal activities, drug and substance abuse, violence, gangsterism and prostitution. This finding is hardly surprising due to the fact that these harmful practices are embarrassing because they deviate from the acceptable norms, and some are unlawful. Babbie (2014:66) is of the view that in the context of research, exploring about personal circumstances such as poor living conditions can be demeaning. This probably explains why the heads of households concealed that some children from their households were engaged in such harmful practices. In sharp contrast, the child participants in the FGDs were open that some children especially boys were involved in gambling at street corners and others stealing items such as money, cellphones and clothes. This finding corresponds with Harper et al. (n.d:25) who state that the economic strain of poverty heightens the risks of criminal behaviours among children living in poor households. The criminal activities in poor urban neighbourhoods result in alienation and lack of social cohesion and solidarity, which undercut the development of social capital (Cox & Pawar, 2013:247). People with low social capital, as Patel (2015:294) argues, experience heightened vulnerability which exacerbates poverty. Fotso et al. (2009:175) add that vulnerability is also connected to neighbourhood characteristics such as criminal behaviour.

### **Sub-theme 4.3: Drug and substance abuse**

Child poverty as World Drug Report (2020:7) notes is one of the core risk factors for anti-social behaviours such as drug and substance abuse. The heads of households in both the survey and qualitative interviews indicated that children from their households were not abusing drugs and substances. However, the child participants and key informants revealed that drug and substance use was prevalent in the urban wards of Bindura district and further identified some types of drugs and substances being abused by children.

The child participants confirmed that some children were abusing drugs and substances such as marijuana, Broncleer cough syrup, alcohol, illicit brews and glue. A study on drug and substance use among young people in Zimbabwe by Matutu and Mususa (2019:6) also found that marijuana, alcohol, cough syrups and glue are the easily available and commonly abused drugs and substances. The child participants also stated that some children were involved in selling the same drugs and substances. Interestingly, the child participants further elaborated on some of the drivers and adverse effects of drug and substance abuse. One of the child participants said:

Many children are now drunkards. This starts with parents especially the fathers. When they come home drunk children in turn copy the behaviour of drinking and smoking as they think it is right whilst it is wrong. [CP-7]

Addiction was a serious social challenge among child drug and substance users as noted by another child participant:

It's a real problem because when a child grows with the habit it is difficult to quit and becomes a lifestyle during adulthood. [CP-10]

The child participants established that drug and substance abuse had negative health consequences such as damaged lungs and diseases. Socially, they noted that it could also lead children to disrespect parents and elders. In addition, under the influence of drugs and substances, children could engage in risky sexual behaviour. One child participant pointed out:

Sometimes when people are intoxicated during partying, they can end up engaged in actions that lead to unwanted pregnancies and serious sexual offences such as rape. [CP-7]

Narrations from the child participants are testimony to their deep understanding of a social challenge within their households and community. Drug and substance abuse is a rising social challenge in urban Zimbabwean communities. The country's leading weekly newspaper, *The Sunday Mail* (2020:S8) reported that health institutions are witnessing an exponential increase in cases of drug-related diseases with 65 per cent of admissions in mental health institutions being attributed to drug abuse.

The key informants corroborated that some children were involved in selling and abusing drugs and substances in the urban wards of Bindura district. One of the key informants added that for some children, drug and substance use was a mechanism to cope with poverty-induced stress. In the study by Matutu and Mususa (2019:6) stress relief also emerged as one of the underlying reasons for drug and substance abuse among young people.

The findings on drug and substance abuse conform to documented literature that poor urban communities are often crowded and have high levels of insecurity which can lead to depression and anxiety and that some children from these communities resort to drug and substance abuse as a coping strategy (Bartlett, 2012:144; US National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2016:24). Over the last decade as the World Drug Report (2020:10) asserts, there has been a proliferation of substances on the drug market which is a sign of a growing social challenge. Drug and substance abuse have harmful effects on the health and well-being of children as well as on development through increased poverty (World Drug Report, 2020:9).

#### **Sub-theme 4.4: Child sexual abuse**

Child poverty can manifest in one of its worst forms through different types of child sexual abuse, such as child marriage and child prostitution. Despite the heads of households' indications that they had no cases of child marriages and child prostitution, narratives from the child participants and key informants when asked about harmful practices being experienced by children, revealed otherwise.



In the FGDs, the child participants reported that because of poverty, child marriages and prostitution were taking place in their neighbourhoods. They also identified a local nightclub [name supplied] and an illegal gold mining area called Kitsiyatota as hotspots for child prostitution. One child participant elaborated:

This is happening here if you visit the area called Kitsi [Kitsiyatota] during the night you can find girls from the university in the beerhalls looking for money to pay rent and buy food which seem to be [an easy job]. Some girls from our community are now copying this behaviour as an [easy way] to get money. [CP-7]

The children further expressed that these forms of child sexual abuse presented challenges such as dropping out of school, early pregnancies, and maternal and infant mortality. Child marriages as noted by Dapaah (2016:3) and Fenn et al. (2015:11), lead to school dropout, low education, early pregnancy and related complications such as obstetric fistula, maternal and infant mortality, and HIV infection.

The key informants reinforced what the children said and identified additional drivers of child marriages and child prostitution:

As a result of poverty, if you visit our local shops during the night you can see very young girls roaming around for the purpose of prostitution. Child marriages are also a huge challenge in this province as the statistics indicate that countrywide, we have the highest rates. The contributory factors are that we are surrounded by farms and mines where it's a common practice for young children to get married. In this district, the practice is rife in Makusha and Mapunga farming areas. [KI-1]

There is also sexual exploitation which mostly affects the girl child as they try to cope with poverty. This accounts for child marriages as of 2014, the Zimbabwe Demographic Health Survey reported that Bindura district had very high rates of child marriages. For the children marriage becomes a route to escape poverty. [KI-3]

The findings that poverty is pushing girls into child marriages and prostitution are not new. Mwase (2015) and Sachiti (2011) reported that some young girls are involved in prostitution in Zimbabwe because of poverty. These practices, as Fenn et al. (2015:22) propounds, are mainly rooted in multiple and interrelated factors that include poverty and social norms. Child marriages and prostitution are harmful coping strategies that lead to chronic poverty (ZNCWC, 2011:27).

## **Theme 5: Assets being used in current responses to child poverty**

According to the SLA, despite their vulnerability, poor people operate within a context where they have access to certain assets and manage a complex set of assets in their agency to cope with poverty (DFID, 1999b:para.4; Lister, 2015:6; Moser, 2008:58). However, Concern Worldwide (2010:3) asserts that poor households are characterised by limited or lack of assets to meet their basic needs. Lack of assets, as UNICEF (2012:3) posits, reflects and exacerbates poor urban living conditions. From a child poverty perspective, children living in households that have limited or lack assets have slim chances to acquire basic capabilities to escape poverty (Desai & Solas, 2012:83; Monrad, 2016:44). In the poverty reduction arena, there is now increased attention on assets because of the realisation that they promote and protect people's capabilities and confer resilience against risks, shocks and stressors (Moser, 2008:58; UNDP, 2014:10). An assessment of different types of assets accessed by people living in poverty as Moser and Felton (2007:5) argue, provides a better understanding of root causes of poverty and reduction strategies. In the survey, the mean scores of how often a range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets were being used in responses to child poverty were calculated based on the categories; always, frequently, sometime and never. The survey findings were then explained by the qualitative data which enabled a deeper understanding on the assets being used in current responses to child poverty. The sub-themes associated with assets being used in current responses to child poverty include human assets, social assets, physical assets, financial assets and natural assets.

### **Sub-theme 5.1: Human assets being used in responses to child poverty**

The primacy of human assets is widely acknowledged in social development (Midgley, 2014:83). Human assets is an umbrella term that includes endowments embodied in people such as gifts or talents, creativity, skills, knowledge, ability to labour, sound physical and mental health and leadership that are determinants of varied livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999b:para.14; Midgley, 2014:83; Patel, 2015:295). In the survey phase of the study, participants were asked how often they were using a range of human assets in responses to child poverty and Table 5.10 presents the findings.

**Table 5.10: Human assets being used by the households (n=73)**

Capability	Total	Min.	Max	Mean	Rank*
Labour (Head of Household—HH)	73	1	4	2.38	1
Life experiences/wisdom (HH)	73	1	4	3.03	2
Labour (Other household members—Other)	73	1	4	3.21	3
Natural talent(s) (HH)	73	1	4	3.21	3
Knowledge and skills from education (HH)	73	1	4	3.59	4
Natural talents (Other)	73	1	4	3.60	5
Life experiences/wisdom (Other)	73	1	4	3.62	6
Knowledge and skills from education (Other)	73	1	4	3.75	7

\*Code 1=always and 4=never; the lowest mean is the capability most often used, and the highest mean is the capability used least.

The findings show that the labour of the HH was the most often used capability with a mean score of 2.38, followed by the life experiences/wisdom of the HH at 3.03. Ranked third on 3.21 was the labour of other household members and natural talents of the HH. Educational knowledge and skills of the HH was ranked fourth with a mean score of 3.59. The least used human asset was educational knowledge and skills of other household members with a mean score of 3.75. Thus, labour is the dominant human asset being used in responses to child poverty as it was ranked first and third. However, the lowest mean of 2.38 lies between the categories “frequently” and “sometimes”, while all other items had mean scores lying between “sometimes” and “never”. This implies that human assets were not used regularly in the participants’ households. Furthermore, the finding that knowledge and skills from education were “sometimes” and “never” categories at 3.59 and 3.75 by the heads of households and other household members respectively, points to lack of tertiary and vocational education skills either for employment or microenterprises among the poor urban households in Bindura district. This can be confirmed by the findings in section 5.2.1.6 that none of the participants had completed tertiary or vocational education. In the qualitative phase of the study, participants explained how households were using the different forms of human assets in responses to child poverty and also provided insights into the various reasons leading to the limited use of some forms of human assets.

Most of the participants said their households mainly used their and other household members' labour in varied livelihood activities such as subsistence farming, petty commodity trading, public works and different menial jobs. It also emerged from the participants that the labour was deployed in constantly changing livelihood activities, which normally required unskilled labour depending on seasons of the year and availability of opportunities. One participant narrated how she used her labour in different livelihood activities:

I sometimes do menial jobs on short-term contracts when the opportunities arise in the local authority's public works programme. During the farming season besides working on my own piece of land I am also hired by others on their plots. I am also involved in petty commodity near our shopping centre. [HH-1]

Another participant added:

I do part-time jobs such as laundry, cooking and can be hired to harvest crops by community members. I am not selective and can do any job whenever an opportunity arises to get some income. Currently, I am into petty commodity trading. I participate in all these activities to make ends meet and prevent my children from experiencing extreme deprivation. [HH-5]

Despite their multidimensional deprivations and marginalisation, UNICEF (2012:5) states that the urban poor provide one essential service in the form of formal and informal labour which is lowly paid in the various sectors of the urban economy. The finding also resonates with sub-theme 1.1 which established that the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district had diverse income sources. However, ill-health was mentioned by participants HH-2 and HH-7 as a barrier to engage in labour-intensive livelihood activities such as mobile petty commodity trading. As pointed out by Moser (2006:17) ill-health reduces the ability to work and earn an income, which lead to increased poverty.

The study participants also used life experiences/wisdom in various aspects of parenting and when imparting life skills to children in their households. One participant said:

I conscientise the children especially my granddaughter about the dangers associated with engaging in anti-social behaviours such as frequenting

beerhalls. I also advise them of the importance of education and good behaviour for their future prosperity. [HH-3]

In the words of another participant:

I encourage them to work hard in their education. I also advise them to be content in life. I urge them to desist from smoking and drinking beer. I always challenge them to follow me as a model because I used to smoke and drink but I have since quit the habits. [HH-9]

Children were also being taught about the topical health issues such as HIV and AIDS as one participant remarked:

I teach them about the HIV and AIDS pandemic so that they are aware as they are growing. I sit down with them and we discuss as a family. They will be giving their views on the subject and asking questions on aspects they don't understand. [HH-5]

On the same note, key informants KI-1 and KI-2 mentioned that as BUCST, they utilised the labour, life experiences, and knowledge and educational skills of the service users in dispensing various services. The labour and farming knowledge and skills of the service users were for example utilised when BUCST supported its service users with farming inputs. One of the key informants [KI-1] commented that BUCST had contributed towards human capital development of service users, for example through facilitating linkages with the government's Agricultural Technical and Extension Services department to educate the service users on modern farming methods for enhanced crop production. He added that some community members were working with BUCST as volunteers in the Child Protection Committees offering their labour, life experiences as well as educational knowledge and skills. Key informant KI-3 reiterated that by making use of the wards Child Protection Committees, BUCST had been able to tap into the community-based networks of care and support in response to child poverty.

Some participants reported that they and other household members were naturally talented in areas such as crocheting, farming and hair dressing which they used to generate some money to meet household needs. The participants also revealed some reasons for the limited use of other human skills such as knowledge and skills from education. Two female participants [HH-3 & HH-7] indicated that they had no formal education and hence had no knowledge and skills from education. Poor academic

performance resulted in not meeting the minimum requirement (having passed Form four) for enrolling for vocational or professional training and this was noted by participant HH-4 as another reason for not using knowledge and skills from education. DFID (1999b:para.4) asserts that lack of education is a core dimension of poverty that undermines human capital development and utilisation.

However, some participants indicated that high levels of unemployment and lack of start-up financial capital for microenterprises presented barriers to the use of knowledge and skills they acquired from education. In Zimbabwe, unemployment and lack of access to financial capital, as the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (2016:21) argues, are structural issues that result in chronic poverty, and which can be addressed through transformation of the economic system. In support, the SLA advocates for the modification of existing structures and processes such as the economic system to be pro-poor (DFID, 1999b:para.45).

The findings on the low use of human capital are hardly surprising as UN-Habitat (2008) states that poor communities are characterised by low human capital. DFID (1999b:para.14) argues that human capital is central to sustainable livelihoods because without human capital it is difficult to mobilise and use all other assets. Thus, low human capital limits poor people's options for sustainable livelihoods, which heightens their vulnerability and poverty (Singh & Faleiro, 2013:7).

### **Sub-theme 5.2: Social assets being used in responses to child poverty**

Social capital refer to the social resources embedded in social relations such as kinship, local social networks, membership in organisations, informal safety nets and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges (DFID,1999b:para.18; Maurer & Hawkins, 2012:357). In the survey the participants were requested to state how often at that time their households were using different forms of social capital in responses to child poverty. The survey results show that kinship, despite being ranked first with a mean score of 3.37, was only sometimes used by the participants. This was closely followed by local associations with a mean of 3.44. Friends and neighbours were the least used social assets with mean scores of 3.77 and 3.79 respectively, which indicate

that these social assets were rarely used by the participants. The results are illustrated in Table 5.11 below.

**Table 5.11: Social assets being used by the households (n=73)**

Social relations	Total	Min.	Max	Mean	Rank*
Kinship	73	2	4	3.37	1
Local associations	73	2	4	3.44	2
Religious groups	73	1	4	3.68	3
Friends	73	2	4	3.77	4
Neighbours	73	2	4	3.79	5

\*Code 1=always and 4=never; the lowest mean is the social relation most often used, and the highest mean is the social relation used least.

Generally, the results point to underutilisation of social assets because all the items' mean scores were positioned between the sometimes and never used categories. In line with the survey results, the qualitative study participants provided insights on how they were using the different social assets in responses to child poverty and also highlighted the challenges they were experiencing in using the social assets.

In sharp contrast with survey results, a few participants indicated that they had sometimes received assistance from their relatives in the form of shelter, food, clothes and cash remittances. Most of the participants stated that they had not received any assistance from their relatives. The reasons for lack of assistance from relatives included having few relatives, lack of concern and poverty. One participant [HH-9] said that he had few relatives because all his adult children had died. Another participant [HH-7] lamented that her relatives rarely helped her because they were not concerned, and she wished her children were still alive. Participants HH-4 and HH-6 mentioned that their relatives were also living in poverty and were unable to assist them. However, key informant KI-1 had a different perspective as he expressed that some of their service users hide that they receive assistance from their relatives for fear of being excluded from receiving assistance from BUCST.

Friends were offering emotional support to only a few participants which is in line with the survey finding that the study participants rarely relied on friends in their responses to

child poverty. This emotional support had contributed immensely in making them cope with life challenges they were experiencing as households as one participant said:

I have not received any assistance from relatives but from friends. I have a friend of mine who is living positively with HIV like me. She supports me emotionally as we share similar circumstances. She encourages me to attend meetings and workshops on positive living. She has helped me to be strong and continue taking care of my children. [HH-1]

Another participant [HH-2] stated that she sometimes received assistance in the form of food items such as vegetables from her friends. She however complained that her friends were not willing to assist her meaningfully with financial support to enable her to engage in income-generating activities.

Most of the participants indicated that they were using religious groups in responses to child poverty. The participants belonged to a variety of Christian denominations such as the indigenous Apostolic sects, Pentecostal churches like Zimbabwe Assemblies of God in Africa, and mainstream Roman Catholic church. They reported that they had derived a wide range of benefits from their churches which included food, school fees, clothes, teachings on good behaviour and entrepreneurship, spiritual or faith healing, hope and resilience. One participant explained:

Going to church has greatly benefitted my family. It has helped in terms of family stability and unity. I am a short-tempered person and here where I am into petty commodity trading I can easily be provoked but I am able to forgive because of the values I was taught at church. Even the children are able to live in harmony with others. Through faith in God, my family has also been helped to be content and have hope for a brighter future. This has also built confidence in my children that despite the difficulties we are going through things will be alright. [HH-8]

Participant HH-7 shared that she had received spiritual or faith healing through her church Bishop's prayers. She added that the prayers also protected her household children from illnesses. This was amplified by another participant who detailed how she had gained resilience to navigate through difficult life events and had gained entrepreneurial skills from her church:

Besides food assistance, we also have time for prayers in groups. The experience of praying for one another really helps and in my case, I lost my mother and brother in quick succession. I can say the burden was eased through the group prayer sessions. Also, at our church they teach



and encourage us to be enterprising. We have sessions for testimonies when members engaged in different microenterprises narrate what they are doing and the benefits. The testimonies inspire you to follow suit and venture in some form of enterprise. [HH-5]

In the same vein, key informants KI-1 and KI-2 from BUCST stated that on a supplementary feeding project for infants they were working in partnership with a Harare-based organisation, affiliated with the Latter-day Saints church, which donated the food. They however revealed that they were not working with local churches in their programming. Key informant KI-2 pointed out that difference in approaches to health issues was a barrier to working with some churches in their health interventions. He elaborated that:

We are willing to work with religious groups; however we previously encountered some challenges. We had differences with some religious groups for instance on the aspect of spiritual healing which is practiced in some churches under which as a sign of exercising faith and proof of healing, believers on any kind of medication are encouraged to stop the medication. This is contrary to the strict adherence to medication particularly for chronic conditions like HIV. Based on this belief unfortunately many people living with HIV stopped medication, which led to many premature deaths. [Low tone] If I think of the experience, I feel hurt. [KI-2]

Most of the participants validated the survey findings as they indicated that they never relied on assistance from their neighbours. Participant HH-6 attributed this to lack of concern and love on the part of his neighbours while participants HH-4 and HH-5 stated that their neighbours were not in a position to help because they were also living in extreme poverty. Nonetheless, participant HH-7 revealed that she regarded her neighbours as relatives because they offered each other reciprocal assistance, for instance when they ran out of food items such as sugar. She however underlined that she was sometimes embarrassed to seek help from her neighbours.

The findings contradict UN-Habitat's (2008:7) view that poor households usually rely on social capital as the findings demonstrate that there was low social capital among the poor urban households in Bindura district. However, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:6) assert that extremely poor communities are characterised by weak social capital. Mushunje (2014:92) notes that in Zimbabwe support to children in need, such as those

living in poverty, from kinship has dwindled because of factors such as increased poverty, urbanisation, and weakening of the extended family system. Cox and Pawar (2013:247) add that poor urban neighbourhoods are often fragmented which results in low social capital. This undermines efforts towards poverty reduction as Hawkins and Maurer (2012:362) posit that social capital has been used to reduce poverty. For example, in Chimanimani district in Zimbabwe, Zuwarimwe and Kirsten (2010:17) observe that the communities use social capital to establish and expand rural non-farm enterprises to reduce poverty.

### **Sub-theme 5.3: Physical assets being used in responses to child poverty**

Physical assets, as earlier delineated by DFID (1999b:para.25) and Moser and Felton (2007:7), refer to the stock of basic infrastructure and other productive resources owned by individuals, businesses, not-for-profit service providers, and public institutions that sustain livelihoods. With regard to the use of different physical assets in responses to child poverty, as Table 5.12 indicates community centres were ranked first, although they were not utilised to the full capacity with a mean score of 3.32 which is in the sometimes used category. This was followed in the same category by churches, clinics and schools with average scores of 3.62, 3.75 and 3.85 respectively. The three most underused physical assets were markets (3.88), vocational training centres (3.93) and businesses with a mean score of 3.95. The participants indicated that they never used universities hence the score of 4.00.

**Table 5.12: Physical assets being used by the households (n=73)**

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Min.</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Rank*</b>
Community centres	73	2	4	3.32	1
Churches	73	1	4	3.62	2
Clinics	73	1	4	3.75	3
Schools	73	1	4	3.85	4
Markets	73	1	4	3.88	5
Vocational Training Centres	73	3	4	3.93	6
Businesses	73	1	4	3.95	7
Universities, e.g. tutors	73	4	4	4.00	8

\*Code 1=always and 4=never; the lowest mean is the institution most often used and the highest mean is the institution used least.

Similarly, the qualitative study participants expressed that they were using the different institutions at varied levels to meet a wide range of children's needs. The participants further highlighted some reasons behind the underuse of the institutions and also offered important suggestions on how the use of different physical assets could be enhanced in responses to child poverty.

The use of schools to meet children's needs was mixed. Some participants stated that their household children had benefitted through school fees that were paid under BEAM, and school uniforms and food that were supplied through the schools feeding programme to ensure the children stay healthy. However, participants HH-5 and HH-8 remarked that their children had not benefitted from the schools and desired that the schools helped them with stationery and textbooks because they were struggling to meet these schooling-related costs. Key informant KI-2 reported that red tape in getting authority from the government to work with schools, as well as the education policy that stipulated that only teachers should impart health education to learners, had frustrated their efforts to partner with schools in the field of adolescents sexual and reproductive health.

It emerged that clinics had provided anti-retroviral therapy, nutrition education and positive living advice to the participants who were living with HIV. Two participants [HH-2 and HH-5] who were living with HIV emphasised that they in turn enlightened their children with information and knowledge on sexual and reproductive health especially on HIV prevention. Participants also mentioned that in times of disease outbreaks such as the 2008 cholera outbreak, they benefitted immensely from the community health awareness campaigns spearheaded by the clinics. Some participants added that children from their households in particular had received natal care and immunisation against cervical cancer for example.

However, user fees and lack of medical drugs emerged as barriers for some participants to use clinics for medical services. One participant reported that:

When the children fall sick only those below five years of age receive free medical consultation at the clinic because of the current government policy. As we speak my grandson since yesterday has been complaining

of a stomach problem but I don't have the money to pay at the clinic. Instead I have resorted to home remedies. The consultation fee only is US\$3 and you also have to buy the prescribed medication elsewhere. [HH-4]

This finding confirms Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993:348) assertion that the presence of a physical asset within a community does not necessarily mean that the asset serves the needs of the poor people. In response, some participants had devised risky ways to circumvent the user fees demanded at the clinics. The account below by a participant highlighted one of the ways devised by the extremely poor urban households in the district:

These days it is difficult to access medical treatment as most of the times the clinics have no medication. Nowadays most people when they are sick, they go to pharmacies rather than clinics because at the clinics you only pay for consultation. But if for instance you explain to the pharmacists how the sick child is feeling they simply write a prescription and then sell the medication they can even administer injections. [HH-5]

This demonstrates the risky measures that people living in extreme poverty take to cope with poverty. Devereux (2011:95) attests that in the context of poverty, people exercise their agency by adopting different survival strategies.

Parallel to the survey results, all the qualitative study participants stated that they had not used the two local universities, namely Bindura University of Science Education and Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University in responses to child poverty. Most of the participants expressed sentiments that they were not aware of how they could use the universities in responses to child poverty. A few participants wished the universities could assist by providing tutorials to their children with a view to improve their academic performance. Others pointed out that the tutorials could also serve as extra lessons which they cannot afford as households. Key informants KI-1 and KI-2 concurred that as BUCST, their working with local universities in programming was at its infancy. They indicated that they only recently had been approached by academics from one of the universities to develop joint project proposals. Key informant KI-2 also mentioned other possible areas of cooperation with the universities which were staff and student volunteers, and students' internships. On the same note, key informant KI-1 noted that the universities had standard sporting facilities which BUCST could possibly use in its programming.

BUCST and the children living in extreme poverty could benefit immensely through using the local universities' sports facilities for low-cost recreational activities. This is because in the 2016 BUCST annual report analysed by the researcher it was stated that BUCST, because of lack of donor support, failed to have a recreational camp as part of essential psychosocial support to the children living in the extremely poor urban households.

Few participants mentioned that they used the community centres by attending community meetings and workshops on income-generating activities. Key informants KI-1 and KI-2 said that as BUCST, they used the local community hall to host workshops, for instance on adolescents' sexual and reproductive health, and meetings with service users, community members and stakeholders to discuss the services they were providing to the extremely poor urban households. Markets were also being used by very few participants for petty commodity trading. Key informant KI-1 added that as BUCST, they were not using the markets in their programming. He however pointed out that they encouraged their service users to utilise the local markets, such as the local agricultural produce market, to earn an income. Key informant KI-2 was hopeful that in the near future as BUCST they will come up with a clear strategy on how they can use the markets for the benefit of their service users. This makes sense as participant HH-4 pointed out that petty commodity trading at undesignated sites in the central business district of Bindura town was risky because of the threat of arrest or harassment by municipal police.

Most participants reported that they were not using local businesses in responses to child poverty, which corresponds with the survey results. The participants mentioned nepotism and lack of or low profits because of the harsh economic environment as the main reasons why they were not relying on businesses in responses to child poverty. On a different note, participant HH-8 explained that the community and households had previously benefitted from the local businesses in terms of health because during the 2008 cholera outbreak, they drilled boreholes and provided water storage tanks. Key informant KI-1 reported that as BUCST they had received technical support from Profeeds, an animal feeds company operating in the district. The support was in the

form of training on poultry farming provided to service users who were already engaged or interested in poultry production.

The participants desired the local businesses to assist them with food, paying school fees, sponsoring sporting activities, offering financial support to start microenterprises and providing youth employment opportunities. The general sentiment from the key informants was that the local businesses had done little in response to child poverty. Key informants KI-1 and KI-2 added that as BUCST they had hardly received any assistance from local businesses in their programming. They attributed this situation to the wrong assumption that as an NGO, they received generous external donor support.

Vocational training centres, just as in the survey results, emerged as one of the grossly underutilised physical assets. Few participants or members of their households had undergone vocational training. Participant HH-5 reported that she had received training in garment making and pottery from the local culture centre although she was currently not using the skills. Another participant [HH-1] mentioned that one of her children had done a course in hotel and catering. She however expressed concern that her daughter was unemployed despite the training which points to a challenge being experienced by many young people in many African countries, that of the mismatch between labour market and skills (Obonyo, 2019:15).

Despite the gross underutilisation of vocational training centres, a number of the participants were aware of fields in which they or members of their households could undertake vocational skills training courses. They mentioned that vocational training in fields such as construction, garment making, marketing and hairdressing could contribute towards child poverty reduction in their households. Key informants KI-1 and KI-2 conceded that BUCST and its service users were yet to fully embrace vocational training and appreciate the important role it could play in child poverty reduction. This finding is interesting in the context of the search for sustainable poverty reduction strategies as USAID and Family Health International 360 (2014:24) argue that lack of economic growth in Zimbabwe has resulted in high levels of poverty and unemployment. To this end, the informal sector has emerged as the main employer

where vocational training skills are in high demand (USAID & Family Health International 360, 2014:25), yet vocational training centres were generally not being used by BUCST and the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district.

The findings on very low usage of physical assets are consistent with UNICEF’s (2012:3) view that for poor urban households, physical proximity to institutions that offer basic services does not guarantee access to such institutions. DFID (1999b:para.25) states that lack of access to physical assets is one of the drivers of poverty because it undermines the ability of poor individuals to generate sufficient income and have sustainable livelihoods.

#### Sub-theme 5.4: Financial assets being used in responses to child poverty

For people living in extreme poverty, DFID (1999b:para.30) postulates that financial assets are the least available assets, which heightens their economic vulnerability. Before determining the use of financial assets by the participants’ households in responses to child poverty, the participants’ knowledge of various forms of financial assets was explored. The results are presented in Figure 5.17.

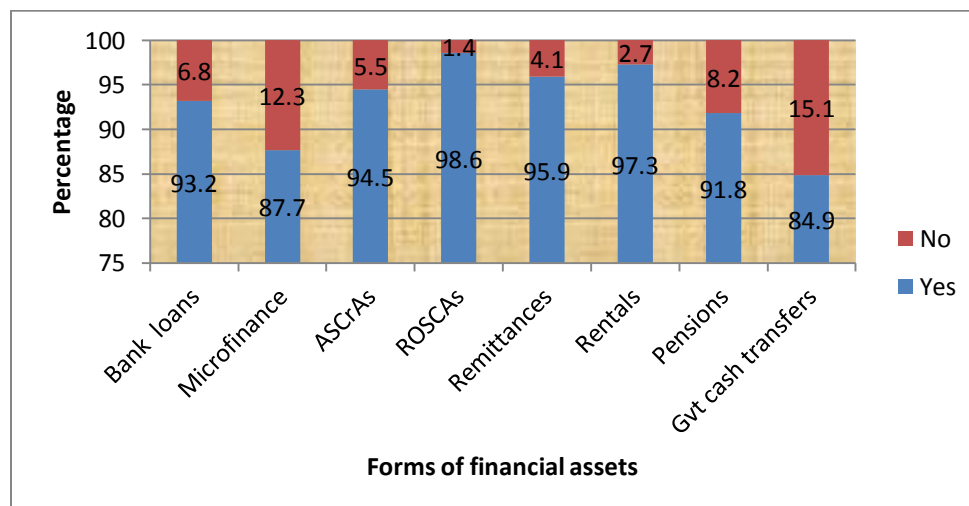


Figure 5.17: Knowledge of financial assets (n=73)

From the results, it is clear that the participants were highly knowledgeable about all the listed forms of financial assets. Rentals were the highest known (71, 97.3%) and

government cash transfers were the least known (62, 84.9%). With the assurance that the participants knew the different forms of financial assets, the enquiry shifted to which of the financial assets were being used by the participants' households in responses to child poverty. Table 5.13 illustrates the findings.

**Table 5.13: Financial assets being used by the households (n=73)**

Financial asset	Total	Min.	Max	Mean	Rank*
Rentals	73	1	4	2.86	1
Remittances	73	1	4	3.23	2
Pensions	73	1	4	3.27	3
ASCrAs	73	1	4	3.40	4
ROSCAs	73	1	4	3.51	5
Bank loans	73	3	4	3.93	6
Government cash transfers	73	3	4	3.99	7
Microfinance	73	4	4	4.00	8

\*Code 1=always and 4=never; the lowest mean is the financial asset most often used and the highest mean is the financial asset used least.

From Table 5.13 it can be seen that all the financial assets were not being utilised to their full capacity. The participants indicated that they relied mainly on the informal financial assets. Rentals were ranked first with a mean score of 2.86, which lies between the frequently and sometimes used categories. Most of the financial assets were in the sometimes used category. In the second position were remittances with an average score of 3.32, followed by pensions with a mean score of 3.27; then ASCrAs and ROSCAs were in the fourth and fifth positions with mean scores of 3.40 and 3.51 respectively. The formal financial assets were grossly underutilised with bank loans (3.93) and cash transfers (3.99) mean scores close to the never used category. Microfinance was never used with a score of 4.00. From the qualitative study, the participants indicated the financial assets they were using in responses to child poverty and also explained how they were using the assets. They also pointed out some reasons behind the limited or non-use of certain financial assets.

As indicated in Table 5.13, bank loans were marginally used while microfinance was never used by the participants in responses to child poverty. Likewise, most of the



qualitative study participants pointed out that they were not using bank loans. Microfinance was only used by participant HH-9 who used it to buy her granddaughter's school uniform. He expressed that the interest rate was too high coupled with a short repayment period of three months. This finding contradicts Lusk (2010:170) who argues that in the context of capital to start small enterprise, microfinance is a viable strategy that can promote financial inclusion and poverty reduction among extremely poor people. The finding points to the absence of pro-poor microfinance institutions in Bindura district as Todaro and Smith (2015:793) propound that microfinance allows the poor and vulnerable people to access credit on favourable terms. Muiruri (2013:57) notes that microfinance has been used by urban slum dwellers in Nairobi, Kenya to start microenterprises. Multiple factors such as lack of collateral, guarantors, high interest rates and cumbersome application processes were also cited by the participants as impediments to the use of bank loans. Despite this, key informant KI-1 explained that as BUCST they once partnered with a donor to establish a revolving fund which was managed by a commercial bank. He added that they offered group-loans to their service users to fund a wide range of income-generating activities. However, the fund collapsed because of a high default rate after the service users discovered that the bank loans were donor funds. Key informant KI-3 aptly summarised the situation of the use of formal financial assets by poor people in the district:

It seems either the formal financial services such as banks and microfinance institutions exclude poor people, or the poor people tend to shun such services. A number of factors are linked to the low uptake of the formal financial services by the poor people. Leading factors include high interest rates and stringent requirements such as collateral which the poor households often do not have. There are various government agencies that provide credit facilities at concessionary rates such as the Small Enterprises Development Corporation. But I think they are accessible by few poor people because of lack of awareness and distance to the limited Small Enterprises Development Corporation offices dotted around the country. To increase accessibility by the poor people there is need for vigorous awareness campaigns by such agencies and decentralisation of their offices. [KI-3]

The qualitative study participants, similar to the survey findings, rarely used government cash transfers in responses to child poverty. Lack of awareness could be a factor as one older participant [HH-9] said that he did not know of the existence of such a scheme in Zimbabwe but had only heard about the South African older persons grant. Other

reasons that emerged were the unpredictable and transient nature of government social protection schemes in Zimbabwe, as propounded by Chirisa (2013:133), which was highlighted by participant HH-4 who reported that she was once a Disability Grant beneficiary, a grant that was administered by the DSW but which was terminated without explanation. Another participant [HH-7] added that some time ago they were asked by the DSW officers to open bank accounts under the government HSCT scheme, but they were yet to receive anything. She further alleged that there was a rural bias as their counterparts in rural areas were already receiving their cash disbursements. To this end, key informant KI-3 acknowledged that the government social protection schemes were tilted towards rural areas based on the fact that poverty is endemic in those areas even though there were pockets of worse-off households in urban areas.

A minority of the participants mentioned that they were using pensions in responses to child poverty. All the participants using pensions were either receiving retirement or survivors' benefit under the National Social Security Authority pension and other benefits schemes. This indicated that the participants were either retired formal employees or were surviving spouses of deceased formal employees because this social insurance scheme only covers those in formal employment. The participants stated that they used the pensions to buy food and pay school fees while some invested a portion in income-generating activities such as poultry production. Participant HH-4 reported that she once used the pension as a source of income to get a bank loan to buy farming inputs.

The informal financial assets, namely ASCrAs and ROSCAs were used by most of the participants. The money from the ASCrAs and ROSCAs was used to meet a wide range of household needs such as paying for food, clothes and school fees, purchasing satellite television equipment and investing in income-generating activities. It also emerged that membership in these informal assets was also dependent on whether one was engaged in some form of income-generating activity which promoted entrepreneurship. This is based on the sentiments of participants [HH-2 & HH-7] who were not active in both ASCrAs and ROSCAs who alluded that they were not engaged

in any income-generating activities because of old age and poor health thus were not in a position to pay the required subscriptions. Despite being popular among the participants, a number of challenges were noted in the ASCrAs and ROSCAs which circumscribed their role in poverty reduction. The account of one participant who was once a member of an ASCrA captures some of the pertinent challenges:

[Yaah] I was once active in an Internal Savings and Lending scheme (another name for ASCrAs) [but] it was a nightmare as it ended with exchanges of harsh words. Some members were not honest and defaulted on repaying the loans giving flimsy excuses. In another instance one member had to take care of her ill husband and because of the circumstances she failed to repay the money she had borrowed. She felt that the group was insensitive to her plight after some members confiscated some of her household property to recover the loan as we had agreed in our constitution. After this incident the Internal Savings and Lending scheme then collapsed and since then I decided not to participate in such schemes. The challenges aside, the idea of Internal Savings and Lending schemes is noble because it promotes hardworking for one to be able to pay the subscriptions and also a culture of saving money. [HH-5]

Thus, the findings indicate that ASCrAs and ROSCAs were playing an important role in child poverty reduction in Bindura district. However, the findings corroborate with Chirisa's (2013:154) assertion that in Zimbabwe the viability of ASCrAs and ROSCAs is constrained by challenges such as corruption and dishonesty. Similarly, in Kenya, Muiruri (2013:58) found that informal savings groups in poor urban communities were adversely affected by challenges that include misunderstandings and mistrust among group members, defaults on loan repayments, and failure of income-generating activities.

Few participants in the qualitative study, contrary to the survey results and findings in sub-theme 1.1, reported that they were using rentals in responses to child poverty. Those using rentals mentioned that they were using the rentals to buy food and pay school fees and utility bills. However, one participant [HH-1] indicated that rentals were no longer reliable because tenants were hard to find and due to economic hardships, some tenants skipped paying the rentals.

Remittances were also being utilised by a limited number of participants. Those receiving remittances stated they used the money to meet basic needs such as food,

clothes, school fees (education) and also to pay utility bills. A general sentiment from the participants receiving remittances was that the remittances were both inadequate and unpredictable.

The findings on heavy reliance on informal financial assets confirms the view by Patel (2015:335) that poor people lack access to formal financial services, which explains their heightened vulnerability and poverty. In support, Todaro and Smith (2015:793) postulate that lack of credit facilities constrains the development of microenterprises that are central to the reduction of vulnerability and poverty. As an adaptive strategy, Chowa and Sherraden (2009:2) and Muiruri (2013:44) affirm that to cope with the exclusion from the formal financial services, poor people especially in SSA have designed informal and semi-formal savings and credit schemes to meet varied needs.

### **Sub-theme 5.5: Natural assets being used in responses to child poverty**

Access to renewable and non-renewable natural resources such as land, forests, water, the atmosphere, biodiversity, energy and minerals underpins people’s capabilities to earn sustainable livelihoods and reduce poverty (DFID,1999b:para.23; Lange et al., 2018:3; Patel, 2015:295). To determine the natural assets base of the poor urban households in Bindura district, the participants were requested to indicate how often their households were using a range of natural resources in responses to child poverty. Table 5.14 below presents the findings.

**Table 5.14: Natural assets being used by the households (n=73)**

<b>Resource</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Min.</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Rank*</b>
Land for farming	73	1	4	2.16	1
Land for minerals extraction	73	1	4	3.74	2
Forests	73	1	4	3.85	3
Rivers/dams	73	3	4	3.97	4

\*Code 1=always and 4=never; the lowest mean is the natural asset most often used, and the highest mean is the natural asset used least.

As shown in Table 5.14, the participants were not using natural assets to their full capacity. Land for farming purposes was ranked first with a mean score of 2.16, which lies between the frequently and sometimes used categories. The other assets were between the used sometimes and never used categories with land for minerals extraction with an average score of 3.74, followed by forests with a mean score of 3.85 and rivers/dams with a very low average score of 3.97. From the qualitative study, the participants indicated the natural assets used in responses to child poverty and also explained how they were using the assets. They also pointed out some reasons behind the limited or non-use of certain natural assets.

Parallel to the survey results, all the participants in the qualitative study mentioned that they used land for farming purposes. They indicated that they mainly grew maize for household consumption. Key informant KI-1 stated that as BUCST, they grew potatoes and maize on the land they were allocated at an SOS farm under a project titled *Fill the Granary* that benefitted their service users. During the interviews, the researcher also observed that some participants had space in their yards for vegetable gardens and fruit trees. However, some yards barely had space for such activities. The observations were also supported by key informant KI-2 who acknowledged that some yards had plenty of space to grow a variety of vegetables and fruit trees for own consumption and surplus for sale, while others had no space, especially in the old section of Chipadze suburb where the one-roomed houses were located. Although land for farming was the core natural asset being used by the participants in responses to child poverty, it emerged from the participants that they lacked security of tenure on the land. This is because they were using unoccupied land owned by the local authority. One participant had this to say:

The land is just idle council land which we are using for now to grow maize for household consumption. When the council decides to use the land, we have no power to stop them. [HH-8]

Thus, farming was an important livelihood activity for the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. The heavy dependence on agriculture is characteristic of low-income countries and communities, albeit in some instances on uncertain land tenure conditions (Todaro & Smith, 2015:462).

A few participants stated that they had previously used the land to extract gold. They also revealed that they had stopped the gold mining because it was illegal, and because they had been constantly harassed and arrested by the police. One participant who was once an illegal artisanal gold miner recounted:

[Umm...yaah] I used to mine gold; illegal gold mining it was really difficult. Although the returns were better, we always had running battles with the police and I eventually gave up. [HH-5]

Superstition in the form of bad luck was cited by another participant as a reason for quitting gold mining. The participant narrated that:

To be successful in gold mining I believe it's all about luck. I once tried it, but I could not find any gold because I had no luck. You could be mining as a group in the same shaft some will find the gold whilst you find nothing. Maybe its natural luck or luck charms you never know. [HH-7]

Participant HH-8 said that he never attempted gold mining as it was strenuous and also because of his poor health condition. Key informant KI-2 stated that some of their service users were involved in gold mining in their individual capacities.

Forests had been utilised by very few participants. The participants indicated that they had previously extracted firewood to use as household cooking fuel and also to sell. Participant HH-4 reported that as a household they had gathered mushrooms from the forests during the rainy seasons to ensure dietary diversity. Key informant KI-1 commented that BUCST was not using forests in responses to child poverty. He however highlighted that he had once attended a workshop where it emerged that one can earn a living through selling forest products such as polished stones that can be used for bathing. Todaro and Smith (2015:498) are of the view that natural resource-based livelihoods through access to resources such as forests can be a pathway towards poverty reduction.

The participants mentioned a number of barriers to the use of forests. These included that the forests were too far from their homes or on private farms, and the strict enforcement of environmental laws by the Environment Management Agency. Midgley (2014:166) asserts that increased private ownership of natural resource commons,

including land and forests by the elites has excluded poor people from accessing such resources. Participant HH-5 revealed that she had stopped selling firewood after Environmental Management Agency confiscated all the firewood she was selling. Key informant KI-2 added that the urban set-up circumscribed the use of natural resources such as forests, rivers and dams by the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district. He also emphasised that as BUCST they discouraged their service users from engaging in illegal activities, such as indiscriminate cutting down of trees for firewood, in support of the government natural resources conservation efforts. The sustainable use of natural resources as Todaro and Smith (2015:492) argue can promote sustainable development.

All the qualitative study participants mentioned that they were not utilising the rivers and dams for livelihood activities such as fishing. On why they were not using the rivers and dams in responses to child poverty, the participants gave reasons similar to those on the limited use of forests. Participants HH-2, HH-3, HH-6, and HH-7 explained that the rivers and dams were too far, while participant HH-8 reported that the rivers and dams were on private farms and participant HH-4 stated that to access some of the dams a fee was required. In contrast, key informant KI-1 commented that BUCST used water to irrigate the potatoes and maize they grew under the *Fill the Granary* project.

The findings indicate a low natural assets base among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura which, as UNDP (2014:3) rightly points out, results in high levels of vulnerability and poverty. Using an SLA lens, DFID (1999b:para.23) posits that there is a nexus between the natural assets base and the vulnerability context.

### **Theme 6: Applying the five steps of ABCD strategy to combine assets for child poverty reduction**

In poverty discourse, the recognition of the connection between limited or lack of assets and increased poverty (Singh & Faleiro, 2013:7) has resulted in an increased focus on strategies to build assets and reduce poverty. To reduce poverty, the SLA as noted by DFID (1999b:para.11) calls for the mobilisation and connection of a range of human,

social, physical, financial and natural assets. Within the context of community development, ABCD has emerged as one of the strategies for operationalising the SLA to achieve poverty reduction (Engelbrecht & Pretorius, 2017:309; Mathie & Cunningham, 2005:180). This theme focused on how the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) could be applied to combine a mix of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets for child poverty reduction in Bindura district. The sub-themes which emerged are mapping assets for child poverty reduction, connecting the assets for child poverty reduction, mobilising assets for economic development and child poverty reduction, developing a child-centred community vision and plan, and leveraging outside resources to support locally driven child poverty reduction.

### **Sub-theme 6.1: Mapping assets for child poverty reduction**

The first step of the ABCD strategy involves mapping the available and potential assets. Mathie and Cunningham (2002:2) argue that CBOs are better positioned to spearhead the ABCD strategy. As revealed by KI-1, BUCST was established by the residents of the urban wards in Bindura district to meet their needs, promote their interests and fulfil their aspirations, which Cox and Pawar (2013:193) refers to as 'people's organisation'. To this end, the researcher identified BUCST as a suitable CBO to apply concepts of the five-step ABCD strategy for effective child poverty reduction in Bindura district.

Asset mapping, as Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:346) assert, seeks answers to the critical question: What resources do we have to solve this problem ourselves? As shown in Table 5:15, the study participants were to varying degrees using a wide range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets in responses to child poverty.

In addition to the quantitative findings presented in Table 5.15, in the qualitative study one of the key informants [KI-1] indicated that BUCST working together with the service users design a family development plan to guide the interventions for each household. He added that in the family development plan they ask about households' sources of assistance.



**Table 5.15: The rankings of all assets being used by the households**

<b>Asset</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Rank*</b>
Land for farming	Natural	2.16	1
Labour (HH)	Human	2.38	2
Rentals	Financial	2.86	3
Life experiences/wisdom (HH)	Human	3.03	4
Natural talents (HH)	Human	3.21	5
Labour (Other)	Human	3.21	5
Remittances	Financial	3.23	6
Pensions	Financial	3.27	7
Community centres	Physical	3.32	8
Kinship	Social	3.37	9
ASCrAs	Financial	3.40	10
Local associations	Social	3.44	11
ROSCAs	Financial	3.51	12
Educational knowledge and skills (HH)	Human	3.59	13
Churches	Physical	3.62	14
Religious groups	Social	3.68	15
Land for mineral extraction	Natural	3.74	16
Clinics	Physical	3.75	17
Educational knowledge and skills (Other)	Human	3.75	17
Neighbours	Social	3.79	18
Schools	Physical	3.85	19
Forests	Natural	3.85	19
Markets	Physical	3.88	20
Vocational training centres	Physical	3.93	21
Businesses	Physical	3.95	22
Rivers/dams	Natural	3.97	23
Government cash transfers	Financial	3.99	24
Microfinance	Financial	4.00	25
Universities	Physical	4.00	26

\*Code 1=always and 4=never; the lowest mean is the asset most often used, and the highest mean is the asset used least.

The findings reveal that BUCST already conducts some form of asset mapping. However, Mathie and Cunningham (2002:2) suggest that under ABCD, communities need to be helped to identify assets and see value particularly of those resources that

are usually ignored, unrealised and dismissed. Overall, the findings converge with Kretzmann and McKnight's (1996:25) statement that each community boasts a range of assets that can be used by the residents to address local problems. Asset mapping as Yeneabat and Butterfield (2012:136) note is the first building block of ABCD. The outcome of asset mapping is an inventory of the available and potential personal as well as community assets (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:346) that, in the context of this study, can be combined to reduce child poverty.

### **Sub-theme 6.2: Connecting the mapped assets for child poverty reduction**

After the asset mapping step, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:346) state that the next step is to establish linkages among the assets in the context of solving local problems. From the quantitative and qualitative study findings it emerged that a portfolio of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets were being used by the study participants and BUCST in responses to child poverty. It is also evident that the existing resources were dotted across the community and needed to be connected for an ABCD child poverty reduction strategy in Bindura district. One of the key informants acknowledged that they were drawing different types of assets from the various institutions they were working with in the district:

We are working with other organisations within this community. We mainly work with institutions such as Ministry of Youth, National AIDS Council and Legal Resource Foundation. This ensures that we achieve our objectives because the different organisations have expertise which we do not possess. We work with each organisation according to its area of specialisation and expertise for example with Ministry of Youth on career guidance and youth empowerment. [KI-1]

There was also a disconnection between the assets being used by the extremely poor urban households and those by BUCST, which was clearly captured in the words of another key informant when he said:

Currently our service users in order to survive are using the local markets as individuals without support from BUCST. There are also individuals engaged in gold panning on their own. [KI-2]

The findings that BUCST and its service users are using diverse but unconnected assets in responses to child poverty confirm Homan's (2011:63) view that to reduce poverty and promote development, existing resources need to be connected as they are

usually scattered across the community. This exercise enables communities to realise their capabilities and possibilities to solve local problems (Homan, 2011:61). By connecting diverse assets, Cox and Pawar (2013:112) and Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:346) posit that poor communities can begin to see their inherent strengths and competence for self-help in reducing social problems such as child poverty.

In addition, the Spearman's correlation coefficients between mean scores of the assets (means were computed across all the items belonging to a certain domain) were calculated to further analyse and understand the connections between the different types of assets being used in current responses to child poverty. The results are shown in Table 5.16.

**Table 5.16: Correlations between different types of assets**

		<b>Human Assets</b>	<b>Social assets</b>	<b>Physical assets</b>	<b>Financial assets</b>	<b>Natural assets</b>
<b>Human assets</b>	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.399**	.493**	.234*	1.000
	Sig. (two-tailed)	-	<0.001	<0.001	.046	-
	N	73	73	73	73	73
<b>Social assets</b>	Correlation Coefficient	.399**	1.000	.481**	.120	.118
	Sig. (two-tailed)	<0.001	-	<0.001	.313**	-
	N	73	73	73	73	73
<b>Physical assets</b>	Correlation Coefficient	.493**	.481**	1.000	.195	.156
	Sig. (two-tailed)	<0.001	<0.001	-	.098	-
	N	73	73	73	73	73
<b>Financial assets</b>	Correlation Coefficient	.234*	.120	.195	1.000	.057
	Sig. (two-tailed)	.046	.313**	.098	-	-
	N	73	73	73	73	
<b>Natural assets</b>	Correlation Coefficient	.332**	.118	.156	.057	1.000
	Sig. (two-tailed)	.004	-	-	-	-
	N	73	73	73	73	73

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

\*.Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).

As depicted in Table 5.16, a strong association existed between human and physical assets ( $r_s=.493$ ). Human assets were also significantly correlated with social assets ( $r_s=.399$ ), natural assets ( $r_s=.332$ ) and financial assets ( $r_s=.234$ ). A strong association was also found between social and physical assets ( $r_s=.481$ ) and between financial

assets and social assets ( $r_s=.313$ ). The findings show the relationships between the different types of assets being used by the study participants' households and are aligned with Moser's (2006:6) viewpoint that for households escaping poverty, the importance of the different assets varies and they also accumulate assets in a sequence.

### **Sub-theme 6.3: Mobilising assets for economic development and child poverty reduction**

In the qualitative study, participants were asked how the local businesses as community institutions could help in reducing child poverty, which provided valuable insights into how assets can be mobilised for economic development. Participant HH-6 suggested that the local businesses needed to be encouraged to support income-generating activities of the extremely poor urban households in the district. Participant HH-4 added that the businesses operating in Bindura district needed to hire local labour, especially the unemployed youths. In addition, in sub-theme 5.3 key informant KI-1 reported that as BUCST they had previously partnered with Profeeds in training their service users in poultry production. The findings reveal how community assets such as local business could and had been used to promote local economic development and in the process also contributed towards child poverty reduction in Bindura district. From an ABCD perspective, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:350) affirm that assets need to be identified and mobilised for the purpose of revitalising economic development in poor communities. Yeneabat and Butterfield (2012:136) state that mobilising community assets for economic development is an important building block of ABCD.

### **Sub-theme 6.4: Developing a child-centred community development vision and plan**

In the context of ABCD, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:351) assert that a fundamental step of ABCD entails developing a community vision and plan that is based on the answers to questions such as what the community values most and what do the citizens want the community to look like in the next five, ten and twenty years. Excerpts from the qualitative study reveal the vision BUCST had for the Bindura urban community. In his concluding remarks, one of the key informants stated that:

Our mission as BUCST is to ensure that the living conditions of the people in Bindura urban are improved. To this end, we must continue sharing our experience and knowledge as well as collaborate with other organisations in this regard. [KI-1]

In addition, the 2015 BUCST annual report analysed by the researcher had the mantra, *Children are our future, let's join hands and make them survive*. The import of the phrase is that BUCST was placing the well-being of children at the centre of Bindura urban community development agenda and the need for collaborative efforts using a wide range of assets to address challenges that threaten their survival, such as child poverty. UNICEF (2019b:53) maintains that problems such as urban child poverty require integrated solutions with various stakeholders working together. The findings elucidate the child-centred community development vision and plan that BUCST as a people's organisation had for Bindura district. The findings converge with Cox and Pawar (2013:197) who assert that a local people-driven development vision and plan constitute a guiding framework for solutions to local problems. However, BUCST in line with ABCD, as Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:352) suggest, needed to share the community development vision and plan with a broad array of stakeholders such as community leaders and businesspeople as well as representatives of formal and informal organisations.

#### **Sub-theme 6.5: Leveraging outside resources to support locally driven child poverty reduction**

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:353) contend that a vital step of ABCD is that of leveraging outside resources to support local development initiatives. They further emphasise that this is the final step for a reason (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:353). This stance is vital for authentic ABCD to take root and to address a challenge that often beset CBOs which Sinclair (2016:25) identifies as "...direct client and community work without the underpinning approaches of empowerment, participation and inclusion..." In the qualitative study, key informants KI-1 and KI-2 concurred that BUCST was experiencing this challenge.

Key informant KI-2 argued that some of their service users were now content with hand-outs and resisted the idea of being empowered through income-generating activities

with support from BUCST. Lack of empowerment makes it difficult for people to exercise control over their wider environment in pursuit of personal and common goals (Cox & Pawar, 2013:112), such as child poverty reduction. In addition, key informant KI-1 admitted that as BUCST, they had not actively promoted the participation of the service users in their programming and mainly gave them unsustainable hand-outs in response to child poverty. These findings validate Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993:353) assertion that genuine ABCD requires leveraging resources only after mapping, connecting, and mobilising the available and hidden local assets that are being or can be utilised for child poverty reduction within a shared community development vision and plan. Such an approach as Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:376) state is in line with the ABCD principle of "... working from the inside out" which counteracts the influence of imposed interventions that are usually connected with outside resources.

In the qualitative study, the researcher noted that in the 2016 BUCST annual report, it was stated that BUCST had managed to create linkages with government ministries and other external stakeholders in the three thematic areas namely, health care, legal aid and food security. This finding resonates with UNICEF's (2019b:53) view that to address problems such as urban child poverty there is a need to pool resources from diverse stakeholders. The finding also confirms Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:354) idea that under ABCD, attracting external resources is an important step for poor communities. To reduce child poverty among the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district, there is a need to mobilise additional resources. This is because no community today can be self-sufficient, especially the low-income communities (Cox & Pawar, 2013:120; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993:354).

#### **5.4 Summary**

This chapter has presented the empirical findings on how ABCD can reduce child poverty in Bindura, Zimbabwe. The first section of the chapter on the demographic details of the study participants revealed that most of the participants lived in the poorest urban wards of the district located in one of the oldest suburbs. The majority of the study participants had resided in the same wards for many years as the average was 29.6 years. This indicated lack of social mobility which is usually connected to chronic poverty. Most of the households were female headed which reveals the

gendered nature of poverty in the urban wards of Bindura district. In addition, the majority of the female heads of households were widows, divorcees or single. Generally, the heads of households were older persons with an average age of 55.4 years, which points to reduced capacity to work for their households. The participants had low levels of education.

The findings show that the multidimensional and overlapping manifestations of child poverty were rooted in the constrained sources of income, low income and related low consumption expenditure, overcrowded housing conditions, constrained access to water and sanitation and lack of ownership of durable household goods, all of which characterised the households in which the children lived. Child poverty had manifested in the health domain as malnutrition as a result of inadequate and low diversity diets. In the education domain, child poverty had manifested as low ECD enrolment, school dropouts and low progression to upper secondary education. In the child protection domain, child poverty had manifested as child labour, drug and substance abuse and child sexual abuse. The manifestations of child poverty revealed how poverty was compromising the children's chances to survive and thrive which created a pathway for intergenerational transmission of poverty. The findings also indicated that the majority of the study participants' households lacked the necessary human, social, physical, financial and natural assets to reduce child poverty. The lack of assets reflected and exacerbated the poor living conditions under which some children were being raised. To reduce child poverty, the researcher explored how the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) can be applied to combine a mix of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets. In the next chapter, the researcher discusses key findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER 6

### KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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#### **6.1 Introduction**

The goal of the study was to explore and describe how ABCD as an approach can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe. This chapter first looks at the key findings and conclusions of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which the goal and objectives of the study were attained. Then, the proposed guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district are presented. The chapter ends with recommendations for social policy, social work education, practice and research.

#### **6.2 Key findings and conclusions**

The study's key findings and conclusions focus on the manifestations of child poverty in the Bindura district, the assets that being used in current responses to child poverty and how the assets can be combined using the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) to reduce child poverty. The findings and conclusions are presented according to the following six broad themes: (1) characteristics of poverty at household level; (2) manifestations of child poverty in the health domain; (3) manifestations of child poverty in the education domain; (4) manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain; (5) assets being used in current responses to child poverty; and (6) applying the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) to combine assets for child poverty reduction.

##### **6.2.1 Characteristics of poverty at household level**

The key findings and conclusions on the characteristics of poverty at household level are summarised as follows:



### **6.2.1.1 Key findings on the characteristics of poverty at household level**

- Households had diversified income sources that were constrained by a myriad of challenges. This situation made it difficult for the households to generate adequate income to reduce child poverty.
- A hostile economic environment reduced the returns from income sources.
- Lack of support and unpredictable weather patterns resulted in low yields from farming, which was a key source of livelihood and income.
- Strict enforcement of local municipality by-laws presented challenges to some households' income sources.
- A large number of households lived in absolute income poverty with monthly incomes below the FPL.
- Households' monthly consumption expenditure was skewed towards food items compared to non-food items.
- Some households were food insecure because their monthly incomes were below the FPL.
- Overcrowded housing conditions were a common challenge for the participants' households.
- Poor housing heightened the risk of sexual abuse of girls in the participants' households.
- Lack of adequate living space was connected to violations of children's privacy rights.
- Crowded housing conditions resulted in household members of different sexes and ages sleeping in the same room.
- Inadequate housing resulted in unhygienic living conditions as rooms designated as kitchens were also used for sleeping.
- Local municipal water supply to households was constrained due to frequent breakdowns and electricity load shedding.
- Households depended on safe and unsafe water sources when municipal water supply was disrupted. The unsafe water sources posed health risks to household members.

- The local municipality disconnecting water supply because of unpaid water bills was a major barrier to some households in terms of accessing clean water and sanitation.
- Children were heavily involved in fetching water from alternative sources.
- Some households lacked basic durable household goods which limited opportunities for household members to develop capabilities to be imaginative and think creatively, become educated and participate in social interactions.

#### **6.2.1.2 Conclusions on characteristics of poverty at household level**

- Diversification of income sources alone without addressing the challenges affecting the viability of these sources is inadequate to generate sufficient income and reduce poverty.
- Support systems are central to improving the viability of the poor's income sources.
- Climate change adaptation strategies are required to counteract the threat of unpredictable weather patterns on the livelihoods of poor urban households.
- A hostile economic environment curtails the livelihoods of the urban poor.
- Local authorities' rigid regulatory policies regarding microenterprises inhibit poor people's ability to pursue livelihoods in urban areas.
- Poor housing erodes the dignity of poor people as they are forced to disregard cultural norms.
- Poverty is not only about lack of income but also entails multiple deprivations.
- Poverty reduction requires integrated and multidimensional strategies.

#### **6.2.2 Manifestations of child poverty in the health domain**

The key findings and conclusions on manifestations of child poverty in the health domain are summarised as follows:

##### **6.2.2.1 Key findings on manifestations of child poverty in the health domain**

- Children ate less than the recommended three meals per day, making them vulnerable to malnutrition.
- Households commonly delayed, skipped or combined meals to cope with food shortages.

- Diets were mainly restricted to sadza and vegetables, reflecting inadequate, unhealthy eating patterns.
- Poor diets complicated the health status of household members with chronic conditions.
- Few households benefitted from the government food aid scheme due to lack of resources and low coverage of such schemes in urban areas.
- BUCST complemented the government food aid scheme by focusing on infants.
- Households recorded low levels of infant and child mortality.
- The low levels of infant and child mortality were partly attributed to the universal roll-out of the government's Prevention of Mother-to-Child HIV Transmission programme and an infant supplementary feeding project implemented by BUCST.

#### **6.2.2.2 Conclusions on manifestations of child poverty in the health domain**

- Poverty deprives children of adequate and healthy diets which undermines human capital formation.
- Food shortages are associated with low dietary diversity.
- Low coverage of the government food aid scheme worsens food insecurity for the poor urban households in Bindura district.
- Supplementary feeding programmes can improve the health outcomes of children living in extreme poverty.

#### **6.2.3 Manifestations of child poverty in the education domain**

The key findings and conclusions on manifestations of child poverty in the education domain are summarised as follows:

##### **6.2.3 Key findings on manifestations of child poverty in the education domain**

- Due to poverty and the exclusionary nature of BEAM, a significant number of eligible children were not attending ECD.
- A sizeable number of children dropped out of both primary and secondary school because of poverty.

- BEAM failed to absorb all children from extremely poor households, accounting for some school dropouts.
- Many children from extremely poor urban households dropped out of school and also did not progress to higher education because of multiple factors such as poor academic performance, lack of school fees, uniforms and shoes, child marriages, pregnancy and child labour.

### **6.2.3.2 Conclusions on manifestations of child poverty in the education domain**

- Poverty-induced low ECD enrolment denies many children from poor backgrounds the opportunity to reverse early childhood adverse experiences and to have a perfect head start for future academic success.
- Poverty and related factors lead to children's exclusion from either primary or secondary education.
- BEAM's low coverage contributes to children's exclusion from access to education.
- Poverty curtails children's opportunities to learn and acquire skills to earn higher incomes and escape poverty.
- The role of education in lifting children out of poverty is undermined by low attendance, achievement, progression and completion across the whole education cycle.

### **6.2.4 Manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain**

The key findings and conclusions on manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain are summarised as follows:

#### **6.2.4.1 Key findings on the manifestations of child poverty in child protection domain**

- Children engaged in different forms of child labour as sole breadwinners or to supplement household income.
- Children were involved in part-time, low paying and even dangerous work as domestic workers, grass cutters, grain porters, commercial sex workers and gold panners.

- Households were aware of the adverse effects of child labour but had no choice in the face of deepening poverty.
- Some children from extremely poor urban households resorted to gambling and stealing to cope with poverty.
- Poverty led some children into abuse of drugs and substances that included marijuana (cannabis), cough syrups, alcohol, illicit brews and glue.
- Abuse of drugs and substances resulted in challenges such as addiction, compromised health and increased chances of risky sexual behaviour.
- Poverty had in some cases led to child marriages and prostitution.

#### **6.2.4.2 Conclusions on the manifestations of child poverty in the child protection domain**

- Poverty forces some children to engage in different forms of labour including hazardous work.
- Some children living in poor households engage in drug and substance abuse as part of poverty coping strategies.
- Some children living in poor urban neighbourhoods resort to criminal activities as a survival strategy.
- Poverty impels some children to be involved in risky sexual behaviour that violates their rights and heightens their vulnerability.

#### **6.2.5 Human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in current responses to child poverty**

The key findings and conclusions on the human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in current responses to child poverty are summarised as follows:

##### **6.2.5.1 Key findings on human assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Generally, human assets were not being used to their full capacity in responses to child poverty.
- Labour was the common human asset used in responses to child poverty.
- Lack of education and employable skills resulted in the majority of participants engaging in low paying labour such as farming, domestic work and street vending.

- Limited employment opportunities and unavailability of start-up capital were central barriers to the use of educational knowledge and skills to reduce child poverty.
- Some heads of households used life experiences, such as living with HIV and breaking previous bad habits, to parent and teach children life skills.
- BUCST relied on community volunteers in Child Protection Committees who offered their labour, life experiences, and educational knowledge and skills in response to child poverty.
- Natural talents in crocheting, farming and hair dressing were used to generate some income to meet households' needs.

#### **6.2.5.2 Conclusions on human assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Urban poor people, including children, provide essential labour in various sectors of the urban economy.
- Lack of formal education results in low human capital development and utilisation.
- Poor health increases poverty through reduced physical capacity to work and earn an income.
- For human assets to reduce child poverty there is a need for comprehensive labour market programmes that encompass labour market needs analysis, skills training, job search and matching, financial support and market linkages.

#### **6.2.5.3 Key findings on social assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Social assets were generally not being used to their full capacity in responses to child poverty.
- Religious groups were the primary social asset used in responses to child poverty.
- Religious groups offered a wide range of assistance which included food, school fees, clothes, teachings on good behaviour, entrepreneurship, spiritual healing, hope and resilience.
- Differences in approaches were obstacles for BUCST when working with some religious groups, particularly in the field of health.

- Few households used assistance from neighbours in responses to child poverty.
- Neighbours' own poverty and lack of concern were key factors in the limited use of help from neighbours.

#### **6.2.5.4 Conclusions on social assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Religious groups are an important form of social assets for extremely poor households as they provide essential tangible and non-tangible benefits.
- Poverty results in low social capital in poor communities as evidenced by the limited reliance on help from neighbours.
- Poverty impedes the use and development of social assets for poverty reduction.

#### **6.2.5.5 Key findings on physical assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Physical assets overall were being underutilised in response to child poverty.
- The schools feeding programme, through providing school fees, school uniforms and food, benefitted children from only a few households.
- Government red tape and the government's education policy were barriers for BUCST to work with schools in the field of adolescent sexual and reproductive health.
- Clinics under the national HIV programme provided free anti-retroviral drugs, nutrition and positive living education to household members living with HIV.
- Children benefitted from clinics through natal care and immunisation against diseases such as cervical cancer.
- Clinics also spearheaded community awareness campaigns in times of disease outbreaks.
- User fees and lack of medicine limited households' use of clinics.
- Universities had never been used in responses to child poverty as most households lacked knowledge on how to use them.
- A few participants wished for universities to assist their children with tutorials to improve their academic performance because they could not afford to pay for extra lessons.

- BUCST was yet to work with local universities in their programming.
- Sporting facilities at the two universities located in Bindura district, namely Bindura University of Science Education and Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University could possibly be used by BUCST for low-cost children's recreation.
- A few households used community centres to attend community meetings and workshops on issues such as income-generating activities.
- BUCST used the local community centre to host meetings and workshops with its service users, community members and stakeholders.
- A few households engaged in petty commodity trading and used markets in this regard.
- BUCST did not use markets in its responses to child poverty.
- Local businesses were not used in responses to child poverty because of factors such as the economic challenges, nepotism, lack of knowledge and concern on the part of the businesses.
- Despite the participants being aware of the effective role of vocational training centres in poverty reduction, they largely did not use these centres in response to child poverty.
- A few members from the households had undergone vocational training but did not use their vocational skills in responses to child poverty because of lack of employment opportunities and lack of support to start microenterprises.
- BUCST was yet to integrate vocational training in its responses to child poverty.

#### **6.2.5.6 Conclusions on physical assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- The presence and proximity of physical assets do not translate into the poor using these assets in responses to poverty.
- For poor people, cost is a significant barrier to accessing basic physical assets, such as clinics for essential services, which undermines their livelihoods and increases child poverty.
- Lack of appreciation of vocational skills training is a barrier to the use of vocational training centres in child poverty reduction.



- Lack of comprehensive labour market programmes limits the role of vocational training centres in child poverty reduction.

#### **6.2.5.7 Key findings on financial assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Financial assets were on the whole not being used to their full capacity in responses to child poverty.
- Formal financial assets namely bank loans, microfinance and cash transfers were rarely used because of factors such as high interest rates, lack of collateral, cumbersome application processes, lack of awareness, and unpredictability.
- Few households with retired or deceased formally employed members received pension in the form of retirement or survivors' benefits from the National Social Security Authority's pension and other benefit schemes.
- Households commonly used informal financial assets namely rentals, ASCrAs and ROSCAs to support income-generating activities.
- Membership in ASCrAs and ROSCAs was voluntary and also depended on whether the member was engaged in some form of income-generating activity that guaranteed the ability to pay subscriptions. This requirement promoted entrepreneurship among the participating households.
- Despite their popularity, informal financial assets had viability challenges in the form of misunderstandings, high default rates due to dishonest members and the harsh economic environment, all of which resulted in failure of members' income-generating ventures.
- Few households depended on remittances which were reported to be inadequate and unpredictable.

#### **6.2.5.8 Conclusions on financial assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Informal financial assets are central to poor people's livelihood activities and child poverty reduction.
- Challenges such as misunderstandings, unpredictability, high default rates, dishonesty and the harsh economic environment limit the role of informal financial assets in child poverty reduction.

- Challenges such as high interest rates, lack of collateral, cumbersome application processes, lack of awareness, and unpredictability adversely affect the role of formal financial assets, namely bank loans, microfinance and cash transfers, in child poverty reduction.
- There is a need to address the challenges associated with formal financial assets with a view to make them pro-poor which will enable the extremely poor households to access financial capital to engage in meaningful microenterprises and reduce child poverty.

#### **6.2.5.9 Key findings on natural assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Natural assets were generally not being used to their full capacity in responses to child poverty.
- Farming land was the only asset that was meaningfully used by the majority of households and BUCST in responses to child poverty.
- Most households lacked security of tenure because they used unoccupied municipal land for farming.
- The urban nature of the research site, private ownership and strict enforcement of environmental laws restricted the use of natural assets such as forests and water bodies by the households in responses to child poverty.
- BUCST used water as a natural resource to irrigate crops under a food security project which benefitted its service users.

#### **6.2.5.10 Conclusions on natural assets being used in responses to child poverty**

- Urban farming is a key livelihood activity for poor urban households.
- Lack of security of tenure on farming land is a threat to the role of urban farming in child poverty reduction.
- Poor urban households in Bindura district are less reliant on natural assets because of the urban nature of the research site, private ownership and enforcement of environmental laws.

## **6.2.6 Applying the five steps of the ABCD strategy to combine assets for child poverty reduction**

The key findings and conclusions on applying the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993), which are (1) mapping assets; (2) connecting mapped assets; (3) mobilising the mapped assets for economic development; (4) developing a community vision and plan; and (5) leveraging outside resources to support locally driven development, in order to combine assets for child poverty reduction are summarised as follows:

### **6.2.6.1 Key findings on applying the five steps of ABCD strategy to combine assets for child poverty reduction**

- BUCST already conducted limited asset mapping when designing family development plans with its service users.
- Assets in Bindura district were scattered across the households and community and there was no coordinated use of the assets in responses to child poverty.
- There was limited use of some assets to promote economic development and reduce child poverty.
- BUCST as a people's organisation already had some ideas on a child-centred vision and plan for Bindura district, but what was missing was the consensus of other community stakeholders such as community leaders, businesspeople, as well as formal and informal organisations.
- BUCST in its interventions had mobilised external support to assist its service users, which indicates that resources in Bindura district alone were insufficient to reduce child poverty.

### **6.2.6.2 Conclusions on applying the five steps of ABCD strategy to combine assets for child poverty reduction**

- The asset mapping step is applicable to identify the range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets that can be combined to reduce child poverty.

- The second step of connecting mapped assets is indispensable to combine the range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets that are dotted across the households and community.
- For child poverty reduction in Bindura district, it is imperative that the mapped and connected assets promote local economic development. The step of mobilising assets for economic development is important in this regard.
- A broad-based child-centred community development vision and plan is required to serve as the overarching guide for child poverty reduction in Bindura district. The fourth step of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) is critical in developing such a vision and plan.
- Given that the local resources in Bindura district are limited to reduce child poverty using ABCD, there is a need to mobilise external resources after mapping, connecting, and mobilising the local resources as enunciated by the fifth step of ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

### **6.3 Goal and objectives of the study**

The goal of the study, namely to explore and describe how ABCD as an approach can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe was accomplished through the following objectives:

#### **Objective 1**

- To conceptualise child poverty and poverty reduction in the theoretical frameworks of the SLA and asset-building.

The first objective of the study was addressed from a literature perspective in chapter two (see sub-section 2.2.2), where the researcher conceptualised child poverty and poverty reduction premised on the interconnected concepts of vulnerability context, livelihood assets, structures and processes, asset building strategies, livelihood outcomes and the principles of sustainable livelihoods, all of which assisted the researcher in understanding child poverty and poverty reduction. Furthermore, in chapter three, sub-section 3.6, the researcher explored how the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) can be applied to combine assets for child poverty reduction. The findings in chapter five and the key findings and conclusions in chapter

six were explored using concepts from the SLA and asset-building theoretical frameworks.

### **Objective 2**

- To explore and describe how child poverty manifests in Bindura district

Objective two was achieved from a literature standpoint in chapter three and through the empirical findings presented in chapter five. The empirical findings in chapter five on the manifestations in the health (see theme 2), education (see theme 3) and child protection (see theme 4) domains validated the literature review in chapter two (see sub-section 2.5) that focused on the manifestations of child poverty in the health, education and child protection domains.

### **Objective 3**

- To explore and define which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in current responses to child poverty in the district.

Objective three was attained first from a theoretical perspective in chapter two (see sub-section 2.2.2.2) which explored and defined human, social, physical, financial and natural assets and how they can be used to reduce child poverty. In chapter five the researcher presented, discussed and analysed the empirical findings on the human, social, physical, financial and natural assets (see sub-themes 5.1 to 5.5) being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district.

### **Objective 4**

- To explore and describe the extent to which the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) can be applied to child poverty reduction in the district.

This objective was initially addressed from a literature perspective in chapter three (see sub-section 3.6) which explored the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) and described how they could be applied to combine a range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets to reduce child poverty. In chapter five (see theme 6) the researcher presented, discussed and analysed the empirical

findings on how the five steps of the ABCD strategy (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) could be applied to child poverty reduction in the Bindura district.

### **Objective 5**

- To explore and describe which human, social, physical, financial and natural assets can be combined for child poverty reduction in the district.

This objective was addressed in chapter five (see theme 5) in the context of the presentation, discussion and analysis of the empirical findings on the human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in current responses to child poverty in Bindura district. The empirical findings identified the different forms of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets being used in current responses to child poverty, as well as the diverse human, social, physical, financial and natural assets that are being underutilised or not used and which can be combined to reduce child poverty in the district.

### **Objective 6**

- To propose guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district.

The researcher realised objective six by proposing guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district (see sub-section 6.4 below). The guidelines were informed by literature (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.6) and the study's key findings and conclusions (see sub-section 6.2 above).

## **6.4 Guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district**

The study findings revealed that the multidimensional and overlapping manifestations of child poverty are rooted in the fact that a limited range of human, social, physical, financial and natural assets are being used in current responses to child poverty. From the theoretical frameworks of the study (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.2) it is clearly argued that child poverty can originate from limited or lack of assets which in turn impact sustainable livelihoods and increase vulnerability (Concern Worldwide, 2010:3; Singh & Faleiro, 2013:7). To reduce child poverty in Bindura district, clearly there is a

need to combine a wide range of assets under the auspices of the five-step ABCD strategy. As can be noted from the theoretical frameworks, Mathie and Cunningham (2005:180) assert that ABCD operationalises SLA through mobilisation of a range of assets to achieve poverty reduction. However, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) caution that the five steps of the strategy do not constitute a complete blueprint for an ABCD approach. Thus, the intended outcome of the study was to propose guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district. The six core principles of the SLA, namely people-centred, holistic and dynamic, build on people's strengths, link macro and micro levels and sustainability (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.6 for detailed discussion), were blended in the proposed guidelines for an ABCD approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district.

#### **6.4.1 People-centred and active community participation**

The SLA as noted by DFID (1999b:para.19) places people at the centre of development which practically means that poor people must fully participate in strategies that seek to reduce or eliminate their poverty. The participation of people in the process of community development, as Cox and Pawar (2013:141) note, promotes human capabilities and empowerment, especially when people are encouraged to take the lead in identifying their needs, propose strategies to address those needs, and participate in the subsequent action to operationalise the strategies. Todaro and Smith (2015:580) assert that genuine participation is the ultimate end of development.

#### **6.4.2 Develop partnerships**

One of the central ideas of the holistic principle of SLA is recognising that the cooperation of multiple actors, such as the private sector, government ministries, and CBOs, is necessary to promote sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999b:para.24). UNICEF (2019b:53) posits that the complex problem of urban child poverty, both at global and country levels, requires integrated and multidimensional solutions under which a wide spectrum of stakeholders works in partnership and pool their diverse strengths. In urban areas, poverty reduction interventions that foster partnerships between the poor, including children and young people, and all levels of government, yield better results (UNICEF, 2012:9).

### **6.4.3 Implement dynamic development strategies**

Poverty-focused development strategies, as Ashley and Carney (1999:7) posit, must be dynamic which means they must be long term and flexible to respond to the continuously changing circumstances of poor people. The dynamic principle also involves recognising that external shocks impinge on the livelihood strategies of poor people (DFID, 1999b:para.25). To implement dynamic development strategies and reduce poverty, as DFID (1999b:para.25) further states, there is a need for ongoing analysis of the external shocks with a view to support positive changes and mitigate the negative effects on the livelihood strategies.

### **6.4.4 Build on people's strengths**

The principle of building on people's strengths emphasises the importance of first analysing the strengths rather than the needs of the poor and also recognises every person's potential (DFID, 1999b:para.26). In poverty reduction discourse, the initial focus on strengths, as Mathie and Peters (2014:406) note, marks a major shift from the conventional starting point of needs, problems and deficits. From the strengths perspective, Saleebey (2006:16) asserts that "every individual, group, family, and community has strengths and every environment is full of resources." Thus, to reduce child poverty there is need to harness the strengths and resources at various levels of society.

### **6.4.5 Link macro and micro development strategies**

Ashley and Carney (1999:7) posit that poverty is a complex challenge which can be overcome by working at multiple levels. A gap usually exists between development activities as DFID (1999b:para.27) notes that an activity's focus is usually either at the macro or micro level. Cox and Pawar (2013:267) state that ABCD is a micro-level development strategy. The SLA attempts to link the macro and micro levels by ensuring that micro-level activities inform the development of policy at macro level (DFID, 1999b:para.27). In the same vein, UNICEF (2016a:99) asserts that in the context of promoting inclusive development, the traditional top-down approach led by government and international agencies is giving way to the macro-micro approach which is both horizontal and cross-sectoral. This approach promotes increased cooperation,



coordination and collaboration between government and international agencies and grassroots structures and communities (UNICEF, 2016a:99), which connects macro and micro development strategies.

#### **6.4.6 Promote sustainable development strategies**

The idea of sustainability as DFID (1999b:para.28) states is important to SLA. Cox and Pawar (2013:48) highlight that sustainability has become central in development thinking. Sustainability ensures long-lasting progress in poverty reduction (Ashley & Carney, 1999:46). To promote sustainable development, DFID (1999b:para.28) identifies four dimensions of sustainability, which are environmental, economic, social and institutional sustainability.

In summary, the four dimensions stress the importance of ensuring that development strategies preserve the natural resources base for future generations, promote and sustain economic welfare, minimise social exclusion, and that the structures and processes established to promote development continue to serve their function in the long term (DFID, 1999b:para.28).

#### **6.5 Recommendations**

The study findings reveal that social protection schemes located within the needs-based approach in which the social worker is central, have to a great extent failed to reduce child poverty as evidenced by the multidimensional and overlapping manifestations of child poverty. The asset-based approach embedded in the principles of SLA is proposed as the alternative approach that can reduce child poverty. Findings indicated that CBOs are better positioned to spearhead the ABCD strategy and that BUCST is a suitable CBO to apply the five-step ABCD strategy for effective child poverty reduction because it was established by the residents of the urban wards in Bindura district to meet their needs, promote their interests and fulfil their aspirations (see sub-theme 6.1). Against this background, the researcher makes the following recommendations for the implementation of the proposed guidelines by BUCST. The researcher also makes recommendations for social policy, social work education and practice, and for future research.

### **6.5.1 Recommendations for the implementation of the proposed guidelines by BUCST**

With regard to the implementation of the proposed guidelines, the researcher recommends that BUCST:

- ✓ Promote the active participation of members of the extremely poor urban households in Bindura district in identifying their needs in the context of reducing child poverty, suggesting strategies to address those needs, and implementing the strategies. This will enable the poor people in Bindura district to exercise their agency with a view to influence and fully benefit from the outcomes of development (Hall & Midgley, 2004:101; Scoones, 2015:54), as advocated by the people-centred principle of SLA (DFID, 1999b:para.19).
- ✓ Partner with a broad range of stakeholders such as government ministries and departments, local authorities, community leaders, businesspeople, as well as formal and informal organisations within and outside the district. This recommendation is grounded in the holistic principle of SLA which as DFID (1999b:para.24) elucidates is premised on the notion that poverty reduction is a complex phenomenon which requires combined efforts of multiple actors.
- ✓ Develop and implement long-term child poverty reduction strategies and continuously adapt the strategies in response to changes, for instance in the social, natural and economic environments. Such dynamism as Carney (1998:15) posits can result in sustainable child poverty reduction as flexible livelihood strategies are pursued.
- ✓ Identify and combine the different strengths and resources at individual, group, family and community levels within the child poverty reduction strategies. This approach will empower the poor people and Bindura district as a community to reduce child poverty as they realise through combined effort their worth and competencies to transform their situation (Homan, 2011:12). Empowerment according to Zastrow (2014:52), spans micro, mezzo and macro levels such as individuals, families, groups and communities.
- ✓ Work closely with the government which provides an opportunity for the extremely poor urban people in the district to influence policy development at macro-level. This integrated approach can redirect government resources and

services towards supporting community initiatives (Homan, 2011:367). It can also foster robust exchange of resources, technologies and knowledge between poor communities and technocrats (UNICEF, 2016a:99), which in the case of Bindura district will create the necessary synergistic partnership for sustainable solutions to common challenges such as child poverty.

- ✓ Design and implement child poverty reduction strategies that uphold the four core dimensions of sustainability namely, environmental, economic, social, and institutional sustainability. Such child poverty reduction strategies are rooted in sustainable livelihoods which are resilient and self-sustaining (DFID, 1999b:para.28).

### **6.5.2 Recommendations for social policy, social work education and practice**

The researcher makes the following recommendations for social policy, social work education and practice:

- ✓ Since social protection schemes are an important component of current responses to child poverty, the Department of Social Welfare in the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare should lead the process of making the National Social Protection Framework child-sensitive by embedding aspects of asset-based approaches and child poverty reduction into the framework. This can contribute towards the shift from the needs-based approach to an asset-based approach in child social protection at policy level since the Department of Social Welfare adopted a developmental social welfare approach. Such a shift as Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002:5) posit will broaden the definition of poverty by including additional dimensions such as lack of assets, vulnerability and well-being. Such a multivariate approach to child poverty indicates the connection between poverty and livelihoods assets which Moser (2008:51) notes is central to understanding how people can convert assets into positive livelihood outcomes such as sustainable child poverty reduction.
- ✓ The Department of Social Welfare should incorporate concepts from the asset-based approach to child poverty reduction into the next phase of the NAP for OVC.

- ✓ The Council of Social Workers and the National Association of Social Workers in Zimbabwe should encourage social workers to focus on child poverty reduction. Child poverty reduction is one of the targets of the first of the 17 SDGs (UNICEF, 2019a) which Zimbabwe agreed to as part of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In addition, the Council of Social Workers and National Association of Social Workers should promote continuous professional development in asset-based approaches to child poverty reduction through training workshops.
- ✓ Academic institutions involved in training of social workers in Zimbabwe should incorporate developmental social work strategies such as ABCD into their research, curriculum and integrate them into theory of fields of practice such as child welfare. This approach will enable social workers to develop skills to reduce poverty and promote well-being of children.
- ✓ Academic institutions involved in training of social workers as part of their community engagement should partner CBOs such as BUCST that are engaged in efforts linked to child poverty reduction using components of ABCD. Furthermore, the academic institutions should encourage their students to seek fieldwork placements with such organisations in order to put into practice theoretical knowledge on ABCD and child poverty reduction.
- ✓ Social workers employed by the Department of Social Welfare in Bindura district need to consider an integrated ABCD and child welfare practice model under which they can simultaneously promote community development, reduce poverty and improve the well-being of children. Similar models such as the integrated developmental model for poverty reduction (Lombard et al., 2013) and Isibindi model (Thurman et al., 2009) have emerged in South Africa and have positively contributed toward child poverty reduction.

### **1.1.1 Recommendations for future research**

Based on the findings, the researcher makes the following recommendation for further research:

- ✓ A post-doctoral study that focuses on developing an asset-based community development and child poverty reduction model underpinned by SLA and

asset-building theoretical frameworks which BUCST pilots in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

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## Appendix 1: Permission letter from BUCST

### BINDURA URBAN COMMUNITY SUPPORT TRUST

Bindura Urban Community Support Trust  
C/O SOS Social Centre  
Aerodrome  
Bindura

Phone: 0773 315 243  
Email: bucst@yahoo.com .

To : Mr. Tawanda Masuka  
3117 Aerodrome  
Bindura  
Zimbabwe

Date : 20/02/2017

#### **RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH STUDY**

This letter serves to inform you that you have been granted permission by Bindura Urban Community Support Trust (BUCST) to conduct a collaborative Research on Asset Based Community Development & Child Poverty Reduction in Bindura District.


Bindura Urban Community Support Trust is a Community Based Organization that was registered by the Registrar of Deeds in October 2010, Deed Number 00859 and is currently working with Orphans and Vulnerable Children and their care-givers in Bindura District.

Therefore, permission has been granted to you to conduct group discussions with BUCST participants and staff who are willing to volunteer to give information at their own will. You have also been granted permission to access BUCST reports for the past 4 years, as well as to use our premises to conduct these discussions.

The information gathered shall be used for Academic purposes, conference presentations and publications in accredited journals.

Should further information be required regarding our organization please feel to contact us on the above contact details.

Yours Sincerely



Isaac Chirere  
BUCST Co-ordinator

## Appendix 2: Survey questionnaire for heads of households

	Questionnaire ID Number																																									
<p><b>QUESTIONNAIRE:</b>  <b>ASSET-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CHILD POVERTY REDUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF BINDURA DISTRICT, ZIMBABWE</b></p> <p>Dear research participant,</p> <p>Please note that this questionnaire consists of a variety of questions that aim to collect information about you as the head of the household and the characteristics of your household with special focus on children. In addition, there are also questions that focus on identifying the different resources you are currently using to meet the needs of your children. This will also help to identify additional resources that you can use to reduce child poverty both at household and community levels. To collect this information, I will read every question to you and will put a tick in the boxes that match your answers.</p> <p>Household in this research study refers to people who live under one roof and eat from the same pot.</p>																																										
<p><b>SECTION A: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE</b></p> <p>1. You live in ward number?</p> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; margin-right: 20px;"> <tr><td>One</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>Two</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Three</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Four</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>Five</td><td>5</td></tr> </table> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table;"> <tr><td>Six</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>Seven</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>Eight</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>Nine</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td>Ten</td><td>10</td></tr> </table> <p>2. How long have you lived in this ward? _____ years</p> <p>3. Sex</p> <table style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Female</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="margin: 0 20px;"> </td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Male</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="margin: 0 20px;"> </td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Other (Specify)</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 50px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; text-align: center;">3</td> </tr> </table> <p>4. How old are you? _____ years.</p> <p>5. What is your current marital status?</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr><td>Single</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>Separated</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Living together</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Married</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>Divorced</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>Widowed</td><td>6</td></tr> </table>	One	1	Two	2	Three	3	Four	4	Five	5	Six	6	Seven	7	Eight	8	Nine	9	Ten	10	Female	1		Male	2		Other (Specify)		3	Single	1	Separated	2	Living together	3	Married	4	Divorced	5	Widowed	6	<p><b>For office use</b></p> <p>A1 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A2 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A3 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A4 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A5 <input type="checkbox"/></p>
One	1																																									
Two	2																																									
Three	3																																									
Four	4																																									
Five	5																																									
Six	6																																									
Seven	7																																									
Eight	8																																									
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Ten	10																																									
Female	1		Male	2		Other (Specify)		3																																		
Single	1																																									
Separated	2																																									
Living together	3																																									
Married	4																																									
Divorced	5																																									
Widowed	6																																									



6. What is the highest level of education you completed?

No schooling	1
Primary	2
Secondary	3
Tertiary	4
Vocational	5
Other (Please specify)	6

A6

7. What is your source(s) of income? (Tick all applicable)

a. Salary/wages/earnings	1
b. Cash crop farming e.g. tobacco	2
c. Food crop farming e.g. maize	3
d. Vegetable production	4
e. Livestock production e.g. goats , cattle	5
f. Poultry production	6
g. Fishing	7
h. Gold mining/panning	8
i. Cross-border trading	9
j. Petty trading	10
k. Arts and crafts e.g. weaving, pottery	11
l. Rentals	12
m. Remittances	13
n. Pension	14
o. Government cash transfers	15
p. Other (Please specify)	16

- A7a
- A7b
- A7c
- A7d
- A7e
- A7f
- A7g
- A7h
- A7i
- A7j
- A7k
- A7l
- A7m
- A7n
- A7o
- A7p

8. What is your income (US\$) per month?

<200	1
200-400	2
401-600	3
601-800	4
>800	5

A8

**SECTION B: HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS**

1. How much money (US\$) do you spend monthly on **non-food** basic items or services such as rentals, water, education, health?

<100	1
100-200	2
201-300	3
301-400	4
>400	5

B1

2. How much income (US\$) do you spend monthly on food items?

<100	1
100-200	2
201-300	3
301-400	4
>400	5

B2

3. How many meals do you usually eat as a household per day?

One	1	Two	2	Three	3	Other (Specify)	4
-----	---	-----	---	-------	---	-----------------	---

B3

4. What type of food do you usually eat during the following times of the day? (Tick all applicable)

Type of food	1. Morning	2. Afternoon	3. Evening	4. Other
a. Bread	1	1	1	1
b. Tubers e.g. potatoes	2	2	2	2
c. Pulses e.g. beans	3	3	3	3
d. Eggs	4	4	4	4
e. Fruits	5	5	5	5
f. Milk	6	6	6	6
g. Meat	7	7	7	7
h. Sugar	8	8	8	8
i. Oils e.g. <i>Dovi</i> , margarine	9	9	9	9
j. Vegetables	10	10	10	10
k. Cereals e.g. rice, maize	11	11	11	11
l. Other (Please specify)	12	12	12	12

	1	2	3	4
B4a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4c	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4d	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4e	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4f	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4g	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4h	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4i	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4j	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4k	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4l	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. What is your household tenure status?

Tenant/lodger	1
Employer-owned	2
Family-owned	3
Outright owner	4
Other (Please specify)	5

B5

6. How many persons live at this house? \_\_\_\_\_

B6

7. How many rooms are in the house? \_\_\_\_\_

B7

8. How many rooms are being rented out? \_\_\_\_\_

B8

9. How many rooms are you using as a household? \_\_\_\_\_

B9

10. How many rooms do you use for sleeping? \_\_\_\_\_

B10

11. What type of floor is in this house?

Sand	1
Wood	2
Cement	3
Tiles	4
Other (Please specify)	5

B11

12. What type of sanitation facilities does your household use?

Bush	1
Pit latrine	2
Blair toilet	3
Flush	4
Other (Please specify)	5

B12

13. How many persons use the sanitation facilities? \_\_\_\_\_

B13

14. What is the **primary** source of clean water for your household?

Unprotected well	1
Protected well	2
Borehole	3
Communal piped	4
Piped into house	5
Other (Please specify)	6

B14

15. Approximately, how much time in minutes is spent to and from the water source?

1-5	1
6-10	2
11-15	3
16-20	4
21-25	5
>25	6

B15

16. Which of the following do you own? (Tick all applicable)

a. Radio	1
b. Television	2
c. Cellphone	3
d. Refrigerator	4
e. Electric stove	5
f. Bicycle	6
g. Motorcycle	7
h. Car	8

B16a

B16b

B16c

B16d

B16e

B16f

B16g

B16h

**SECTION C: HOUSEHOLD CHILDREN PROFILE**

Report on 6 or less children start with youngest		Children in household					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Sex of the child						
	a. Female	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Male	2	2	2	2	2	2
2.	What is the age of the child						
	a. < 1 year	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. 1-5 years	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. 6-10 years	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. 11-17 years	4	4	4	4	4	4
3.	Child at the age of attending ECD?						
	a. Attending	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Not attending	2	2	2	2	2	2
4.	If not attending, what is the reason(s)?						
	a. Long distance	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Failed to secure place	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Lack of fees	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. See no value	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Other (Please specify)	5	5	5	5	5	5
5.	What is the school attendance status if child is of school going age ?						
	a. Never attended	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Left school	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Attending: Primary (Grade 1-2)	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Primary (Grade 3-5)	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Primary (Grade 6-7)	5	5	5	5	5	5
	f. Secondary (Form 1-2)	6	6	6	6	6	6
	g. Secondary (Form 3-4)	7	7	7	7	7	7
	h. Secondary (Form 5-6)	8	8	8	8	8	8
6.	If left school , what was the reason(s)?						
	a. Lack of school fees	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Lack of examinations fees	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Poor performance	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Lack of interest in school	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Work for food or money	5	5	5	5	5	5
	f. Poor health	6	6	6	6	6	6
	g. Pregnancy	7	7	7	7	7	7
	h. Marriage	8	8	8	8	8	8
	i. Other (Please specify)	9	9	9	9	9	9

**C1**

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

**C2**

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

**C3**

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

**C4**

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

**C5**

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

**C6**

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.
- f.
- g.
- h.
- i.

	Report on 6 or less children start with youngest	Children in household					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Do you have child(ren) involved in any of the following:						
	a. Working to supplement household income	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Drinking harmful brews e.g. alcohol, <i>Kranko</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Smoking harmful substances e.g. cannabis	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Violent behaviour	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Gangsterism	5	5	5	5	5	5
	f. Selling his/her body to get food or money	6	6	6	6	6	6
	g. Criminal activities e.g. stealing, selling drugs	7	7	7	7	7	7
	h. Other (Please specify)	8	8	8	8	8	8

8. As a household, have you in the last five years had a child who died?  
 Yes  1       No  2

9. If yes, how many below one year of age? \_\_\_\_\_

10. If yes, how many between one and five years of age? \_\_\_\_\_

11. What was the cause(s) of death? (Report on 4 or less child deaths start with the latest)

Cause	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
a. Don't know	1	1	1	1
b. Malnutrition	2	2	2	2
c. Diarrhea	3	3	3	3
d. Lack of medical attention	4	4	4	4
e. Chronic illness	5	5	5	5
f. Witchcraft	6	6	6	6
g. Other (Please specify)	7	7	7	7

C7						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
a						
b						
c						
d						
e						
f						
g						
h						

C8

C9

C10

C11				
	1	2	3	4
a				
b				
c				
d				
e				
f				
g				

**SECTION D: ASSETS BEING USED IN CURRENT RESPONSES TO CHILD POVERTY**

This section seeks to collect information on how you and your household members are currently using personal capabilities, using and engaging with your community support networks, local institutions, available financial services and natural resources to meet the material and emotional needs of the household's children.

1. How often do you and/or your household members use the following personal capabilities to meet the material and emotional needs of the household's children?

Capabilities	Always	Frequently	Sometime	Never
a. Knowledge and skills from education (Head of household)	1	2	3	4
b. Knowledge and skills from education (Other household members)	1	2	3	4
c. Life experience/wisdom (Head of household)	1	2	3	4
d. Life experience/wisdom (Other household members)	1	2	3	4
e. Natural talent(s) (Head of household)	1	2	3	4
f. Natural talent(s) (Other household members)	1	2	3	4
g. Labour (Head of household)	1	2	3	4
h. Labour (Other household members)	1	2	3	4

D1a

D1b

D1c

D1d

D1e

D1f

D1g

D1h

2 How often do you and/or your household members use the following local networks of care and support to meet the material and emotional needs of the household's children?

Networks	Always	Frequently	Sometime	Never
a. Kinship	1	2	3	4
b. Friends	1	2	3	4
c. Neighbours	1	2	3	4
d. Religious groups	1	2	3	4
e. Local associations	1	2	3	4

D2a

D2b

D2c

D2d

D2e

3. How often do you and/or your household members use or engage the following local institutions to meet the material and emotional needs of the household's children?

Local institutions	Always	Frequently	Sometime	Never
a. Schools e.g. feeding schemes	1	2	3	4
b. Universities e.g. tutors	1	2	3	4
c. Vocational training centres e.g. skills training	1	2	3	4
d. Community centres e.g. local associations meetings	1	2	3	4
e. Churches e.g. spiritual help	1	2	3	4
f. Clinics e.g. healthy living advice	1	2	3	4
g. Businesses e.g. supplying goods and services	1	2	3	4
h. Markets e.g. selling wares	1	2	3	4

- D3a
- D3b
- D3c
- D3d
- D3e
- D3f
- D3g
- D3h

4. Which of the following financial services do you know of?

Financial services	Yes	No
a. Bank loans	1	2
b. Microfinance	1	2
c. Accumulated Savings and Credit Associations (ASCrAs- <i>Mukando</i> )	1	2
d. Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs- <i>MaRound</i> )	1	2
e. Remittances	1	2
f. Rentals	1	2
g. Pensions	1	2
h. Government cash transfers	1	2

- D4a
- D4b
- D4c
- D4d
- D4e
- D4f
- D4g
- D4h

5. How often do you and/or your household members use the financial services you know of to meet the material and emotional needs of the household's children?

Financial services	Always	Frequently	Sometime	Never
a. Bank loans	1	2	3	4
b. Microfinance	1	2	3	4
c. ASCrAs	1	2	3	4
d. ROSCAs	1	2	3	4
e. Remittances	1	2	3	4
f. Rentals	1	2	3	4
g. Pensions	1	2	3	4
h. Government cash transfers	1	2	3	4

- D5a
- D5b
- D5c
- D5d
- D5e
- D5f
- D5g
- D5h

6. How often do you and/or your household members use the following natural resources to meet the material and emotional needs of the household's children?

Resource	Always	Frequently	Sometime	Never
a. Land e.g. vegetable gardening, crop production	1	2	3	4
b. Land mineral extraction e.g. gold panning	1	2	3	4
c. Forests e.g. gathering wood, wild fruits, edible insects	1	2	3	4
d. Rivers/dams e.g. fishing	1	2	3	4

D6a

D6b

D6c

D6d

Thank you for your valuable time.



### Appendix 3: Survey questionnaire for heads of households (Shona)

	Questionnaire ID Number																																						
<p><b>MIBVUNZO YETSVAGURUDZO:</b>  <b>KUBUDIRIRA KWENHARAUNDA PACHISHANDISWA ZVIWANIKWA NEKUDEREDZWA KWEHUROMBO HUNOSHUNGURUDZA VANA: MUDUNHU REBINDURA, ZIMBABWE</b></p>																																							
<p>Wadiwa wandiririkubatana navo mutsvagurudzo ino,</p> <p>Gwaro rino rinemibvunzo yakasiyana siyana irikutsvaga ruzivo pamusoro penyupako semukuru weimba ino pamwe nemamiriro akaita mhuri yenyu/yako ndichinyanyotarisa vana. Mugwaro rino zvakare mune mimwe mibvudzo yakanangana nekuda kuziva pamusoro pezviwanikwa zvamurikushandisa kuchengeta vana vemumhuri menyumako. Mibvunzo iyi ndinovimba ichatibatsira kudonongodza zvimwe zviwanikwa zvamungangoshandise kuderedza hurombo hunokanganisa vana mumhuri yenyu nemunharaunda ino. Kuti ndikwanise kuwana ruzivo urwu kubva kwamuri/kwauri, ndichabvunza mubvunzo mumwe nemumwe uye mhinduro dzandakagadzira kare imi/iwe mondiudza/wondiudza mhinduro inoenderana nemi/newe ndokwenya pagwaro sekupindura kwenyu/kwako.</p> <p>Mutsvagurudzo ino irikunzi mhuri vanhu vanogara muimba imwe uye vachidya kubva mupoto imwe.</p>																																							
<p><b>NDIMA YEKUTANGA A: RUZIVO PAMUSORO WEMUKURU WEMBA</b></p> <p>1. Munogara muwadhi ani?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td>Poshi</td><td>1</td> <td>Nhanhatu</td><td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Piri</td><td>2</td> <td>Nomwe</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tatu</td><td>3</td> <td>Sere</td><td>8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ina</td><td>4</td> <td>Pfumbawe</td><td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Shanu</td><td>5</td> <td>Gumi</td><td>10</td> </tr> </table> <p>2. Magara muwadi ino kwenguva yakareba sei? _____ makore.</p> <p>3. Muri mhunhui?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td>Mukadzi</td><td>1</td> <td>Murume</td><td>2</td> <td>Zvimwe (Tsanangurai)</td><td>3</td> </tr> </table> <p>4. Mune makore mangani ekuberekwa? _____.</p> <p>5. Titsanangurirei pamusoro pekuroora/kana kuroorwa.</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td>Handisati</td><td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Takasiyana</td><td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ndinewandirigugarisanawo hangu naye</td><td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ndakaroorwa/Ndakaroorwa</td><td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Takarambana</td><td>5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ndakafirwa</td><td>6</td> </tr> </table>	Poshi	1	Nhanhatu	6	Piri	2	Nomwe	7	Tatu	3	Sere	8	Ina	4	Pfumbawe	9	Shanu	5	Gumi	10	Mukadzi	1	Murume	2	Zvimwe (Tsanangurai)	3	Handisati	1	Takasiyana	2	Ndinewandirigugarisanawo hangu naye	3	Ndakaroorwa/Ndakaroorwa	4	Takarambana	5	Ndakafirwa	6	<p><b>For office use</b></p> <p>A1 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A2 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A3 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A4 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>A5 <input type="checkbox"/></p>
Poshi	1	Nhanhatu	6																																				
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Takasiyana	2																																						
Ndinewandirigugarisanawo hangu naye	3																																						
Ndakaroorwa/Ndakaroorwa	4																																						
Takarambana	5																																						
Ndakafirwa	6																																						

6. Makasvika gwaro ripi pakudzidza kwenyu?

Handina kuenda kuchikoro	1
Ndakaperera kuPrimari	2
Ndakasvika kuSekondari	3
Ndakasvika kukoregi/kuunivesiti	4
Ndakadzidza basa remaoko	5
Zvimwewo zvakadzidzwa (Tsanangurai)	6

A6

7. Ndedzipi nzira dzamurikushandisa kuwana mari semhuri. (Kwenya zvose zvakakodzera)

a. Muhoro kubasa kwandinoshanda	1
b. Kurima zvokutengesa zvakaita sefodya/donje	2
c. Kurima mbesa dzekudya dzakaita sechibage	3
d. Kurima miriwo nokutengesa	4
e. Kupfuya mombe/mbudzi zvokutengesa	5
f. Kupfuya huku dzekutengesa	6
g. Kuredza hove nekudzitengesa	7
h. Kuchera kana kuonga goridhe	8
i. Kutengesa zvinobva kudzimwe nyika	9
j. Kutengesa tunhu tudiki	10
k. Kushandisa maoko kugadzira zvirukwa, zviumbwa nezvivezwa	11
l. Mari inobhadarwa nemaroja	12
m. Mari inotumirwa nevemumhuri	13
n. Kubva kumudyandigere	14
o. Kupiwa rubatsiro rwemari nehurumende	15
p. Dzimwewo nzira (Tsanangurai)	16

A7a   
 A7b   
 A7c   
 A7d   
 A7e   
 A7f   
 A7g   
 A7h   
 A7i   
 A7j   
 A7k   
 A7l   
 A7m   
 A7n   
 A7o   
 A7p

8. Munowana marii pamwedzi (US\$) ?

<200	1
200-400	2
401-600	3
601-800	4
>800	5

A8

**CHIKAMU CHEPIRI B: MAMIRIRIWO EMHURI**

1. Munoshandisa marii semhuri pamwedzi (US\$) kutenga zvinhu zvisiri chikafu zvakaita se marendi, mvura, chikoro, kurapwa?

<100	1
100-200	2
201-300	3
301-400	4
>400	5

B1

2. Munoshandisa marii semhuri pamwedzi (US\$) kutenga chikafu ?

<100	1
100-200	2
201-300	3
301-400	4
>400	5

B2

3. Semhuri munodya kangani pazuva?

Kamwe	1	Kaviri	2	Katatu	3	Dzimwe (Tsanangurai)	4
-------	---	--------	---	--------	---	----------------------	---

B3

4. Munowanazodya mhando ipi/dzipi dzechikafu panguva dzezuya dzinoti mangwanani, masikati, manheru kana dzimwewo nguva? (Kwenya zvose zvakakodzera).

Mhando yechikafu	1. Mangwanani	2. Masikati	3. Manheru	4. Dzimwe
a. Chingwa	1	1	1	1
b. Mbatatisi, mbambaira	2	2	2	2
c. Nyemba. bhinzi, nyimo	3	3	3	3
d. Mazai	4	4	4	4
e. Michero	5	5	5	5
f. Mukaka	6	6	6	6
g. Nyama	7	7	7	7
h. Tsvigiri	8	8	8	8
i. Dovi, majarini	9	9	9	9
j. Miriwo	10	10	10	10
k. Sadza, mupunga	11	11	11	11
l. Chimwe (Tsanangurai)	12	12	12	12

	1	2	3	4
B4a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4c	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4d	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4e	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4f	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4g	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4h	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4i	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4j	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4k	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4l	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Semhuri munogara pamba pano se?

Maroja	1
Imba yebasa	2
Imba yemhuri	3
Muridzi wemba	4
Zvimwewo (Tsanangurai)	5

B5

6. Pamba pano munogara muri vangani? \_\_\_\_\_

B6

7. Imba ino ine mipanda/ makamuri mangani? \_\_\_\_\_

B7

8. Mipanda mingani ine maroja? \_\_\_\_\_

B8

9. Semhuri murikushandisa mipanda mingani? \_\_\_\_\_

B9

10. Semhuri munoshandisa mipanda mingani sedzimba dzekurara? \_\_\_\_\_

B10

11. Ko imba yenyu inepasi pakagadzirwa nechii?

Neivhu	1
Nemapuranga	2
Nesamende	3
Nematiiri	4
Nezvimwewo (Tsanangurai)	5

B11

12. Semhuri munoshandisa nzvimbo ipi yekuzvibatsira pane dzinotevera?

Musango	1
Chimbuzi chegomba	2
Chimbuzi chegomba chakavakirwa	3
Chimbuzi chinoshandisa mvura	4
Zvimwewo (Tsanangurai)	5

B12

13. Vanhu vangani vanoshandisa nzvimbo yekuzvibatsira iyi? \_\_\_\_\_

B13

14. Semhuri mvura yekunwa munoiwana kubva pai?

Mutsime rakashama	1
Tsime rakavakirwa	2
Muchibhorani	3
Papombi inoshandiswa nevazhinji	4
Papombi iri mumba	5
Dzimwewo (Tsanangurai)	6

B14

15. Munofungidzira kuti munitora nguva yareba zvakadini (mumaminitsi) kunochera mvura nekudzoka pamba penyu?

1-5	1
6-10	2
11-15	3
16-20	4
21-25	5
>25	6

B15a

16. Semhuri mune midziyo ipi pane inotevera. (Kwenya zvose zvakakodzera)

a. Wairesi/redhiyo	1
b. Televizhoni	2
c. Mbozha runhare	3
d. Firigi	4
e. Chitofu chemagetsi	5
f. Basikoro	6
g. Mudhudhudhu	7
h. Motikari	8

B16a

B16b

B16c

B16d

B16e

B16f

B16g

B16h

<b>CHIKAMU CHETATU C: ZVEVANA VARI MUMUMHURI</b>							
<b>Nyora vana vatanhatu zvichidzika uchitanga nemudiki kusvika kumukuru kuru</b>		<b>Vana vari mumhuri</b>					
		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
1.	Mwana musikana kana mukomana?						
	a. Musikana	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Mukomana	2	2	2	2	2	2
2.	Zero remwana?						
	a. Pasi pe gore rimwe	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Gore rimwe kusvika pamashanu	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Makore matanhatu kusvika pagumi	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Makoregumi nerimwe kusvika nemanomwe	4	4	4	4	4	4
3.	Mwana arikuenda kukiresi here (ECD)?						
	a) Hongu arikuenda	1	1	1	1	1	1
	a. Kwete haasi kuenda	2	2	2	2	2	2
4.	Kana asirikuenda zvikonzero zvacho ndezvipi?						
	a. Kuchikoro kwacho kure	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Takashaiwa nzvimbo	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Hatina mari yekubhadhara kuchikoro	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Tinoona sezvisina kukosha zveECD	4	4	4	4	2	2
	e. Zvimwewo (Tsanangurai)	5	5	5	5	5	5
5.	Kana mwana ari wezera rekuenda kuchikoro arikuenda here?						
	a. Haana kumbobvira aenda kuchikoro	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Akarega chikoro	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Arikuenda ari mugwaro rekutanga kusvika repiri	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Arikuenda ari mugwaro retatu kusvika reshanu	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Ari mugwaro rechitanhatu kusvika rechinomwe	5	5	5	5	5	5
	f. Arikuenda ari mufomu yekutanga kusvika yepiri	6	6	6	6	6	6
	g. Arikuenda ari mufomu yechitatu kusvika yechina	7	7	7	7	7	7
	h. Arikuenda ari mufomu yechishanu kusvika yetanhatu	8	8	8	8	8	8
6.	Kana akarega chikoro chikonzero ndechei?						
	a. Kushairwa mari yechikoro	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Kushairwa mari yebvunzo	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Kusagona chikoro	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Kungoshaya hanya nechikoro	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Kushanda kuti awane chikafu kana mari	5	5	5	5	5	5
	f. Hurwere	6	6	6	6	6	6
	g. Akaita nhumbu ari pachikoro	7	7	7	7	7	7
	h. Akaroora/kuroorwa	8	8	8	8	8	8
	i. Zvimwewo (Tsanangurai)	9	9	9	9	9	9

<b>C1</b>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	
<b>C2</b>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	
<b>C3</b>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	
<b>C4</b>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	
a.						
b.						
c.						
d.						
e.						
<b>C5</b>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	
<b>C6</b>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	
a.						
b.						
c.						
d.						
e.						
f.						
g.						
h.						
i.						

	Nyora vana vatanhatu zvichidzika uchitanga nemudiki kusvika kumukuru kuru	Vana vari mumhuri					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Mumhuri menyu mune mwana kana vana varikuita zvinotevera here:						
	a. Kushanda kuti abatsire pamari yemhuri	1	1	1	1	1	1
	b. Kunwa zvinodhaka zvakaita sedoro, Kranko	2	2	2	2	2	2
	c. Kuputa zvinodhaka zvakaita sefodya, mbanje	3	3	3	3	3	3
	d. Anoita zvemhirizhonga	4	4	4	4	4	4
	e. Anotamba arimuchikwata chinopara mhosva	5	5	5	5	5	5
	f. Arikutengesa muviri wake kuti awane mari	6	6	6	6	6	6
	g. Anotengesa zvinodhaka kana kuba	7	7	7	7	7	7
	h. Zvimwe (Tsanangurai)	8	8	8	8	8	8

8. Semhuri mune here mwana/vana aka/vakashaika mukati memakore mashanu akadarika?

Hongu  Kwete

9. Kana mapindura hongu pamusoro vangani vaive pasi pegore rimwe ? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Vangani vaive pakati pegore rimwe chete nemakore mashanu? \_\_\_\_\_

11. Chii chaka/zvakakonzero rufu? (Nyora pavana vana zvichidzika uchitanga neakapedzisira kufa).

Chikonzero	Mwana wekutanga	Mwana wechipiri	Mwana wechitatu	Mwana wechina
a. Hatizivi	1	1	1	1
b. Kushaiwa chikafu	2	2	2	2
c. Akarwara ne manyoka	3	3	3	3
d. Kusarapwa paakarwara	4	4	4	4
e. Akaberekwa arimurwere	5	5	5	5
f. Akaroiwa	6	6	6	6
g. Zvimwe (Tsanangurai)	7	7	7	7

C7						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
a						
b						
c						
d						
e						
f						
g						
h						

C8

C9

C10

C11

	1	2	3	4
a				
b				
c				
d				
e				
f				
g				

**CHIKAMU CHECHINA D: ZVIWANIKWA ZVIRIKUSHANDISWA MAERERANO NEHUROMBO HUNOSHUNGURUDZA VANA**

Chikamu chino chirikutsvaga ruzivo pamusoro pekuti imi/iwe kana nhengo dzemumhuri menyu murikushandisa ruzivo/hunyanzvi hupi, rubatsiro rwupi kubva munharaunda, masangano api ari munharaunda, nzira dzezvekuwana mari uye zviwanikwa zvipi zviri munharaunda kuriritira vana vemumhuri.

1. Murikushandisawo nguva dzakawanda zvakadii imi/iwe kana dzimwe nhengo dzemumhuri ruzivo/hunyanzi hunotevera mukuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Zvinogonekwa	Nguva dzose	Nguva zhinji	Dzimwe nguva	Hatishandisi
a. Ruzivo neunyanzvi kubva mudzidzo (Musoro wemhuri)	1	2	3	4
b. Ruzivo neunyanzvi kubva mudzidzo (Dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri)	1	2	3	4
c. Zvamakadzidza /uchenjeri kubva mukurarama (Musoro wemhuri)	1	2	3	4
d. Zvamakadzidza kubva mukurarama /uchenjeri (Dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri)	1	2	3	4
e. Chipa chekungozvarwa nacho (Musoro wemhuri)	1	2	3	4
f. Zvipo zvekungozvarwa nazvo (Dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri)	1	2	3	4
g. Kushandisa simba remuviri (Musoro wemhuri)	1	2	3	4
h. Kushandisa simba remuviri (Dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri)	1	2	3	4

- D1a
- D1b
- D1c
- D1d
- D1e
- D1f
- D1g
- D1h

2. Murikushandisawo nguva dzakawanda zvakadii imi/iwe kana dzimwe nhengo dzemumhuri rubatsiro rwunobva kumapoka anotevera mukuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Boka	Nguva dzose	Nguva zhinji	Dzimwe nguva	Hatishandisi
a. Veukama	1	2	3	4
b. Shamwari	1	2	3	4
c. Vavakidzani	1	2	3	4
d. Vezvekunamata	1	2	3	4
e. Masangano emunharaunda	1	2	3	4

- D2a
- D2b
- D2c
- D2d
- D2e

3. Murikushandisawo nguva dzakawanda zvakadii imi/iwe kana dzimwe nhengo dzemumhuri nzvimbo dzemunharaunda dzinotevera mukuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Nzvimbo dzemunharaunda	Nguva dzose	Nguva zhinji	Dzimwe nguva	Hatishandisi
a. Zvikoro, zvirongwa zvekupiwa kwevana vemumhuri chikafu	1	2	3	4
b. Zvikoro zvefundo yepamusoro, kudzidzisa vana vemumhuri	1	2	3	4
c. Zvikoro zvedzidzo yemaoko, kudzidzisa vana mabasa emaoko	1	2	3	4
d. Nzvimbo dzinougana vanhu pamusoro pezvemunharaunda	1	2	3	4
e. Makereke kubatsira kubudikidza nekunamata	1	2	3	4
f. Makiriniki/zvipatara kupa dzidziso dzekurarama zvineutano	1	2	3	4
g. Mabhezimusi kuvatengesera zvanozotengesesa	1	2	3	4
h. Misika kutengesesa zvinhu zvakasiyana siyana	1	2	3	4

D3a

D3b

D3c

D3d

D3e

D3f

D3g

D3h

4. Ndedzipi nzira dzezvekuwana mari dzamunoziva pane dzinotevera?

Nzira yekuwana mari	Hongu	Kwete
a. Zvikwereti zveabhanga	1	2
b. Zvikwereti zvevari shoma	1	2
c. Mukando	1	2
d. MaRound	1	2
e. Mari inotumirwa nevemumhuri	1	2
f. Mari inobhadharwa nemaroja	1	2
g. Mudyandigere	1	2
h. Rubatsirwo rwemari kubva kuhurumende	1	2

D4a

D4b

D4c

D4d

D4e

D4f

D4g

D4h

5. Murikushandisawo nguva dzakawanda zvakadii imi/iwe kana dzimwe nhengo dzemumhuri nzira dzeukuwana mari dzinotevera mukuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Nzira yekuwana mari	Nguva dzose	Nguva zhinji	Dzimwe nguva	Hatishandisi
a. Zvikwereti zveabhanga	1	2	3	4
b. Zvikwereti zvevari shoma	1	2	3	4
c. Mukando	1	2	3	4
d. MaRound	1	2	3	4
e. Mari inotumirwa nevemumhuri	1	2	3	4
f. Mari inobhadharwa nemaroja	1	2	3	4
g. Mudyandigere	1	2	3	4
h. Rubatsirwo rwemari kubva kuhurumende	1	2	3	4

D5a

D5b

D5c

D5d

D5e

D5f

D5g

D5h



6. Murikushandisawo nguva dzakawanda zvakadii imi/iwe kana dzimwe nhengo dzemumhuri zviwanikwa zvinotevera mukuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Chiwanikwa	Nguva dzose	Nguva zhinji	Dzimwe nguva	Hatishandisi
a. Ivhu, kurima miriwo nezvimwe zvirimwa	1	2	3	4
b. Ivhu, kuchera zvicherwa zvakaita segoridhe	1	2	3	4
c. Masango, kutsvaga huni, michero nezvipuka zvinodyiwa	1	2	3	4
d. Nzizi/madhamu, kuredza/kuraura hove	1	2	3	4

D6a

D6b

D6c

D6d

Ndinotenda nguva yenyu yakakosha yamandipa.

## Appendix 4: Confidentiality agreement letter for research assistants



Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Social Work and Criminology

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### INFORMED CONSENT: RESEARCH ASSISTANT

#### Introduction

I am a doctoral student in social work at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. The aim of this letter is to kindly request your consent that you will uphold research ethics during and after the research study. The information about the nature and purpose of the research are as follows:

#### 1. TITLE OF THE STUDY

Asset-based community development and child poverty reduction: A case study of Bindura district, Zimbabwe

#### 2. GOAL OF THE STUDY

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### 3. PROCEDURES

In the study, I understand that as a research assistant I will be involved in the following: training to become a research assistant, mobilising potential participants who include children and adults by means of visiting their homes in the 10 urban wards of Bindura district and requesting their consent to participate in the research. I also take note that I will be involved in collecting both quantitative and qualitative data during the study. This will be done at the homes of participants and BUSCT premises.

#### 4. RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

I understand that during the research I will encounter some vulnerable people as participants and that might emotionally upset me, especially when they share their experiences about how poverty is affecting children in their homes and community. However, to alleviate possible distress, debriefing sessions will be done by the researcher after the interviews I will conduct with the participants. If any further assistance should be needed, I will be referred to the Bindura District Social Services Officer for professional help.

---

Room 10.21.1, Level 10, Humanities Building  
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20  
Hatfield 0028, South Africa Tel +27 (0)12 420 2325/2030  
Email : [antoinette.jombard@up.ac.za](mailto:antoinette.jombard@up.ac.za)  
[www.up.ac.za](http://www.up.ac.za)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe  
Departement Maatskaplike Werk en Kriminologie  
Lefapha la Bomotheo  
Kgoro ya Modiro wa Leago le Boseny

## 5. BENEFITS

To compensate for my involvement in the study I understand that I will receive payment from the researcher in monetary terms for the number of interviews done.

## 6. PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

I take note that during my involvement in the research I will be expected to uphold confidentiality in terms of information shared by participants. I will also not disclose the identity of participants and their responses during and after the research study.

I acknowledge and understand that a breach of privacy and confidentiality on my part will be a violation of research ethics.

By signing the informed consent letter, I indicate that I understand the nature and purpose of the research. I give my voluntary consent that I will uphold research ethics during and after the research study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Research Assistant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix 5: Interview schedule for heads of households

### Semi-structured Interview Schedule Heads of Households

#### Goal of study:

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### Introduction:

The purpose of this schedule is to guide the interview I will have with you. The interview schedule includes questions on how child poverty is manifesting and mapping of assets that your household is currently using in response to child poverty and the assets that could be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

Household in this research study refers to people who live under one roof and eat from the same pot.

#### Biographical details:

*Please provide the following details:*

1. Sex:            

Male	
------	--

Female	
--------	--

Other	
-------	--

2. How old are you?.....

3. What is the highest level of education you completed?.....

4. What is your household's source(s) of income?

a. Salary/wages/earnings	
b. Cash crop farming e.g. tobacco	
c. Food crop farming e.g. maize	
d. Vegetable production	

e. Livestock production e.g. goats , cattle	
f. Poultry production	
g. Fishing	
h. Gold mining/panning	
i. Cross-border trading	
j. Petty trading	
k. Arts and crafts e.g. weaving, pottery	
l. Rentals	
m. Remittances	
n. Pension	
o. Government cash transfers	
p. Other (Please specify)	

**Interview questions:**

1. What difficulties are you experiencing as a household?

Prompts: Income, food, living conditions.

2. How is poverty affecting the children in your household?

Prompts: School attendance, infant and child mortality, harmful practices.

3. What are you doing as a household to alleviate the poverty affecting the children in your household?

4. What child welfare services are being provided by BUCST to your household and how is BUCST providing these services?

5. How are you and/or your household members using your knowledge and skills to meet the material and emotional needs of the household`s children?

Prompts: Education, life experience, talents, ability to work.

6. How are you and/or your household members using local networks of care and

support to meet the material and emotional needs of the household`s children?

Prompts: Kinship, friendship, neighbours, religious groups, local associations.

7. How are you and/or your household members using local institutions to meet the material and emotional needs of the household`s children?

Prompts: Schools, universities, vocational training centres, community centres, churches, clinics, businesses, markets.

8. How are you and/or your household members using the available financial services to meet the material and emotional needs of the household`s children?

Prompts: Bank loans, microfinance, Accumulated Savings and Credit Associations (ASCrAs-*Mukando*), Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs-*MaRound*), remittances, rentals, pensions, government cash transfers.

9. How are you and/or your household members using the available natural resources to meet the material and emotional needs of the household`s children?

Prompts: Land, forests, rivers/dams.

10. Is there anything else that you feel I should know about child poverty and assets that could assist me in proposing guidelines for an asset-based community development approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district?

## Appendix 6: Interview schedule for heads of households (Shona)

### Hwaro hwenhaurirano Musoro wedzimba

#### Donzvo retsvagurudzo

Kuvhunungura nekutsanangura kuti kubudirira kwenharaunda pachishandiswa zviwanikwa kungaderedze sei hurombo hunoshungurudza vana mudunhu reBindura, munyika yeZimbabwe.

#### Nhanganyaya:

Chinangwa chehwaro hwenhaurirano kutungamira munhaurirano yatichava nayo. Nhaurirano iyi ine mibvunzo maererano nekuti hurombo hurikushungurudza vana nenzira dzipi uye kudonongodza zviwanikwa zvamurikushandisa maringe nehurombo hunoshungurudza vana uye zvamungangoshandise kuderedza hurombo hurikushungurudza vana mudunhu rino reBindura.

Mutsvagurudzo ino irikunzi mhuri vanhu vanogara muimba imwe uye vachidya kubva mupoto imwe.

#### Ruzivo pamusoro wemukuru wemba

*Ndinokumbira kuti mundipewo ruzivo pane zvinotevera:*

1. Muri munhui: 

Mukadzi	
---------	--

Murume	
--------	--

Zvimwe	
--------	--

2. Mune makore mangani ekuberekwa? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Makasvika gwaro ripi pakudzidza kwenyu? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Munowana mari nenzira ipi/dzipi semhuri?

a. Muhoro kubasa kwandinoshanda	
b. Kurima zvokutengesa zvakaita sefodya/donje	

c. Kurima mbesa dzekudya dzakaita sechibage	
d. Kurima miriwo nokutengesa	
e. Kupfuya mombe/mbudzi zvokutengesa	
f. Kupfuya huku dzekutengesa	
g. Kuredza hove nekudzitengesa	
h. Kuchera kana kuonga goridhe	
i. Kutengesa zvinobva kudzimwe nyika	
j. Kutengesa tunhu tudiki	
k. Kushandisa maoko kugadzira zvirukwa, zviumbwa nezvivezwa	
l. Mari inobhadharwa nemaroja	
m. Mari inotumirwa nevemhuri	
n. Mudyandigere	
o. Kupiwa rubatsiro rwemari nehurumende	
p. Dzimwewo nzira (Tsanangurai)	

### **Mibvunzo yenhaurirano:**

1. Semhuri murikusangana nematambudziko api?

Zvitungamiri: Mari, chikafu, magariro.

2. Hurombo hurikushungurudza vana vemumhuri menyu nenzira dzipi?

Zvitungamiri: Kuenda kuchikoro, kufa kwevacheche nevana vadiki, zviito zvinokanganisa makuriro akanaka evana.

3. Semhuri zvii zvamurikuita kuderedza hurombo hurikushungurudza vana mumhuri menyu?

4. Mhuri yenyu irikuwana rubatsiro rwunopiwa kuvana rwemhando ipi/dzipi kubva kusangano reBUCST uye sangano iri ririkupa rubatsiro urwu nenzira dzipi?

5. Imi kana dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri yenyu murikushandisa sei ruzivo kana hunyanzvi kuriritira vana vemumhuri?



Zvitungamiri: Dzidzo, ruzivo rwekurarama, matarenda/zvipa, kushandisa maoko.

6. Imi kana dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri yenyu murikushandisa sei rubatsiro rwunobva kumapoka akaita seanotevera kuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Zvitungamiri: Vehukama, shamwari, vavakidzani, vezvekunamata, masangano emunharaunda.

7. Imi kana dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri yenyu murikushandisa sei nzvimbo dzemunharaunda dzakaita sedzinotevera kuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Zvitungamiri: Zvikoro, zvikoro zvedzidzo yepamusoro, munodzidziswa mabasa emaoko, munoungana vanhu vemunharaunda, makereke, makiriniki/zvipatara, mabhizimusi, misika.

8. Imi kana dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri yenyu murikushandisa sei nzira dzinowanisa mari sedzinotevera kuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Zvitungamiri: Zvikwereti zvemabhanga, zvikwereti zvemari shoma, mukando, maround, mari inotumirwa nevemhuri, mari inobhadharwa nemaroja, mudyandigere, rubatsirwo rwemari kubva kuhurumende.

9. Imi kana dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri yenyu murikushandisa sei zviwanikwa zvirimunhaunda sezvinotevera kuriritira vana vemumhuri?

Zvitungamiri: ivhu, masango, nzizi kana madhamhu.

10. Pane here rumwe ruzivo rwamuinarwo rwamungade kuti ndizive pamusoro pehurombo hurikushungurudza vana uye zviwanikwa urwo rwungandibatsire pakubuda nezvimiso zvingatungamire mukushandiswa kwenzira yekubudirira kwenharaunda pachishandiswa zviwanikwa kuderedza hurombo hunoshungurudza vana mudunhu reBindura?

## Appendix 7: Interview schedule for key informants from BUCST

### Semi-structured Interview Schedule Bindura Urban Community Support Trust (BUCST)

#### Goal of study:

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### Introduction:

The purpose of this schedule is to guide the interview I will have with you. The interview schedule includes questions on how child poverty is manifesting and mapping of assets that your organisation is currently using in response to child poverty and the assets that could be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

Household in this research study refers to people who live under one roof and eat from the same pot.

#### Biographical details:

*Please provide the following details:*

1. Sex: 

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
------	--------------------------

Female	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------

Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------	--------------------------

2. What is your role in BUCST?.....

3. How many years of experience do you have in working with poor urban households in the district?.....

#### Interview questions

1. What are the difficulties that the poor urban households who are using services from BUCST experience?

Prompts: Income, food, living conditions.

2. How is poverty affecting children in the poor urban households who are using services from BUCST?  
Prompts: School attendance, infant and child mortality, harmful practices.
3. What child welfare services are you providing to the poor urban households in the district and how are you providing these services?
4. How does BUCST use the knowledge and skills of the poor urban household members in the child welfare services that are provided to them?  
Prompts: Education, life experience, talents, ability to work.
5. How does BUCST use the local networks of care and support in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?  
Prompts: Kinship, friendship, neighbours, religious groups, local associations.
6. How does BUCST use the local institutions in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?  
Prompts: Schools, universities, vocational training centres, community centres, churches, clinics, businesses, markets.
7. How does BUCST use the available financial services in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?  
Prompts: Bank loans, microfinance, Accumulated Savings and Credit Associations (ASCrAs- *Mukando*), Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs- *MaRound*), remittances, rentals, pensions, government cash transfers.
8. How does BUCST use the available natural resources in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?  
Prompts: Land, forests, rivers/dams.
9. Is there anything else that you feel I should know about child poverty and assets that could assist me in proposing guidelines for an asset-based community development approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district?

## Appendix 8: Interview schedule for key informant from DSW

### Semi-structured Interview Schedule

#### Department of Social Welfare Officer: Bindura District

#### Goal of study:

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### Introduction:

The purpose of this schedule is to guide the interview I will have with you. The interview schedule includes questions on how child poverty is manifesting and mapping of assets that Bindura Urban Community Support Trust (BUCST) is currently using in response to child poverty and the assets that could be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

Household in this research study refers to people who live under one roof and eat from the same pot.

#### Biographical details:

*Please provide the following details:*

1. Sex: 

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
------	--------------------------

Female	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------

Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------	--------------------------

2. What is your role in the Department of Child Welfare and Protection?.....

3. How many years of social work experience do you have in child welfare?.....

4. How many years of experience do you have in working with child welfare organisations in the district?.....

#### Interview questions

1. What are the difficulties that the poor urban households in the district experience?

Prompts: Income, food, living conditions.

2. How is poverty affecting children in the poor urban households of the district?

Prompts: School attendance, infant and child mortality, harmful practices.

3. What child welfare services are BUCST providing to the poor urban households in the district and how is BUCST providing these services?

4. How does BUCST use the knowledge and skills of the poor urban household members in the child welfare services that are provided to them?

Prompts: Education, life experience, talents, ability to work.

5. How does BUCST use the local networks of care and support in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?

Prompts: Kinship, friendship, neighbours, religious groups, local associations.

6. How does BUCST use the local institutions in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?

Prompts: Schools, universities, vocational training centres, community centres, churches, clinics, businesses, markets.

7. How does BUCST use the available financial services in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?

Prompts: Bank loans, microfinance, Accumulated Savings and Credit Associations (ASCrAs- *Mukando*), Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs- *MaRound*), remittances, rentals, pensions, government cash transfers.

8. How does BUCST use the available natural resources in the child welfare services that are provided to the poor urban households?

Prompts: Land, forests, rivers/dams.

9. Is there anything else that you feel I should know about child poverty and assets that could assist me in proposing guidelines for an asset-based community development approach to child poverty reduction in Bindura district?

## Appendix 9: Observation schedule for the researcher

### Observation Schedule Heads of Households

#### Goal of study:

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### Introduction:

The purpose of this schedule is to record the observations of the environment, made during interviews with heads of households. The observations will focus on how child poverty is manifesting in the homes and surrounding community.

#### Background

Ward: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Observation start time: \_\_\_\_\_

End time: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Observations:

1. Living conditions at the household (Tick all observed):

a. Overcrowding	
b. Poor floor type	
c. Poor sanitation facilities	
d. Poor source of water	
e. No durable household goods e.g. furniture	
f. Other (specify)	

2. Manifestations of child poverty (Tick all observed):

a. Malnutrition	
b. Poor health	
c. Child labour	

d. Children drinking harmful brews	
e. Children smoking harmful substances	
f. Children engaged in violent behaviour	
g. Child pregnancy/ mothers	
g. Other (specify)	

**Post-observation notes:**

## **Appendix 10: Focus group discussion schedule for children**

### **Semi-structured Focus Group Discussion Schedule**

#### **Children: 11-17 years**

##### **Goal of study:**

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

##### **Introduction:**

The purpose of our coming together is to have a talk about how you are being affected by poverty in your home and community. Before we talk, each of you will first draw a picture on how poverty is affecting you in your home and community. Before you draw, let's go around in the circle so that you can introduce yourselves, and tell us whether you are in school, and the grade/form you are doing.

##### **Activity:**

The research team will ask the children to draw a picture about how poverty is affecting them in their homes and community.

##### **Discussion questions:**

The children will be asked to tell their story as drawn, from which further questions will emerge on how poverty is affecting the children in their homes and community.



## **Appendix 11: Focus group discussion schedule for children (Shona)**

### **Hwaro hweMibvunzo yekukurukurirana mumapoka Vana vane makore gumi nerimwe kusvika gumi nemasere**

#### **Donzvo retsvagurudzo:**

Kunan'anidza nekutsanagura kuti kubudirira kwenharaunda kuchishandiswa zviwanikwa zvemunharaunda kungaderedze sei hurombo mudunhu reBindura munyika yeZimbabwe

#### **Nhanganyaya:**

Chinangwa chekuungana kwaita seboka ndechekuti tive nehurukuro pamusoro pekuti hurombo hurikukukanganisa sei kumba kwenyu nemunharaunda maunogara. Tisati tapinda muhurukuro mumwe nemumwe wenyu anofanira kutanga adhirowa mufananidzo unotaridza kuti hurombo hurikukukanganisa sei kumba kwenyu nemunharaunda maunogara. Musati manyora tichapanana mukana wekuti mumwe nemumwe tizivane muchitaura kana muchienda kuchikoro negwaro rauri kana kuti hauchasi kuchikoro.

#### **Zvichaitwa:**

Chikwata chevatsvagurudzi chichapa vana basa rokuti vadhirowe mifananidzo pamusoro pekuti hurombo hurikuvakanganisa sei kudzimba kwavanogara nemunharaunda.

#### **Mibvunzo yenhaurirano seboka:**

Vana vachapiwa mukana yekutsanagura mifananidzo yavanenge vadhirowa, tsanangudzo idzi dzichaumba mibvunzo pamusoro pekuti hurombo hurikukukanganisa vana sei kudzimba dzavo nemunharaunda mavanogara.

## Appendix 12: Checklist matrix for document analysis

### Checklist Matrix for Document Analysis Bindura Urban Community Support Trust Reports

#### Goal of study:

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### Introduction:

The purpose of this matrix is to guide and record the manifest and latent contents of BUCST documents about how child poverty is manifesting in poor urban households, assets being used in current responses to child poverty and assets that can be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

#### Document details:

1. Type of document? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Year of publication of document? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Author(s) of document? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Date of analysis? \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Analysis questions:</b>		
<b>Question</b>	<b>Manifest content</b>	<b>Latent content</b>
1. What are the sources of income for the poor urban households?		
2. What is the food intake by the poor urban households?		
3. What is the housing condition of the poor urban households?		
4. Which durable goods are owned by the poor urban households?		

5. What is the situation in terms of infant and child mortality in the poor urban households?		
6. What is the situation in terms of Early Childhood Development attendance/ non-attendance by children from the poor urban households?		
7. What is the situation in terms of school attendance/ non-attendance by children from the poor urban households?		
8. Which harmful practices are children from the poor urban households engaged in?		
9. Which human assets are being used in current responses to child poverty?		
10. Which social assets are being used in current responses to child poverty?		
11. Which physical assets are being used in current responses to child poverty?		
12. Which economic/productive assets are being used in current responses to child poverty?		
13. Which natural assets are being used in current responses to child poverty?		
14. Additional information relevant to the study?		

## Appendix 13: Ethical clearance letter



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities  
Research Ethics Committee

27 November 2017

Dear Mr Masuka

**Project:** Asset-based community development and child poverty reduction: A case study of Bindura district, Zimbabwe  
**Researcher:** T Masuka  
**Supervisor:** Prof A Lombard  
**Department:** Social Work and Criminology  
**Reference number:** 25405746 (GW20170921HS)

Thank you for your response to the Committee's correspondence of 2 October 2017.

I have pleasure in informing you that the Research Ethics Committee formally **approved** the above study at an *ad hoc* meeting held on 27 November 2017. 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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Maxi Schoeman'.

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

cc: Prof A Lombard (Supervisor and HoD)

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Dr L Blokland; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fasselt; Ms KT Govinder; Dr E Johnson; Dr C Panebianco; Dr C Puttergill; Dr D Reyburn; Dr M Taub; Prof GM Spies; Prof E Taljard; Ms B Tsebe; Dr E van der Klashorst; Dr G Wolmarans; Ms D Mokalapa

## Appendix 14: Permission letter from Department of Social Welfare

All communication should be addressed to  
The Provincial Social Services Office



ZIMBABWE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES  
Mashonaland Central Province

New Government Complex

P. Bag 955  
Bindura

Telephone: 0271/6560 Fax: 0271 – 6560

Email -zimbabwevc Mashcentr al@zol.co.zw

13 February 2017

MR T. MASUKA

3117 AERODROME

BINDURA

Dear Mr Masuka,

**RE: PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW BINDURA DISTRICT CHILD WELFARE AND PROTECTION SERVICES OFFICER**

This letter serves to inform you that the Department of Child Welfare and Protection Services has authorised you to interview Bindura District Child Welfare and Protection Services Officer on the research titled , 'ASSET-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CHID POVERTY REDUCTION: A CASE OF BINDURA DISTRICT ' and that the findings will be used for academic purposes only.

Thank you for your usual co-operation

*Tunhuma*

TUNHUMA HB

For: Provincial Child Welfare Officer

**MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE**



## Appendix 15: Survey informed consent letter for heads of households



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

Ref: Researcher  
Mr Tawanda Masuka  
Tel: +263 772 640 336  
E-mail: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

### INFORMED CONSENT: HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

#### Introduction

I am a DPhil Social Work candidate at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. The aim of this letter is to kindly request your consent to participate in a research study. The information about the nature and purpose of the research are as follows:

#### 1. Title of the study

Asset-based community development and child poverty reduction: A case study of Bindura district, Zimbabwe

#### 2. Goal of the study

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### 3. Procedures

In the study I understand that I will participate in the survey with the researcher. I take note that the survey will include questions on how child poverty is manifesting and I will be asked to map the assets that are currently being used by my household in responding to child poverty, and which assets could be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

#### 4. Risks and discomfort

I take note that some questions on the manifestation of child poverty may be disturbing as it could remind me of my family's hardships. However, I understand that debriefing will be done by the interviewer to help detect and alleviate any possible emotional harm that I might have encountered during the survey. I understand that if needed, I will be referred to the Bindura District Social Services Officer for professional help.

---

Room 21, Level 10, Humanities Building  
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20  
Hatfield 0028, South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2325/2030  
Email: [Antoinette.lombard@up.ac.za](mailto:Antoinette.lombard@up.ac.za)  
Email [Antoinette.lombard@up.ac.za](mailto:Antoinette.lombard@up.ac.za)  
[www.up.ac.za](http://www.up.ac.za)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskaj  
Lefapha la Bomo

**5. Benefits**

Participation in the study is voluntary. I understand that I will not receive any monetary or other benefits for participating in the study. However, I take note that the indirect benefits of my participation in the study could influence social policy, social work practice and research in relation to asset-based community development as an innovative approach to reduce child poverty, and within this context uphold children’s right to protection.

**6. Rights of participants**

I take note that the participation in the study does not infringe any of my rights. I understand that if I agree to participate, I reserve the right to refuse to answer any particular questions, or withdraw from the study at any time with no consequences.

**7. Confidentiality**

I understand that the survey data will only be accessed by the researcher and his study supervisors, and that the research data will only be used for research purposes. The data will be stored at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, South Africa for a period of 15 years before it will be destroyed. I take note that my name will not appear in the entire research report or any other publication derived from the research.

**8. Dissemination of research results**

I understand that the researcher will compile a research report for the University of Pretoria for academic purposes of which a copy will be availed to BUCST and the Department of Child Welfare and Protection Services for professional use. I take note that the research findings will be used for conference presentations and publications in accredited journals.

For any questions and queries feel free to contact the researcher at +263 772 640 336 or at [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

By signing the informed consent letter, I indicate that I understand the nature and purpose of the research. I give my voluntary consent to participate in the study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Head of Household

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix 16: Survey informed consent letter for heads of households (Shona)



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

Ref: Researcher  
Mr Tawanda Masuka  
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E-mail: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

### KUBVUMIRANA KUNE RUZIVO: VAKURU VEDZIMBA

Ndiri mudzidzi DPhil Social Work pa yunivhesiti ye Pretoria kuSouth Africa. Chinangwa chetsamba iyi ndeche kukukumbirai mvumo yekuti mubatare mutsvakurudzo yandiri kuita. Tsvakurudzo iyi yakamira yakadai:

#### 1. Musoro wetsvakurudzo

Zvingaitwa mumhuri nemunharaunda kuderedza hurombo movana: Tsvakurudzo mudunhu reBindura muZimbabwe.

#### 2. Chinangwa chetsvakurudzo

Kutsanangura zvingaitwa mumhuri nemunharaunda kuderedza hurombo movana, mudunhu reBindura muZimbabwe.

#### 3. Matanho

Mutsvakurudzo ino ndinonzwisisa kuti ndichabatirana nemutsvakurudzi. Ndinizivawo kuti tsvakurudzo ino ichabvunza mibvunzo ine chekuita nekuti hurombo movana hunobuda nekuonekwa sei; uye ndichabvunzwawo zvatinaita semhuri kudavira kuhurombo huri movana, uyewo kuti ndeipi midziyo nezvimwe zvingaitwa tikazviunganidza nekuzvibanidza kuderedza hurombo movana mudunhu reBindura.

#### 4. Ngozi uye kusagadzikana

Ndinozviziva kuti mimwe mibvunzo inechekuita nekuti hurombo movana hunobuda uye kuonekwa sei inogona kundirwadzisa sezvo ichindiyeuchidza kuomerwa kwakaita mhuri yangu. Zvisinei zvazvo, ndinonzwisisa kuti kusanoudzwa nezvazvo kwandichaitwa nemutsvakurudzi kuchandibatsira kuburitsa uye kuderedza kakurwadziwa kandingazosangane nako mutsvakurudzo iyi. Ndinozivawo kuti kana zvikakodzera uye zvichidikanwa ndinogona kutsvagirwa rubatsiro kuna vana mazvikokota kuBindura District Social Services Offices.

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## 5. Zvingawanikwa

Kubatira mutsvakurudzo iyi kuzvidira. Ndinonzwisisa kuti hapana zvimwe zviwanikwa zvandichapihwa ndikapinda mutsvakurudzo iyi. Zvakadaro hazvo ndinoziva kuti zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo, ndikabatira mairi, zvinogona kubatsira pamurawo wezvekugara kwavanhu, basa resocial work uyewo tsvakurudzo dzakanangana nekuti zvatina zvo mudzimba zvingatibatsire sei kuderredza hurombo, uyewo tichichengetedza nekusimudzira kodzero dzevana dzekuchengetedzwa kwavo.

## 6. Kodzero dzevatari vetsvakurudzo

Ndinoziva kuti kubatira mutsvakurudzo iyi hakuvhiringidze chero dzipi zvadzo kodzero dzangu. Ndinozivazve kuti chero ndikabvuma kubatira mutsvakurudzo, ndine mvumo yekuramba kupindura chero mubvunzo kana kusada kuenderera mberi nayo chero nguva zvayo uye pasina zvinoitika kwandiri.

## 7. Zvakavanzika

Ndinoziva kuti zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo ino zvichangoshandiswa nemutsvakurudzi nevaanoshanda navo uye umbowo hwacho uchangoshanda pakuita zvetsvakurudzo nezvezvidzidzo zvoga. Umboo uhwu uchachengetwa muchikamu cheSocial Work neCriminology paUniversity yePretoria kuSouth Africa, kwemakore gumi nemashanu usati waparadzwa. Ndinozivazve kuti zita rangu harizobude mutsvakurudzo iyi uyewo pane zvinyorwa zvichatsikiswa kubva mairi.

## 8. Kufambiswa kwezvichabuda

Ndinoziva kuti mutsvakurudzi anofanira kunyora mushumo kuUniversity of Pretoria maererano nezvidzidzo zvake, uye kopi ichapiwa BUCST nebazi reChild Welfare and Protection Services kuti igoshandiswa nenyanzvi. Ndinoziva kuti zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo iyi zvichashambadzwa pamagugano nemisangano yevadzidzi nezvinyorwa zvemamagazini akasanangurwa.

Kana muine mibvunzo chayai runhare kune mutsvakurudzo panhamba idzi: +263 772 640 336 kana kunyora tsamba mbozha paadhiresi inoti: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

Kusaina tsamba ino kunoratidza kuti ndanzwisisa mamiriro akaita tsvakurudzo ino. Ndinopa mvumo yangu isina kumanikidzirwa kubatira mairi.

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Runyoro rwemukuru wemba

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Musi

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Runyoro rwemutsvakurudzi

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Musi

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Faculty of Humanities  
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Lefapha la Bomotho

# Appendix 17: Heads of households interview and observation informed consent letter



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
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Faculty of Humanities

Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

Ref: Researcher  
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Tel: +263 772 640 336  
E-mail: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

## INFORMED CONSENT: HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

### Introduction

I am a DPhil Social Work candidate at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. The aim of this letter is to kindly request your consent to participate in a research study. The information about the nature and purpose of the research are as follows:

#### 1. Title of the study

Asset-based community development and child poverty reduction: A case study of Bindura district, Zimbabwe

#### 2. Goal of the study

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### 3. Procedures

In the study I understand that I will participate in face-to-face interviews with the researcher. I also understand that with my permission, the interviews will be recorded by the researcher to assist him to give an accurate account of our conversation. I take note that the interviews will include questions on how child poverty is manifesting and that I will be asked to map the assets that are currently being used by my household in response to child poverty, and to indicate which assets could be mobilised and combined to reduce child poverty in Bindura district.

#### 4. Risks and discomfort

I take note that some questions on the manifestation of child poverty may be disturbing as it could remind me of my family's hardships. However, I understand that debriefing will be done by the interviewer to help detect and alleviate any possible emotional harm that I might have encountered during the interview. I understand that if needed, I will be referred to the Bindura District Social Services Officer for professional help.

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## 5. Benefits

Participation in the study is voluntary. I understand that I will not receive any monetary or other benefits for participating in the study. However, I take note that the indirect benefits of my participation in the study could influence social policy, social work practice and research in relation to asset-based community development as an innovative approach to reduce child poverty, and within this context uphold children's right to protection.

## 6. Rights of participants

I take note that the participation in the study does not infringe any of my rights. I understand that if I agree to participate, I reserve the right to refuse to answer any particular questions, or withdraw from the study at any time with no consequences.

## 7. Confidentiality

I understand that the face-to-face interviews and observations data will only be accessed by the researcher and his study supervisors, and that the research data will only be used for research purposes. The data will be stored at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, South Africa for a period of 15 years before it will be destroyed. I take note that my name will not appear in the entire research report or any other publication derived from the research.

## 8. Dissemination of research results

I understand that the researcher will compile a research report for the University of Pretoria for academic purposes of which a copy will be availed to BUCST and the Department of Child Welfare and Protection Services for professional use. I take note that the research findings will be used for conference presentations and publications in accredited journals.

For any questions and queries feel free to contact the researcher at +263 772 640 336 or at [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

By signing the informed consent letter, I indicate that I understand the nature and purpose of the research. I give my voluntary consent to participate in the study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Head of Household

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix 18: Heads of households face to face interview and observation informed consent letter (Shona)



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Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

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Zita rangu: Tawanda Masuka  
Nhamba dzerunhare: 0772 640 336  
Kero yeimeyili: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

### KUBVUMIRANA KUNE RUZIVO: VAKURU VEDZIMBA

Ndiri mudzidzi DPhil Social Work pa yunivhesiti ye Pretoria kuSouth Africa. Chinangwa chetsamba iyi ndeche kukukumbirai mvumo yekuti mubatire mutsvakurudzo yandiri kuita. Tsvakurudzo iyi yakamira yakadai:

#### 1. Musoro wetsvakurudzo

Zvingaitwa mumhuri nemunharaunda kuderedza hurombo movana: Tsvakurudzo mudunhu reBindura muZimbabwe.

#### 2. Chinangwa chetsvakurudzo

Kutsanangura zvingaitwa mumhuri nemunharaunda kuderedza hurombo movana, mudunhu reBindura muZimbabwe.

#### 3. Matanho

Mutsvakurudzo ino ndinonzwisisa kuti ndichabatirana nemutsvakurudzi. Ndinozivawo kuti tsvakurudzo ino ichabvunza mibvunzo ine chekuita nekuti hurombo movana hunobuda nekuonekwa sei; uye ndichabvunzwawo zvatinoita semhuri kudavira kuhurombo huri movana, uyewo kuti ndeipi midziyo nezvimwe zvingaitwa tikazviunganidza nekuzvibatanidza kuderedza hurombo movana mudunhu reBindura.

#### 4. Ngozi uye kusagadzikana

Ndinozviziva kuti mimwe mibvunzo inechekuita nekuti hurombo movana hunobuda uye kuonekwa sei inogona kundirwadzisa sezvo ichindiyeuchidza kuomerwa kwakaita mhuri yangu. Zvisinei zvazvo, ndinonzwisisa kuti kusanoudzwa nezvazvo kwandichaitwa nemubvunzi kuchandibatsira kuburitsa uye kuderedza kakurwadziwa kandingazosangane nako mukubvunzwa uku. Ndinozivawo kuti kana zvikakodzera uye zvichidikanwa ndinogona kutsvagirwa rubatsiro kuna vana mazvikokota kuBindura District Social Services Offices.

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Email [Antoinette.lombard@up.ac.za](mailto:Antoinette.lombard@up.ac.za)  
[www.up.ac.za](http://www.up.ac.za)

## 5. Zvingawanikwa

Kubatira mutsvakurudzo iyi kuzvidira. Ndinonzwisisa kuti hapana zvimwe zviwanikwa zvandichapihwa ndikapinda mutsvakurudzo iyi. Zvakadaro hazvo ndinoziva kuti zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo, ndikabatira mairi, zvinogona kubatsira pamurawo wezvekugara kwavanhu, basa resocial work uyewo tsvakurudzo dzakanangana nekuti zvatina zvo mudzimba zvingatibatsire sei kuderedza hurombo, uyewo tichichengetedza nekusimudzira kodzero dzevana dzekuchengetedzwa kwavo.

## 6. Kodzero dzevatatiri vetsvakurudzo

Ndinoziva kuti kubatira mutsvakurudzo iyi hakuvhiringidze chero dzipi zvadzo kodzero dzangu. Ndinozivazve kuti chero ndikabvuma kubatira mutsvakurudzo, ndine mvumo yekuramba kupindura chero mubvunzo kana kusada kuenderera mberi nayo chero nguva zvayo uye pasina zvinoitika kwandiri.

## 7. Zvakavanzika

Ndinoziva kuti zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo ino zvichangoshandiswa nemutsvakurudzi nevaanoshanda navo uye umbowo hwacho uchangoshanda pakuita zvetsvakurudzo nezvezvidzidzo zvoga. Umboo uhwu uchachengetwa muchikamu cheSocial Work neCriminology payunivesiti yePretoria kuSouth Africa, kwemakore gumi nemashanu usati waparadzwa. Ndinozivazve kuti zita rangu harizobude mutsvakurudzo iyi uyewo pane zvinyorwa zvichatsikiswa kubva mairi.

## 8. Kufambiswa kwezvichabuda mutsvakurudzo

Ndinoziva kuti mutsvakurudzi anofanira kunyora mushumo kuyunivesiti ye Pretoria maererano nezvidzidzo zvake, uye kopi ichapiwa BUCST nebazi reChild Welfare and Protection Services kuti igoshandiswa nenyanzvi. Ndinoziva kuti zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo iyi zvichashambadzwa pamagugano nemisangano yevadzidzi nezvinyorwa zvemamagazini akasanangurwa.

Kana muine mibvunzo chayai runhare kune mutsvakurudzo panhamba idzi: +263 772 640 336 kana kunyora tsamba mbozha paadhiresi inoti: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

Kusaina tsamba ino kunoratidza kuti ndanzwisisa mamiriro akaita tsvakurudzo ino. Ndinopa mvumo yangu isina kumanikidzirwa kubatira mairi.

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Runyoro rwemukuru wemba

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Musi

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Runyoro rwemutsvakurudzi

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Musi

## Appendix 19: Informed consent letter for parents/guardians of child participants



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Faculty of Humanities

Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

Researcher: Mr Tawanda Masuka  
Cell: +263 772 640 336  
Email: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

### INFORMED CONSENT: PARENTS / GUARDIANS

#### Introduction

The aim of this letter is to seek your consent for your child/child under your guardianship to participate in a research study.

The information about the nature and purpose of the research are as follows:

#### 1. TITLE OF THE STUDY

Asset-based community development and child poverty reduction: A case study of Bindura district, Zimbabwe

#### 2. GOAL OF THE STUDY

To explore and describe how asset-based community development can reduce child poverty in Bindura district, Zimbabwe.

#### 3. PROCEDURES

In the study I understand that the child will participate in group discussions. He or she will join a group of other children of his or her age. I also understand that in the group the children will be asked to draw pictures and then talk about how poverty is affecting them in their homes and community. I take note that with my own and the child's permission, the discussions will be recorded to make sure there is an accurate account of the conversations.

#### 4. RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

I understand that the questions on the manifestation of child poverty may be disturbing to the child as they would remind him/her of the hardships we/they are going through as a family. I take note that debriefing will be done by the interviewer to help detect and alleviate any possible emotional harm that the child might have encountered during the discussions. I understand that if needed, the child will be referred to the Bindura District Child Welfare and Protection Office for professional help.

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## 5. BENEFITS

Participation in the study is voluntary. I understand that, the child will not receive any money or other benefits for participating in the study. However, I take note that the indirect benefits of the child's participation in the study could influence social policy, social work practice and research to reduce child poverty.

## 6. RIGHTS OF PARTICIPANTS

I take note that participation of the child in the study does not infringe any of his/her rights. I understand that, if the child agrees to participate, he or she reserves the right to refuse to answer any particular questions, or withdraw from the study at any time with no consequences.

## 7. CONFIDENTIALITY

I understand that the group discussions data will only be accessed by the researcher and his study supervisors, and the research data will only be used for research purposes. The data will be stored at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, South Africa for a period of 15 years before it will be destroyed. I take note that the child's name will not appear in the entire research report or any other publication derived from the research. Furthermore, the information will be documented in such a way that the child will not be identified through his/her contribution.

## 8. DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

I understand that the researcher will compile a research report for the University of Pretoria for academic purposes of which a copy will be availed to BUCST and the Department of Child Welfare and Protection Services for professional use. I take note that the research findings will be used for conference presentations and publications in academic journals.

For any questions and queries feel free to contact the researcher at +263 772 640 336 or at [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

By signing the informed consent letter, I indicate that I understand the nature and purpose of the research. I give my voluntary consent for the child to participate in the study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Parent/Guardian

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix 20: Informed consent letter for parents/guardians of child participants (Shona)



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UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

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Zita rangu: Tawanda Masuka  
Nhamba dzerunhare: 0772 640 336  
Kero yeimeyili: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

RUBVUMIRANO: VABEREKI/VACHENGETI VEVANA

Nhanganyaya:

Donzvo retsamba ino nderekukumbira mvumo yekuti mwana wenyu/wamunochengeta abatane neni Mutsvagurudzo.

Muzvikamu zvinotevera ndichatsanangura nezvetsvagurudzo iyi.

### 1. Musoro wetsvagurudzo

Kubudirira kwenharaunda pachishandiswa zviwanikwa nekuderedzwa kwehurombo hunoshungurudza vana. Mudunhu reBindura, munyika yeZimbabwe

### 2. Donzvo retsvagurudzo

Kuvhunungura nekutsanangura kuti kubudirira kwenharaunda pachishandiswa zviwanikwa kungaderedza sei hurombo hunoshungurudza vana mudunhu reBindura, munyika yeZimbabwe.

### 3. Zvichaitwa mutsvagurudzo

Mutsvagurudzo iyi ndinonzwisisa kuti mwana ahabatana nevamwe vana vezera rake muboka umo mavachave nehurukuro. Ndinonzwisisa kuti vana vari muboka vachapiwa mukana wekudhirowa mifananidzo uye nekuzokurukura pamusoro pekuti hurombo hurikuvakanganisa sei mudzimba mavanogara uye nemunharaunda. Ndinocherechedza kuti nemvumo yangu uyezve neyemwana hurukuro yose ichanyorwa pasi uye kurekodwa kuti pave nenhoroondo yechokwadi yezvavanenge vakurukurwa.

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#### 4. Zvingangovhiringe kana kukonzera kusagadzikana

Ndinonzwisisa kuti mibvunzo yezvemashunguridziro arikuita hurombo kuvana ingangovhiringe mwana nekumurangaridza kuomerwa kwatirikuitwa/ kwavarikuitwa semhuri. Ndinocherechedza kuti mushure mehurukuro nevana mutsvagurudzi achataura nevana achiedza kuona uye kubatsira kana mwana ashungurudzwa mupfungwa kubudikidza nemibvunzo yemutsvagurudzo. Ndinonzwisisa kuti kana zvakafanira mwana akange anyanya kushungurudzwa mupfungwa achaendeswa kuti anowana rumwe rubatsiro kubva kunanamazvikokota kumahofisi ezvekugara kwakanaka uye kuchengetedzwa kwevana emudunhu reBindura.

#### 5. Zvichapihwa

Kubatana neni mutsvagurudzo hunge munhu achida uye hapana kumanikidzwa. Ndinonzwisisa kuti mwana haasi kuzopihwa mari kana chimwewo chinhu semubhadharo wekubata mutsvagurudzo. Nyangwe zvakadaro, ndinocherechedza kuti kuva kwemwana mutsvagurudzo kuchabatsira pahurongwa hwekubatsirwa kwevanhu kuti vave nemagariro akanaka uye kupa ruzivo mutsvagurudzo dzirikuitwa kuti hurombo hunoshungurudza vana huderedzwe.

#### 6. Kodzero dzevarikubatira mutsvagurudzo

Ndinocherechedza kuti kuvamutsvagurudzo iyi hakusikuzovhiringa kodzero dzemwana. Ndinonzwisisa kuti mwana akabvuma kubata mutsvagurudzo achava nekodzero yekuramba kupindura mimwe yemibvunzo yetsvagurudzo kana kutobuda mutsvagurudzo chero ipi nguva yavanenge asarudza pasina zvinomukanganisa.

#### 7. Kuchengetedzwa kwehurukuro dzetsvagurudzo

Ndinonzwisisa kuti ruzivo rwuchawanikwa kubva muhurukuro huhaonekwa nemutsvagurudzi nevarikumubatsira pazvidzidzo zvake. Ruzivo urwu rwuchangoshandiswa mutsvagurudzo uye rwuchachengetedzwa mubazi rezvekugara kwakanaka kwevanhu nekudzivirira zvehuny`any`a (Department of Social Work and Criminology) pachikoro chedzidzo yepamusoro chePretoria kunyika yeSouth Africa (University of Pretoria, South Africa) kwemakore gumi nemashanu rwusati rwaparadzwa. Ndinocherechedza kuti zita remwana harisi kuzowanikwa mugwaro retsvagurudzo kana zvimwe zvinyorwa zvose zvichabva mutsvagurudzo. Uyezve ruzivo rwuchanyorwa nemanyorero achaita kuti mhinduro dzemwana dzisazivivikanwe.

#### 8. Kushambadzwa kwezvichabuda mutsvagurudzo

Ndinonzwisisa kuti mutsvagurudzi achanyora gwaro raachaendeswa kuchikoro chedzidzo yepamusoro chePretoria. Gwaro iri acharipawo kusangano reBUCST uye bazi rezvekugara kwakanaka nekuchengetedzwa kwevana remuBindura. Ndinocherechedza kuti zvichabuda mutsvagurudzo zvichashandiswa mumisangano uye muzvinyorwa zvedzidzo.

Kana mune mibvunzo kana zvimwe zvamungade kuziva pamusoro pesarudzo makasununguka kutaura nemutsvagurudzi nerunhare panhamba dzinoti 263 772 640 336 kana kunyora tsamba pakero yeimeyili inoti [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com).

Kutaridza kuti ndanzwisisa nezvetsvagurudzo iyi uye ndirikubvuma kuti mwana ave mutsvagurudzo iyi ndichaisa runyoro rwangu sezvinotevera.

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Runyoro rwemubereki/muchengeti wemwana

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Zuva

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Runyoro rwemutsvagurudzi

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Zuva

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Faculty of Humanities  
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe  
Lefapha la Bomo

## Appendix 21: Informed assent letter for children



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
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Email: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

### INFORMED ASSENT: CHILDREN



#### What is a research study?

My name is Tawanda and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. I am doing a study to better understand how families use what is in their homes and community to lessen poverty. I know that poverty affects children like yourself in Bindura district. I am asking you to join my study by helping me to find answers to some questions that I have. It will be your choice to join the study; you are not forced in any way to do so. Let me first tell you more about my research.



#### Why I am doing this study?

I am doing this study to find out how you use or can use what you have in your homes and community to lessen poverty.



#### Why I am talking to you about this study?

I am asking you to join my study because you belong to a family who gets help from Bindura Urban Community Support Trust and may have some information that you would like to share with me.

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Email [Antoinette.Jombard@up.ac.za](mailto:Antoinette.Jombard@up.ac.za)  
[www.up.ac.za](http://www.up.ac.za)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe  
Lefapha la Bomotho



## What will happen if you join this study?

If you agree to be in the study, you will sit in a group with other children of your age. I will ask you to talk/draw pictures and then talk about how poverty is affecting children in your home and community. If you allow me, I will be recording what we will be talking about to make sure that I understand you clearly.



## Do I have to be afraid of anything if I join this study?

There is nothing to be afraid of by joining the study. Perhaps it will be hard for you to talk about all the difficulties that you and your family are going through. You must know that you do not have to answer any question if you feel you do not want to. But, if you talk to me and feel sad after doing so, you can tell me. I will listen to you so that you can tell me what is in your heart. If I cannot make you feel better, I will ask a child protection worker from Bindura District Child Welfare and Protection Office to help you.



## Are there any benefits to being in the study?

You will not receive any money or other gifts if you take part in the study. If you are willing to take part you will help me to find ways to help children to have a better life. However, snacks and a cool drink will be provided after the group talk.



## Who will know that I joined this study?

I have to get your parents/guardian's permission to ask you to take part in the study, so they will know that you have joined the study. They will not know what you have said. The other children in the group will also know that you are in the study because they will see you. I will ask all the children in the group not to tell anybody outside of the group what you said or what pictures you will draw when we meet. I have to write a report on my research for the university and publish the findings of my study in a journal. I will not use your names and from what I will write, nobody will be able to see who said what. To protect you, I have to store all the information of the study for 15 years at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Social Work and Criminology after which it will be destroyed. The information that I will share will only be used for research purposes.



## Do you have any questions?

You can ask me any question about the study. If you do not have questions now, you can call me or ask your parent/guardian to call me at +263 772 640 336 or send me an email to this address: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com).



## Would you like to join in the study?

I understand what you ask me to do if I join the study. I know that I have to say either yes or no by ticking one of the boxes:



Yes  I would like to join your study.



No  I would not like to join your study.

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If you agree to join the study, you can write your name and the date here:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of child

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix 22: Child participants informed assent letter (Shona)



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Social Work & Criminology

08/02/2017

Maererano neMutsvagurudzi  
Zita rangu: Tawanda Masuka  
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Kero yeimeyili: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com)

# RUBVUMIRANANO: VANA



## CHII CHINONZI TSVAGURUDZO?

Zita rangu ndinonzi Tawanda ndirimudzidzi wekuve godobori wedzidzo (doctoral student) mubazi reZvekugara kwakanaka kwevanhu nekudzivirira zvehuny'any'a (Department of Social Work and Criminology) pachikoro chedzidzo yepamusoro chePretoria kunyika yeSouth Africa (University of Pretoria, South Africa). Tsvagurudzo yangu yakananga nekuda kuziva zvirikuitwa nedzimhuri kuderedza hurombo. Ndinoziva kuti hurombo hurikushungurudza vana vadiki vezero rako munharaunda ino yeBindura. Nekuti iwe uriumwe wevana vanogara munharaunda yandirikuita tsvagurudzo iyi ndaidisa chose kuti undibatsirewo kupindura mimwe yemibvunzo yandiinayo. Isarudzo yako kubatana neni mutsvagurudzo iyi pasina kumanikidzwa kwerudzi rupi nerupi. Muzvikamu zvinotevera ndichatsanangura nezvetsvagurudzo iyi.



## NEI NDIRIKUITA TSVAGURUDZO IYI?

Kuti ndive neruzivo pamusoro pezviwanikwa zvamurikushandisa kana zvamungangoshandise zvirimudzimba kana munharaunda kuderedza hurombo



## SEI NDIRIKUKURUKURA NEWE NEZVETSVAGURUDZO?

Ndirikukupa mukana wekuti ubatane neni mutsvagurudzo ino nekuti uri mumwe wevana vanobva mumhuri dzirikuwana rubatsiro kubva kusangano reBindura Urban Community

Support Trust. Nekudaro ungangovewo nerumwe ruzivo rwaungade kugoverana neni pamusoro pamararamiro amurikuita semhuri.



## CHII CHICHAITIKA KANA UKABATANA NENI MUTSVAGURUDZO IYI?

Ukabvuma kubatana neni mutsvagurudzo iyi, uchava muboka nevamwe vana vezera rako. Muboka iri muchakumbirwa kudhirowa mifananidzo uye kuzokurukura pamusoro pekuti hurombo hurikukukanganisai sei mudzimba mamunogara uye munharaunda. Kana ukandipa mvumo hurukuro yese ndichainyora pasi uye kurekodha kuti pave nenhoroondo yechokwadi yezvatichakurukura.



## PANE ZIVAUNGATYE HERE KANA UKABVUMA KUBATANA NENI MUTSVAGURUDZO IYI?

Hapana chinotyisa zvachose pakuvekwako mutsvagurudzo iyi. Pamwe ungangonetseke kupindura mibvunzo pamusoro pematambudziko awurikusangana nawo uye nemhuri yako. Zvisinei haumanikidzwe kupindura mibvunzo yausina kusununguka kupindura. Asi kana pane mibvunzo ichaita kuti ushungurudzike mupfungwa mushure mekunge waipindura wakasununguka kuzivisa anenge achikubvunza mibvunzo. Munhu achange achikubvunza kana uchida achateerera zvinokushungurudza okubatsira asi kana uchida rumwe rubatsiro achakuendesha kunevebazi rezvekugara kwakanaka nekuchengetedzwa kwevana remuBindura (Department of Child Welfare and Protection Services).



## PANE ZVANDICHAPHIWA HERE NEKUDA KWEKUBE MUTSVAGURUDZO IYI?

Hapana zvichaphiwa zvakaita semari kana zvimwewo mukubatana neni mutsvagurudzo iyi. Asi kana uchida ukabatana neni mutsvagurudzo iyi uchandibatsira kutsvaga nzira dzekubatsira vana kuti vararame hupenyu hunetariro nepundutso.



## NDIYANI ACHAZIVA KUTI WABATANA NENI MUTSVAGURUDZO IYI?

Ndichatanga ndatsvaga mvumo yekuti ubatane neni mutsvagurudzo kubva kumuchengeti wako, nokudaro vachaziva kuti wanga uchibata mutsvagurudzo iyi. Asi havazozivi mhinduro dzauchapa kumibvunzo yauchabvunzwa. Ndapedza tsvagurudzo ndichainyora nhoroondo yezvandichawana kubva mairi yandichapa kuchikoro chedzidzo

yepamusoro chePretoria uye ndichanyora zvekare zvinyorwa zvichaverengwa nevamwe vachaitawo tsvagurudzo maringe nehurombo nekuchengetedzwa kwevana. Ndinovimbisa kuti muzvinyorwa zvose zvichabva mutsvagurudzo iyi handizoshandise zita rako uye manyorero andichaita anoita kuti mhinduro dzako dzisazivikanwe. Kukuchengetedza, ruzivo rweese kubva mutsvagurudzo iyi rwuchachengetedzwa kwemakore gumi nemashanu pachikoro chedzidzo yepamusoro chePretoria (University of Pretoria) mubazi rezvekugara kwakanaka kwevanhu nekudzivirira zvehuny'any'a (Department of Social Work and Criminology). Ruzivo urwu rwuchashandiswa mumatsvagurudzo chete.



Wakasununguka kundibvunza chero mubvunzo pamusoro petsvagurudzo iyi. Ungave usina mibvunzo panguva ino asikana ukazoda kundibvunza imwewo nguva wakasunguka iwe kana muchengeti wako kundichaira runhare panhamba dzinoti 0772 640 336 kana kundindinyorera tsamba pakero yeimeyili inoti: [masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com](mailto:masuka.tawanda@yahoo.com).



Ndinofunga ndanzwisisa zvizere maringe nezvandichaita ndikabatana nemi mutsvagurudzo iyi. Ndinoziva kuti ndinotarisirwa kuti ndinofanirwa kubvuma kana kuramba nekuti hongu kana kuti kwete maringe nekubatana nemi mutsvagurudzo iyi sezvinotevera.



Hongu  ndinoda kubatana nemi mutsvagurudzo iyi.



Kwete  handidi

kubatana nemi mutsvagurudzo iyi.

:  
Kana uchinge wabvuma kubatana neni mutsvagurudzo iyi unokwanisa kunyora zita rako pazasi apo:

\_\_\_\_\_

Zita remwana

\_\_\_\_\_

Zuva



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Zita remutsvagurudzi

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Zuva

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**Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe**  
**Lefapha la Bomo**