

**The impact of urban street community on
young children's educational development
in Zimbabwe**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(Department of Early Childhood Education)

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University of Pretoria

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DECLARATION

I, Martha Dozva, student number 15256040, declare that the thesis titled *The impact of urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe*, which I hereby submit for the degree, DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in Early Childhood Education, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

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The author, whose name appears on the title page of this thesis, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. The author declares that he/she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's *Code of ethics for researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research*.

DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to the memories of my late parents Mr Dzokwe J. Musarira and Mrs Alice Musarira (*née Katsuwa*) as well as my late siblings, Ivy Musarira, Robson Musarira, Julius Musarira and Gertrude Nhiwatiwa.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is the documentation of an investigation to explore the impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe. The study specifically sought to find familial circumstances of street vendors and their children, and the challenges faced by street vendors' children in their cognitive and emotional development. The study was guided by the interpretivist paradigm and conducted according to the qualitative approach. For the purpose of carrying out this research, a multiple case study design was employed to investigate six street vendors and their three-year-old children, as well as one social worker. Relevant information was gathered through interviews with the parents and the social worker, interaction with the children and observation.

The findings revealed that the current Zimbabwean economy is less accommodative for human survival, particularly for the generality of citizens whose income is below the poverty datum line. The majority of street vendors rely on the least satisfactory provisions for human survival in the form of meagre family resources derived from their vending expeditions in urban streets. The findings further revealed that street vendors' children face a plethora of challenges, which include health and safety issues as they spent most of their childhood on the streets with their vending mothers. They are also excluded from preschooling opportunities because their parents cannot afford to provide for their education requirements. As a result, they do not enjoy equal educational development opportunities as their peers from privileged Zimbabwean communities are exposed to. Yet, at school, they are expected to compete in equal measure for academic achievement initiatives without considering the impact the street vending experience has on their cognitive and emotional development.

Although the Zimbabwe Children's Act of 1989 provides for the protection of children, it was noted with concern that street vendors' young children were not fully protected by this policy. The majority of these children are generally

neglected. There is, therefore, a need for the government to effectively implement legislation on children's rights that will guarantee protection of vulnerable and disadvantaged children, such as the children of street vendors.

LIST OF KEY WORDS

- Street vendors
- Educational
- Development
- Cognitive development
- Emotional development
- Childhood
- Children's rights
- Early years
- Poverty
- Nutrition
- Health
- Safety

PROOF OF LANGUAGE EDITING

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DECLARATION

To whom it may concern

I hereby certify that the English language of the following thesis meets the requirements of academic publishing. This thesis was linguistically edited and proofread by me, Dr. L. Hoffman.

Title of thesis

The impact of urban street community on young children's development in
Zimbabwe

Candidate

Martha Dozva (15256040)



Lariza Hoffman
Kroonstad
5 April 2018

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
BSAC	British South African Company
CBD	Central Business District
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
ECD	Early Childhood Development (used only in the context of ECD centres)
ECE	Early Childhood Education
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
Goz	Government of Zimbabwe
NPA	National Plan of Action
NELDS	National Early Learning and Development Standards
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study was to find out how young children, aged three years, are raised in Zimbabwe, as the streets increasingly become the living space of numerous Zimbabweans. Manyanhaire, Murenje, Chibisa, Munasirei and Svotwa (2007:171) postulate that Zimbabwe has become a country of vendors, as the economy continues on a decline. The tough economic situation has resulted in many companies closing down (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). Most parents who have lost their jobs have resorted to vending (Mitullah, 2003:4). From professionals to the unemployed youths in the ghetto, everyone is trying to sell something to survive (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007). In the streets of Harare, many young men and women are seen selling airtime cards, vegetables, clothes, traditional herbs or skin-lightening creams (Njaya, 2014:70). The National Vendors Union of Zimbabwe indicates that in Harare, there are more than 2 000 vendors in the Central Business District (CBD) area (Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, 2016).

Many vendors have found the CBD to be lucrative for business (Njaya, 2014:70). On average, the majority of vendors engage in their business 12 hours every day. Subsequently, very young children find themselves on the streets, not of their own choice, but because of their parents' occupation. This is because the majority of vending parents cannot afford to hire and pay baby minders since they earn very little from their business. Infants are put in cardboard boxes, while toddlers walk around on the bare grounds of the streets in the CBD without the necessary care and attention.

Feeney, Christensen and Moravcik (2010) aptly remark that the experiences and circumstances which children are exposed to in their first three years of life have a determining impact on their development. The circumstances of

children who grow up on the street are very concerning as Cooper (2002:1) explains that children learn many different skills in the early years. These include the ability to walk, eat and talk, as well as learning how to express their feelings and socialise with other people. The author further asserts that relationships and skills that children acquire during the early years are initialised and will affect them throughout their lives (Cooper, 2002:1). Berns (2010) and Minnet (2014) concur that the environment plays a critical role towards child development. They further agree that conducive environments create foundations for healthy, emotionally secure and well-balanced persons in terms of their personalities as well as cognitive development. The early years are also the time when parenting is crucial to the development of well-being, trusting relationships and a growing knowledge about the world (Berns, 2010).

Under normal circumstances, children are raised in a home. A normal home has decent shelter, privacy, security, good sanitation and is generally a safe place for children to play around (Berns, 2010). Street environments, on the other hand, do not meet these requirements. Samson and Cherrier (2009:9) argue that urban streets do not always provide clean sanitation facilities. Worse still, street environments expose young children to a wide range of dangers. Chief among them are careless human and vehicle traffic, untidy play environments as well as exposing them to the temptation of eating contaminated food from waste bins (Samson & Cherrier, 2009:9). Considering the financial income levels for the generality of street vendors, their children may further be exposed to, among others, malnutrition, physical injuries, sexual abuse and ill health.

The accumulation of the abovementioned risks may have adverse effects on child development. Rutter and Samerof (in Gabarino, 1992) posit that children may cope with one or two risks, but the accumulation of risks may jeopardise development. Street life has a severe impact on every aspect of development, that is, socially, emotionally, cognitively and physically (Densley & Joss, 2000:222). These authors maintain that children in the streets are deprived of

a humane childhood as constant exposure to street environments adversely affects the child in totality (Densley & Joss, 2000:222). Samson and Cherrier (2009:9) conclude that street environments are hostile places for raising children, which should be avoided at all costs.

1.2 RATIONALE OF STUDY

The increasing numbers of infants and toddlers at vending sites have become a serious cause for concern. In 2004, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2004) conducted a situation analysis of children aged 0 to 18 years to establish why there were so many children staying on the streets of Harare – gathering information on the family background of street children, identifying the problems street children face and formulating and implementing appropriate interventions to address the challenges faced by street children. The findings indicated that children are on the streets due to poverty and broken homes (UNICEF, 2004).

I have observed several infants at vending sites, who were placed in cardboard boxes while their mothers were vending. On several occasions, I also observed toddlers of street vendors playing in rubbish dumps while the mothers were vending. This is a disturbing situation in terms of the child's general health/wellbeing as young children's vulnerability is, to a great extent, determined by the socio-economic and environmental conditions in which they live (Hernaudez, Zietina, Tapia, Ortiz & Soto, 1996). Given the challenges and risks children are exposed to in street environments, this has motivated me to explore the impact of urban street community on young children's educational development in terms of their cognitive and emotional domains.

Njaya (2014) conducted a study to identify challenges deterring the formation of a steady governance outline on street vending in Harare, and the results indicated that the failure to control street vending activities is linked to compromised systems of leadership on the national, metropolitan and local

level (Njaya, 2014). For example, city by-laws and regulations exclude street vending.

Some aspects of children living or working on the streets and challenges hindering the establishment of stable governance framework on street vending in Harare and Zimbabwe have received much attention in literature (Njaya, 2014; UNICEF, 2004). While street vendors' children, who continually find themselves on the street in the company of their mothers, have not been empirically investigated, it is, therefore, the purpose of this study to find how these young children develop cognitively and emotionally in street environments.

The findings of this study are presented as guidelines that government ministries such as Labour and Social Services, Health and Child Welfare, Primary and Secondary Education and Local Government and National Housing can follow in their respective ministries and departments. City by-laws may be revised so that they take on board the needs of young children of street vendors.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

When children are young, they are developing many of the psychological and social aptitudes that would form the basis of their approach to life as adults (Bruce, Meggit & Grenier, 2010). It is, therefore, a crucial period for enabling a child to gain a positive appreciation of him- or herself, other people and the world around them (Erikson in McLeod, 2013). A healthy environment, adequate food, good sanitation, the care of close relatives and stimulating surroundings are all part of what a child needs (Berns, 2010). However, due to the fact that children are raised on the streets, their educational development could be adversely affected (Densley & Joss, 2000).

Very young children have become a common sight in most streets in Zimbabwe, and Chirau (2012) ascribe their presence to poverty. Due to the

dwindling economy in Zimbabwe, many families are living under the poverty datum line (Mlambo, 2014). The poverty datum line is the calculated level of income that determines whether someone can be designated as poor. Poverty can grievously restrain children's development and chances (UNICEF, 2009). Undernourished children, because of poverty, are known to have delayed intellectual development (UNICEF, 2009).

1.3.1 Research questions

The study was guided by the following primary research question:

What is the impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe?

Three further questions guided the exploration of this phenomenon to answer the primary research question:

- What are the familial circumstances of Zimbabwean street vendors and their children?
- What challenges do Zimbabwean street vendors' young children face in their cognitive and emotional development?
- What intervention strategies can be put in place to mitigate the challenges that children of street vendors experience in their development?

1.3.2 Aim and objectives of the study

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of the urban street environment on the educational development of street vendors' children in Zimbabwe. To this purpose, I have set myself three objectives:

- To explore the familial circumstances of Zimbabwean street vendors and their children;

- To examine the challenges children of street vendors face in their cognitive and emotional development as they spend most of their early childhood in urban streets; and
- To suggest intervention strategies that can be put in place to mitigate the challenges that children street vendors experience in their development.

1.3.3 Basic assumptions of the study

- Poverty is regarded as the main root cause for children being raised in street environments (Ananga, 2011; King, 2006).
- Street environments expose children to several risks, including poor health, malnutrition, abuse and neglect (Brooks, 2008).
- Children of street vendors are socially, emotionally, physically and intellectually vulnerable (Muchini, 1994).
- Children of street vendors need intervention strategies to mitigate the challenges they experience in their growth and development.

1.4 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

To ensure that the meanings readers of this research report attach to the key concepts in the study are the same as those I attached to them, they are briefly defined in this section. A more detailed discussion of these concepts can be found in Chapter 2. The key concepts are explained as follows:

1.4.1 Urban street

An urban area is a densely populated setting with many buildings surrounding it. Such areas may be towns or cities, but the term also applies to rural townships in the villages (UN Report on Zimbabwe Government, 2005). In this study, the city of Harare is defined as an urban area. A street is a road in a city, town or village, with buildings on one or both sides (UN Report on Zimbabwe Government, 2005). It is also defined as being a highway in a city, town or village, lined with houses, shops or other buildings (Rankin, 2005). In

this study, a street is understood as a pavement or sidewalk in the city of Harare, where vendors normally exhibit or sell their wares. Rankin (2005) defines an urban street as a public main road in a developed setting and further defines it as a public parcel of land connecting buildings in an urban setting, on which people may freely gather, relate and move about. In this study, “urban street” is a pavement or a sidewalk in the city of Harare.

1.4.2 Community

A community is a structured linkage of people with a common agenda, cause, or interest, who cooperate by sharing ideas, information and other possessions (Arthur & Bailey, 2000). In this study, “community” refers to female vendors with young children in the streets of Harare, selling different wares.

1.4.3 Street vendor

A street vendor is a person who trades merchandise or facilities in open places, including walkways, passageways, train stations, buses and public parks without a permanent built-up structure, but with a provisional stationary structure or movable stall (Njaya, 2014:70). Mitullah (2003:7) adds that street vendors may be immobile in the sense that they occupy space on the roadways or other public or private spaces, or may be movable in the sense that they move from place to place by carrying their merchandise on pushcarts or in carriers on their heads.

According to Roever (in Njaya, 2014:70), “street vendor” may refer to the following: vendors with immovable stands, such as kiosks; vendors who operate from semi-fixed stalls, such as portable tables, crates, folding stands or manoeuvred carts that are removed from the streets and stored somewhere overnight; vendors who sell from fixed sites without a stall structure, exhibiting goods on cloth or plastic sheets; or mobile vendors who walk or cycle through the streets as they sell. In Zimbabwe, street vendors are observed in most open places, such as manufacturing and building sites,

hospitals, schools, sporting arenas, bus stations, church buildings, shopping and market places, pavements, walkways, passageways, open spaces and along almost every street of the suburbs of Harare as well as the CBD (Njaya, 2014:70).

In this study, “street vendor” means a mother with a three-year-old child who sells goods in the street with their goods laid out on the sidewalk or the pavement.

1.4.4 Children of street vendors

Children of street vendors are children who dwell in the street together with their parents, relatives or guardians (UNICEF, 2014). These families normally sleep in and around their stalls, kiosks or containers (Madjitey, 2014:8). In this study, “children of street vendors” mean children aged three years who are brought to vending sites by their mothers because they do not have substitute caregivers to look after them at home while the parents are vending in the streets.

1.4.5 Education

Dewey (1944) defines education as the process of facilitating learning or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and habits. The author further states that education is commonly divided into such stages as pre-school or kindergarten, primary school, secondary school and then college, university or apprenticeship (Dewey, 1944). In this study, education refers to facilitating learning at preschool or the kindergarten stage. This study is situated within early childhood education (ECE).

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, literature related to street vending is reviewed, including factors leading to street vending in Zimbabwe, the nature of street vending and the street life of children of street vendors.

1.5.1 Factors leading to street vending in Zimbabwe

There are several factors that contribute to people resorting to street vending. These include, among others, the economy, unemployment and rural-to-urban migration (Madjitey, 2014:38).

1.5.1.1 Economy

The Zimbabwean economy has, in recent years, been on the edge of collapse, with formal employment estimated to be between 5% and 10% (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). Inflation reached unprecedented levels over the past few years. According to the Central Statistics Office (2008), it was 1 649 000% in February 2008. However, Hanke (in Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4) indicates that by 2008, Zimbabwe had entered the hyperinflation zone with the highest monthly inflation rate of 79 600 000 000%. At the same time, in January 2009, the Zimbabwean Dollar became worthless, with economists indicating that Z\$100 000 0000 000 was equal to US\$2.5 (Hanke, in Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). To date, the country continues to face some of the greatest challenges in development due to this economic collapse.

Zimbabwe has tried a number of policy variations in order to turn around the economy, including the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). ESAP can be described as the procedure by which key institutions and policies were recreated with the aim of advancing economic development, enhancing resource distribution, improving economic efficiency and increasing the resilience of the economy to changes in its local or international market (Ibhawoh, 1999:159). ESAPs were used in a number of countries in efforts to revamp and redirect their economies and spur economic growth and development (Kadenge, 1992:4). However, ESAP saw the downscaling of the civil service and the restructuring or closure of many companies (International Labour Organisation, 2008). In Zimbabwe, ESAP ended in the loss of employment and the reduction of the formal job market, thereby creating conditions for the creation of the informal economy (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171). As a result, most citizens were forced to make a life on the streets.

1.5.1.2 Unemployment

Unemployment in Zimbabwe has been on the increase since the early 2000s (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171), with the economic crisis, formal sector employment started to go down from a peak of 1 241 500 in 1998 to 1 012 900, showing a net loss of 228 600 sector jobs (Luebker, 2008:4). This signified a compound annual growth of -5.0%. The main cause for this was the sharp drop in the formal farming employment from 345 100 (1998) to 193 800 in December 2002 (Luebker, 2008:4). The loss of 150 000 jobs in formal agricultural enterprises was seen in the context of the debated land reform programme of the country, under which about 4 000 white-owned large-scale commercial farms were seized since 2000 (Luebker, 2008:4). The author further states that non-agricultural employment also fell from 896 400 in 1998 to 802 800 in March 2005 (Luebker, 2008).

According to Saungweme, Matsvai and Sakuhuni (2015:2), official statistics show that the Zimbabwean unemployment rate was 10.7% in 2011, while the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation admits that it is over 50%. Most economists and industrialists, however, believe that unemployment is between 70 and 85%. The 2011 Zim Stat survey further showed that about 5.4 million of the employed population were aged 15 years and above (Hlohla, 2008) Of these, 4.6 million (85%) were considered to be in informal employment, 606 000 (11%) were in formal employment and 252 000 (4%) were in employment not classifiable (Hlohla, 2008). Because of the decline of the Zimbabwean economy, unemployment increased tremendously in Zimbabwe as a whole (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). As a result, most of the unemployed people in the cities try to make a living through vending and other informal activities. Zimbabwe has literally become a country of vendors (Njaya, 2014:70). The number of vendors crowding the cities and towns of Zimbabwe is increasing at an alarming rate (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171).

1.5.1.3 Rural-to-urban migration

Compounding the effects of the worsening economic conditions in the country is rural-to-urban migration, which started before independence and has

increased during the post-independence period (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171). Today, only a small proportion of these migrants secure jobs in the formal sector. The Zimbabwean education system, which has stretched rapidly after independence, rolls out hundreds of thousands of youths per year, such that the total labour pool has increased from three to five million between 1980 and 1999; yet the formal job market could hardly take a third of these (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171). The World Bank (2003a) concurs that 81.8% of secondary school leavers in Zimbabwe could not secure employment in the period from 1999 to 2001. Therefore, the bulk of the unemployed people sought opportunities in the informal sector (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171).

1.5.2 Nature of street vending

Harare has experienced a huge growth in street vending over the last decade, with vendors selling everything from fresh food and medical drugs to mobile phones and mobile recharge cards, electrical gadgets (television sets, stereos), cars and brick sand (Njaya, 2014:70). In concurrence, Mitullah (2003:7) states that street vendors trade in a variety of merchandises, ranging from food, both fresh and processed, fabrics or clothes, shoes, cosmetics, flowers, traditional herbs, craft, artwork or pottery, kitchenware, plastic products, hardware, electrical appliances and general merchandise, such as office stationary, school supplies, books, sweets, brooms, tobacco and newspapers, among others. Chirau (2012:53) asserts that the majority of women trade in second-hand clothes, sim cards for mobile phones, perfumes for men and women, pesticides for cockroaches, and many other products. Meanwhile, other vendors provide services on the streets, and chief among these are haircutting, hair plaiting, giving manicures and pedicures, car wash services, bicycle repairs, unlocking cell phones, connection of the internet or installing WhatsApp on cell phones, and mending. The major categories of street vendors observed, include mobile, stationary, fixed and roaming vendors (Bromley in Njaya, 2014:70).

The facilities used, include kiosks, open spaces, wooden, canvas or polythene stalls, hawkers' kiosks, pushcarts, bicycles, folding stands, semi-fixed stalls, such as collapsible tables, crates, trucks, other vehicles and vans with specific food service equipment (Njaya, 2014:70). Mitullah (2003:7) also reports that traders use different structures, including tables, racks, wheelbarrows, handcarts and bicycle seats to display their goods. Others exhibit their goods on the ground on mat or the bare ground, while others simply carry their merchandise in their hands or on their heads and shoulders. Some hang their goods, such as clothes, on walls, trees or fences.

Added to this, Njaya (2014:70) further submits that the selling of commodities from car boots is also becoming a common phenomenon in Harare, especially on weekends. Organised car boot sales are usually conducted as fundraising activities by schools and church organisations, where individuals come together to sell old or new goods. In the case of street food vending, Njaya (2014:70) observes that the equipment used, includes baskets, plastic boxes, firewood braziers, gas stoves, braai stands, cooler boxes, plastic buckets and refrigerators. Cooking utensils include pots and pans (usually black) that are appropriate for use on open fires, spoons (wooden and metal), plates (metal and plastic), knives, cups (metal and plastic), dishes and bowls (metal and plastic) (Njaya, 2014:70).

1.5.3 Street life of children of street vendors

The children of street vendors live with their parents in overcrowded and impoverished home environments, unsafe neighbourhoods, slums, kiosks and containers and on shop pavements (Madjitey, 2014:14). In addition, Balgeramire (1999) notes that these children lack proper hygiene and sanitation, safe drinking water, proper healthcare, recreational facilities, proper clothing and good transport systems. Seccombe (2002), Bruscano (2001) as well as Densley and Joss (2000:217) assert that these children are, moreover, exposed to various environmental hazards and dangerous practices that affect their total development, economic independence and personal safety. Balgeramire (1999) raises specific concerns regarding these

children's health when the author mentions that most of the vendors buy and consume food prepared in unhygienic conditions on the street since they do not have any place to cook and cannot afford to eat from restaurants. They are prone to the consequences of inadequate diets, underfeeding, malnutrition, hunger and disease (Balgeramire, 1999).

Perpetual exposure to unclean urban environments results in young children developing antisocial behaviour patterns, which are detrimental to their humanhood. Again, it is not surprising that these children develop communication difficulties, conduct disorders, a poor concept of the self and a low self-esteem (Densley & Joss, 2000:217; Elbedour, Onwuegbuzie, Caridine & Abu-Saad, 2002:255). They are sometimes so mistreated that they are traumatised and may develop psychological problems (Bruscino, 2001). According to the Bernard van Leer Foundation (2004:3), children's early experiences affect their development as well as the development of society and the world. Elliot and Davis (2009:113) agree that during the early years of development, children demonstrate the greatest ability to learn and develop. For this reason, it seems critical that nations invest in their young, thereby preparing and equipping them for future challenges. This poses a major challenge to the development of a child's sense of trust, security and confidence (Elbedour *et al.*, 2002).

Children are critical members of any country as a community whose rights needs maximum protection. Raising children on the streets could be a violation of children's rights (UNICEF, 2014). Children have rights regarding their survival, protection, development and participation in decision-making processes that may be relevant to their lives and need to influence decisions taken in their regard within the family, the school and the community (National Plan of Action [NPA], 2011:1). All children have the same rights, irrespective of their status in society. Article 27, Section 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) of the United Nations (UN) (UNCRC, 1989) states that state parties should recognise the right of every child to have a basic standard of living for a child's physical, mental, spiritual and social development.

Raising children on the streets could also be violating article 81(d) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013:39), which states that “every child has the right to family or parental care, or to appropriate care when removed from the family environment”. Article 81(f) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013:39) goes further to state that the “child has a right to education, health care services, nutrition and shelter”, which could also be violated by this practice.

Above all, when children are raised on the streets, goal number 1 of the Education for All movement by UNESCO (2000) will not be achieved. Education for All is one of the global obligations several governments agreed on at the World Education Forum in 2000, in Dakar, Senegal (UNESCO, 2015). Its focus was to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults. An agenda was launched to reach six wide-ranging goals by 2015. Goal number 1 was targeted at expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children. The aim of this goal was to ensure that all young children are raised in safe and caring environments that allow them to become healthy, alert and secure children who are able to learn. However, raising children on the streets can cost Zimbabwe its chance of achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

The Michigan State Board of Education (2006) posits that when infants and toddlers are cared for in a setting outside their homes, responsive and nurturing caregiving requires deliberate and intensive attention to their physical and emotional needs as well as their inborn desire to make sense of the world about them. In view of all this, streets may not be conducive environments for raising children (Samson & Cherrier, 2009:9).

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The study was guided by the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner, the psychosocial theory of Erikson and the cognitive theory of Piaget. Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems analyse the effects of different

environmental systems that street vendors' children encounter. Erikson's psychosocial theory shows how each individual progresses through a series of stages that represent challenges that must be resolved successfully to lay a firm foundation for the next stage. Lastly, Piaget's cognitive development theory explains how children develop through stages and adapt to their immediate environment.

1.6.1 Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (1976:6) looks at children's development within the context of a system of relationships that form their environment. The theory places the child at the centre of multiple circles of influence, realising that only by considering these interrelationship structures can a child's development be adequately addressed (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). Thus, children are shaped not only by their personal attributes but also by the ever-widening environments in which they develop (Bogenschneider, 1996:129). The interaction between factors in the child's maturing biology, his or her immediate family or community environment, and the societal landscape, provides impetus to, and steers his or her development (Woodside, Caldwell & Spurr, 2006). The ecological theory, therefore, holds that development reflects the influence of several systems, each having an effect on a child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These systems are the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem. Figure 1.1 represents the four ecological systems.

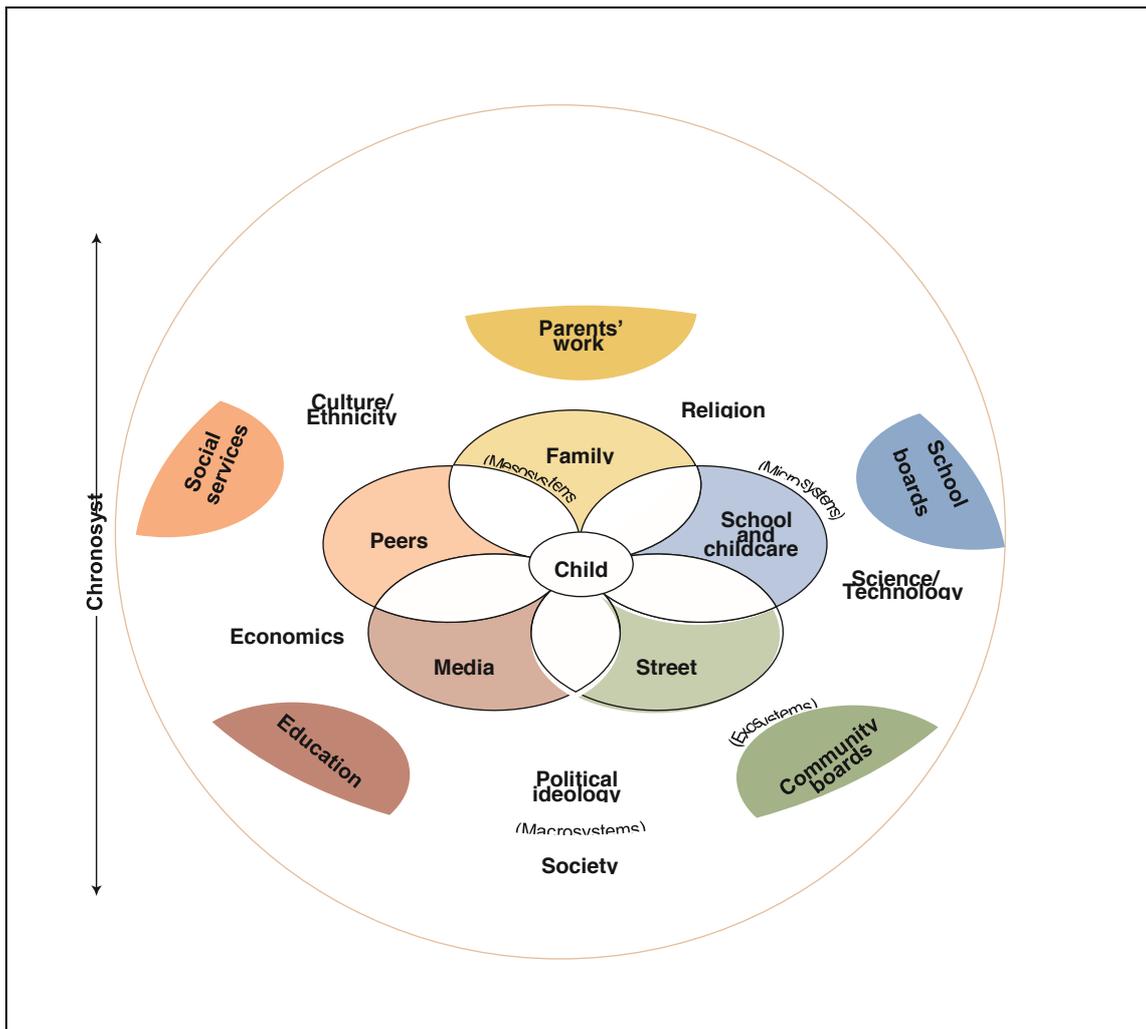


Figure 1.1: Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems (Berns, 2010:18)

1.6.1.1 *Microsystem*

The first structure, the microsystem (“micro” meaning small), is the immediate environment which a person lives in (Berns, 2010:18). Children’s microsystems include any immediate relationships or settings they interact with, such as their immediate family members, caregivers, the school or day care, their peer group or the community (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). The way these groups interact with the child has an effect on how the child grows. The more encouraging and nurturing these relationships are, the more chances the child will be able to develop. The family is the setting that provides nurturance, love and a variety of opportunities (Berns, 2010:19). It is the primary socialiser of the child in that it has the most significant impact on the

child's development (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). For example, the economic situation in Zimbabwe that is affecting developmental contexts, such as the family, is, in turn, affecting individual development (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). As a result of the economic change, most parents who have lost their jobs are now engaging in informal activities, such as street vending. Parents, who constitute the microsystem, take along their infants and toddlers to vending sites in the streets to earn a living. As a result, streets, which are inhabited by street vendors, directly influence the growth and development of infants and toddlers through reciprocal interactions, which, over time, have a negative impact on their growth and development.

According to Gabarino (1992), the child who is inadequately cared for and loved, such as one who grows up in harsh circumstances or a dysfunctional family, may have developmental problems. This early drawback will continue, and even worsen, as the child progresses through school, unless timely intervention changes the opportunities at home and at school (Berns, 2010:19). Microsystems in this study are settings, such as the family, day-care centres, peer groups at home and peer groups at vending sites, which have a direct impact on the child's development.

1.6.1.2 Mesosystem

The second structure, the mesosystem ("meso" meaning intermediate), consists of interrelationships between two or more microsystems, such as the family and the school, or the family and the peer group (Berns, 2010:21). It describes how different parts of a child's microsystems work together for the sake of the child (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). Thus, the mesosystem typically incorporates interactions among family, school, the peer group or television; for some children, it might include the church, camp or workplace as well (Bronfenbrenner 1976:6). For example, the economic downturn and the subsequent ESAP in Zimbabwe affected the intersection between different microsystems (the mesosystem), such as the interplay between family and day care (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). Workers retrenched during ESAP could not afford to pay fees for their children to attend school and day

care, resulting in many young children being brought to vending sites in the streets (Boas & Hatloy, 2008:19). For the purpose of this study, the mesosystem represents the relationship between the family, school, day-care centres, peer groups at home and peer groups at vending sites.

1.6.1.3 Exosystem

The third structure, the exosystem (“exo” meaning outside), refers to settings in which children are inactive participants, but that affect them in one of their microsystems, for example, parents’ jobs or the school board (Berns,2010). Decisions made at the parents’ workplace may influence the child’s life. For instance, if a child’s parent gets laid off from work, it may have negative effects on the child if the parent is unable to pay fees and rent or buy food. On the contrary, if the parent is promoted, this may have a positive effect on the child because the parents will be better able to provide for his or her physical needs. Many parents lost their jobs through retrenchments, and this perpetuated poverty in the subsistence economy of the country (Hilson & Potter, 2005:103). Many parents who could not afford the basic necessities of life, such as food and shelter, engaged in street vending, bringing their young children to vending sites in the streets because they could not afford to hire maids to look after the children. For this study, the exosystem consists of the larger social settings such as school boards, parents’ workplaces, city councils, the Department of Social Welfare and other organisations that have something to do with young children.

1.6.1.4 Macrosystem

Macrosystems are the overarching institutions of the culture or subculture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal and political systems, of which local micro-, meso- and exosystems are the concrete manifestations (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). According to Bronfenbrenner (1976:6), such macrosystems are perceived and scrutinised, not only in structural terms but also as carriers of information and philosophy that both explicitly and implicitly endow meaning and motivation to particular agencies, social networks, roles, activities and their interrelations, and can also affect a child either positively or

negatively. At the broadest level of society, individual educational development may be affected by issues such as changing laws or political and social institutions, and by access to technical innovations (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). For example, the economy meltdown as well as the stringent policies of ESAP saw many people (retrenched workers from both public and private sectors) moving into the uncontrolled informal, poverty-driven sector and, for that matter, street vending, in urban centres in the country. The macrosystem in this study represents the economic, social, educational, legal and political systems in the country.

To sum up, the central concern of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory is the mutual relationship or mutual reciprocity between developing individuals and their environment. The next section focuses on Erikson's psychosocial theory.

1.6.2 Erikson's psychosocial theory

Erikson saw development as a passage through a series of stages, each with its particular goals, concerns, accomplishments and dangers (Woolfolk, 2004:100). Accomplishments at later stages depend on how conflicts are resolved in the earlier years (McLeod, 2013:2). At each stage, Erikson suggested that the individual faces a developmental crisis between a positive alternative and a potentially unhealthy alternative (Woolfolk, 2004). The way in which the individual resolves each crisis will have a lasting effect on the person's self-perception and view of society (Woolfolk, 2004:100). Erikson identifies eight stages, which are trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus doubt and shame, initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, ego identity versus role confusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation and ego integrity versus despair (McLeod, 2013:2). In this study, though my focus on three-year-olds, I focus on the first two stages, trust versus mistrust and autonomy versus shame and doubt, since the way in which the preceding crisis is resolved, has an effect on the subsequent stage.

Erikson identifies *trust* versus *mistrust* as the basic conflict of infancy (Woolfolk, 2004:100). According to him, the infant will develop trust if its needs for food and care are met with comforting regularity and responsiveness from caregivers (Woolfolk, 2004:100). The caregivers' consistency, continuity and sameness of experience in satisfying the infant's basic needs foster trust (Snowman & McCown, 2012:29). Such an environment permits children to think of their world as safe and trustworthy. On the contrary, children whose care is insufficient, unpredictable or undesirable approach the world with fear and distrust (Snowman & McCown, 2012:29). When parents raise children in streets, care may be harsh, unpredictable, irregular and undependable; the children then develop a sense of mistrust and will not have confidence in the world around them or in their abilities to influence events (Erikson in McAdams, 2001).

In the second stage, *autonomy* versus *shame and doubt*, young children begin to assume important responsibilities for self-care, such as feeding, toileting and self-dressing (Woolfolk, 2004:101). If toddlers are allowed and encouraged to do what they are capable of doing at their own pace and in their own way, they develop a sense of autonomy (Woolfolk, 2004:101). To the contrary, if parents and caregivers are impatient and do too many things for young children or shame young children for undesirable behaviour, these children will develop feelings of shame and doubt (Snowman & McCown, 2012:29). Feeling a sense of control without a loss of self-esteem develops autonomy, while over-demanding or overprotective parents cause the child to feel shame and doubt (Tuckman & Monette, 2011:133). Erikson (1973) believes that children who experience doubt at this stage will lack self-confidence in their own abilities throughout life (Woolfolk, 2004:101). Children raised on the street may be criticised, excessively controlled or not given the opportunity to assert themselves. As a result, they may feel inadequate in their ability to survive and may then become too dependent upon others, lack self-esteem and feel a sense of shame or doubt in their own abilities (McLeod, 2013).

1.6.3 Piaget's theory of cognitive development

According to Woolfolk (2004:89), Piaget believed that young people pass through the following four stages as they develop: the sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational and formal operational stages (Woolfolk, 2004). This study focuses on the second stage, the preoperational stage since three-year-olds fall under this stage.

The pre-operational stage ranges from infancy through toddlerhood to early childhood. Children in early childhood learn how to manipulate symbols, such as numbers and words, to represent aspects of the world, but relate to the world only through their perspectives (Atherton, 2011; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:14). At this age, according to Piaget, children are self-centred and self-oriented and have an egocentric view (Atherton, 2011). The child's reasoning is not yet logical and is still centred on the self. The self is predominant in conversations and discussions with peers and other significant adults. The child is still dominated by the external world, rather than his or her own thoughts. At this stage, perception still dominates over reason (Desai, 2010:6). The key developmental milestone at this stage is verbal language, which is crucial in Early Childhood Education. Street environments may not be conducive for children to explore as much as they would want to and, as a result, delay educational development of critical achievements at this stage.

The three theoretical frameworks emphasise the influence of the environment on the child's educational development. Streets as the context of development directly influence young children's educational development in many ways through mutual exchanges, which may, over time, have a negative impact on their growth and development. Figure 1.4 depicts the link among the three conceptual frameworks.

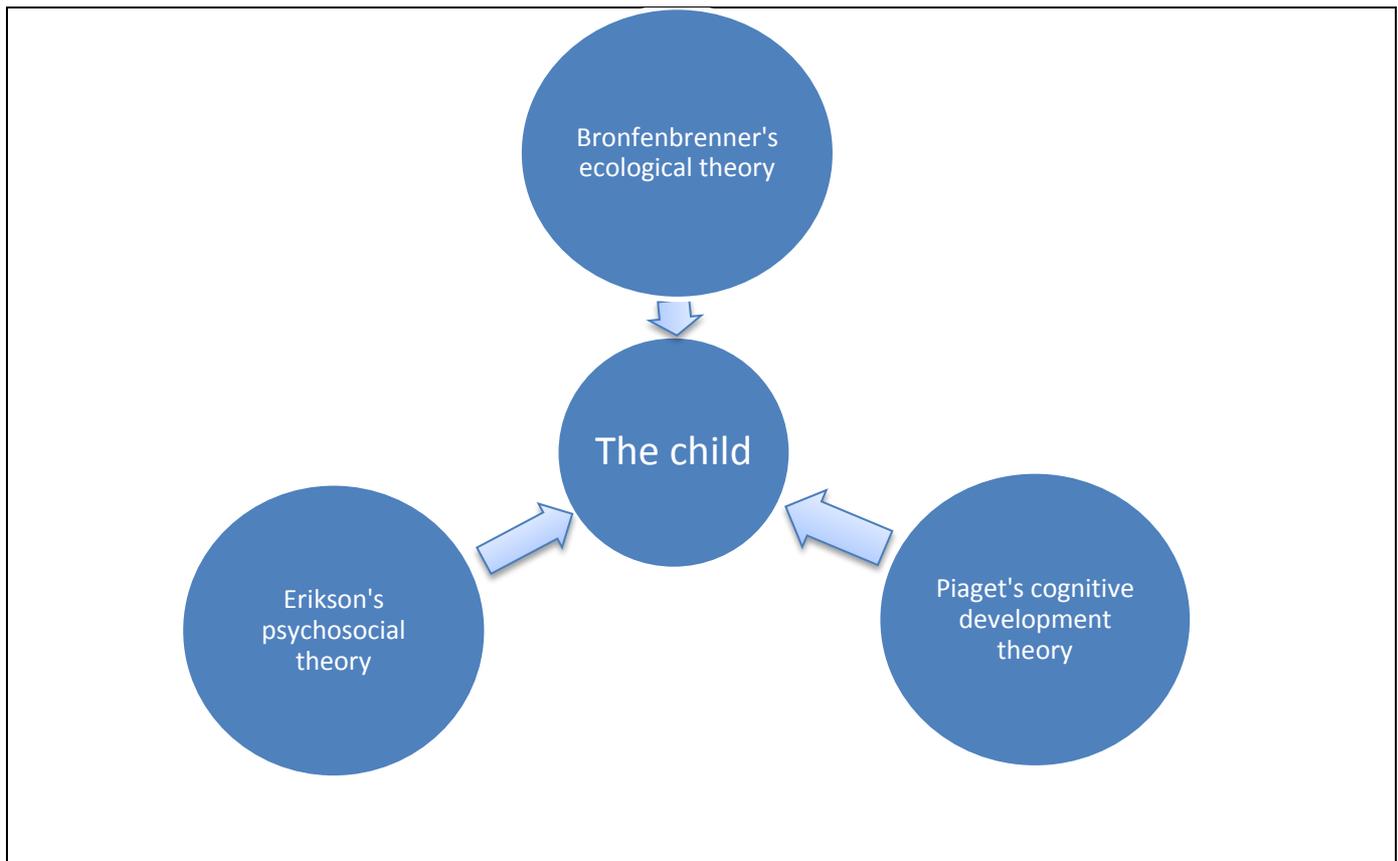


Figure 1.2: The three conceptual frameworks (Dozva, 2016)

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section focuses on the methodology used in this study. Research methodology is the study of methods, and it raises all sorts of philosophical questions about what is possible for researchers to know and how valid their claims to knowledge might be (Fisher, 2010). As part of the research design, I explain the interpretive paradigm that guides the study, the qualitative research approach and the case study design. I, furthermore, motivate why a phenomenological approach was appropriate for this study. The section containing the research methods consists of the population, the participants, the role of the researcher, data collection methods, data analysis, trustworthiness, the delimitations of the study and ethical considerations.

1.7.1 Interpretive paradigm

Nieuwenhuis (2007a:47) refers to a paradigm as the “set of assumptions or beliefs” that a researcher holds in relation to the reality which he or she seeks to establish about the phenomenon of interest in the research study. It reflects philosophical orientation about “fundamental aspects of reality” that influence the researcher’s worldview (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:47). The study adopted the interpretive paradigm of qualitative research. The interpretive paradigm seeks to generate knowledge based on the lived experiences of participants with the phenomenon of interest (Klotz & Lynch, 2007). Nieuwenhuis (2010:59) states that phenomena should be studied in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpreting the phenomena in terms of the meanings that people ascribe to them. The interpretive paradigm relies heavily on naturalistic methods (interviewing and observation and analysis of existing texts) (Klotz & Lynch, 2007).

In this study, the information sought was generated by exploring the participants’ lived experiences with the phenomenon under scrutiny through interviews. I viewed the interpretive paradigm as the most appropriate because it allowed me to get lived experiences of participants on street vending with young children on the streets. I interviewed six female street vendors with children aged three years and a social worker in order to get their experiences on street vending with young children on the streets. I also interacted with six children of the six female street vendors to establish their cognitive and emotional competencies.

1.7.2 Qualitative research approach

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2012), qualitative research tries to find answers to questions that focus on how social experience is created and given meaning. Qualitative methods produce information only on the particular cases studied; hence, smaller, but focused samples are often needed, rather than large samples (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). A qualitative approach was appropriate for the process of explaining the phenomenon of raising children

on urban streets. A phenomenological approach, rooted in a qualitative approach, was used.

Smith and Osborn (2008:53) submit that a phenomenological approach is an inductive approach concerned with understanding an individual's personal account of a particular experience or phenomenon. Smith and Osborn(2008) furthermore stress that the focus of phenomenological inquiry is what people experience with regard to some phenomenon or other and how they interpret those experiences. Therefore, a phenomenological study is a study that attempts to understand peoples' perceptions, perspectives and understanding of a particular situation or phenomenon. The approach emphasises exploring the lived experiences of individuals. Finlay and Ballinger (2006:318-319) stress that the phenomenological approach allows in-depth exploration of how a phenomenon appears to us in our consciousness and the nature and meaning of such a phenomenon.

The purpose of phenomenological study is to describe and interpret the experiences of participants regarding a particular event to understand the participants' meanings ascribed to that event (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010:346). This can also be viewed as capturing the essence of the experiences as perceived by the participants. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:346) further assert that the basis of phenomenology is that there are multiple ways of interpreting the same experience concerning a phenomenon, as described by the participants in the study (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2007:449). I collected data from persons who are street vendors who have experienced the phenomenon, that is, what they experienced and how they experienced it (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010:346). In this study, the phenomenological approach helped me describe and understand the phenomenon of raising children in street environments. The study used a multiple case study design rooted in qualitative case designs.

1.7.3 Case study design

A case study is a qualitative research design best suited for gaining an in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon within its cultural context without imposing pre-existing expectations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). Gall *et al.* (2007:451) agree with this definition as they define a case study as an in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspectives of the participants involved in the phenomenon and in educational research. Best and Kahn (2006) also define a case study as a way of organising social data for the purpose of viewing social reality. It examines a social unit as a whole. The social unit may be a person, a family, a social group or a community (Best & Kahn, 2006). Gall *et al.* (2007:451) propound that in a case study, a significant amount of data are collected about the specific case selected to represent the phenomenon. Data are often collected over an extended time period, and several methods of data collection are used. The justification for the choice of a case study was that it restricted me to a small, manageable group, where rigorous and thorough explorations were made to examine the phenomenon of raising children on urban streets (Best & Kahn, 2006). The case study also provided me with in-depth, comprehensive and vivid data in this study, as well as a thick description thereof. It also enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of streets as a context of raising children (Gall *et al.*, 2007).

In this study, I used a multiple case study since I had several cases to examine. Baxter and Jack (2008:550) assert that if a study contains more than a single case, then a multiple case study is vital. In a multiple case study, several cases are examined to understand the similarities and differences between the cases. According to Baxter and Jack (2008:548), a multiple case study enables the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. The goal is to replicate findings across cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008:548). The use of multiple cases yields more robustness to the conclusions from the study. Yin (2003:115) emphasises that multiple cases strengthen the results by replicating the patterns, thereby increasing the robustness of the findings. In this study, I interviewed six female street

vendors with children aged three years and one social worker. I also interacted with the six three-year-old children of the six female vendors. All the individuals presented their own case, telling their own story and how they experience the phenomenon of street vending with young children in the streets.

1.7.4 Research methods

1.7.4.1 Population

Gall *et al.* (2007) define a population as all the members of a group or class regarding which the researcher wishes to generalise the results of the study. In concurrence, Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2005:131) uphold that a population is all the possible cases of the phenomenon which the researcher is interested in studying. The population in this study consists of all female street vendors with children three years old and all social workers in Harare.

1.7.4.2 Selection of participants

According to Abrams (2010:541), sampling is crucial to the integrity of qualitative research. The validity and the correctness of research results depend heavily on how samples are drawn (Monette *et al.*, 2005:148). In coming up with participants for this study, I used purposive sampling since it is a sampling procedure generally used in qualitative research (Best & Kahn, 2006:248). Schutt (2009) defines purposive sampling as a non-probability sampling method in which a researcher purposely chooses participants who are relevant to the research topic. Best and Kahn (2006:248) concur that purposive sampling allows the researcher to select research participants who will provide the richest information. Gall *et al.* (2007:248) agree that purposive sampling enables researchers to select research participants who supply rich and detailed information about the phenomenon under study. The goal is to select cases that are information-rich about the phenomenon under study. This technique selects certain persons, settings or events because they can provide the information desired (Best & Kahn, 2006:249).

From the two vending sites, I first identified ten street vendors who had young children in the one-to-three years age range. From the ten vendors, I selected six mothers who had three-year-old children. Three were selected from Mvuma Street, while the other three were selected from the Nharira Market. From the Department of Social Welfare I requested the assistance of an experienced social worker who had worked in the organisation for at least two years and was involved in follow-up routines with street vendors with young children. The department identified such a social worker.

To qualify as participants for this study, the following criteria were used. Participants had to be:

- female street vendors (female parents) – in other words, making their living on the streets;
- children aged three years (of the abovementioned vendors) who accompany their parents to vending sites; and
- social workers who, on a regular basis, help children, adults and families on the street to improve their lives in conditions where their security, safety or life is threatened.

Mvuma Street and the Nharira Market area were purposefully selected because at these places, there are influxes of vendors with young children and there is a lot of human traffic, which enables them to trade or do their business. The pavements are congested with stalls of street vendors. These are two of the places where most vending activities take place.

1.7.4.3 Participants

The participants in this study were six street vendors, their children aged three years and one social worker. The three-year-old children were selected for this study because this is one of the common age groups that are taken to vending sites by their parents since they may not have substitute caregivers to look after their children while they are vending. The parents participated in the study because they are the ones who engage in street vending and bring children to the vending sites for various reasons. They were able to explain

their experiences with young children on the streets. Their opinions unveiled the phenomenon of vending with children on the streets. A social worker provided professional input regarding young children who are being raised in street environments.

1.7.5 Role of the researcher

I adopted the role of interviewer, observer and interpreter by establishing a research role (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Maree (2007:87) maintains that the researcher will also mainly be responsible for the practical activities, which include facilitating, preparing, structuring, sampling, observing, conducting interviews, analysing data, and report writing on all the findings. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), the researcher was also a sensitive observer, who recorded phenomena as faithfully as possible while, at the same time, raising further questions.

1.7.6 Data collection methods

Qualitative data, according to Freeman, De Marrais, Preissle, Roulston & St. Pierre (2007:27), encompass the “rough materials researchers assemble from the world they are studying”, which include documents, transcriptions of interviews and interactions, artefacts, observations, focus groups, collections of extant texts, elicitation of texts and the creation or collection of images. Interviews, observations and field notes constitute data collection strategies used in this study.

1.7.6.1 Interviews

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2012:645), an interview is the art of asking questions and listening to get answers. Monette et al., (2005:181) define an interview as a face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and interviewee during which the interviewer reads questions directly to a participant and records his or her answers with the aim of understanding the interviewee’s life experiences or situation. The purpose of interviewing is simply to find what is in or on someone else’s mind. Interviews allowed the participants to openly

reveal their thoughts, feelings and perceptions regarding street environments as contexts for raising children (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). Interviews also allowed me to probe extensively for sensitive issues, such as those that are life-threatening in street environments. Best and Kahn (2006:265) summarise that in personal interviews, the interviewer can establish rapport with the persons being interviewed, direct the attention of the participants to the material, encourage them to answer the questions carefully and give more precise and complete information. I was able to notice when participants seemed not to understand a question and subsequently clarified its meaning. I also probed for more comprehensive answers when a participant gave a brief answer or did not respond to the question. In this study, interviews were conducted with six female street vendors with children three years old and one social worker. Interactions were made with the six three-year-old children of the street vendors as well.

1.7.6.2 Observations

I also used non-participant observation to collect data in this study. Non-participant observation is a research technique whereby the researcher watches the participants of the study with their knowledge, but without taking an active part in the situation under scrutiny (Gall *et al.*, 2007:276). An observation, in qualitative research, usually consists of detailed notation of behaviours, events and the contexts surrounding the events and behaviours (Best & Kahn, 2006:264). Gall *et al.* (2007:276) assert that non-participant observation allows the researcher to obtain truthful social behaviours objectively when participants are being observed. Observations were chosen since young children have not yet developed camouflages to hide themselves from the public as adults do (Thorndike & Hagen, 1977). In this study, I observed the parents and their children at their respective vending sites for about three weeks to ensure credibility.

1.7.6.3 Field notes

Field notes are observations or conversation notes taken during the conduction of qualitative research (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Depending on the

situation, the notes can be full (e.g. verbatim copies of conversations taken by hand or audio-recorded) or brief notations that can be explained later (Bryman & Bell, 2003). In concurrence, Monette et al., (2005:232) and McBurney (1998:144) say detailed, vivid accounts of the observations made during a given period are called “field notes”. Bryman and Bell (2003) identify three groups of field notes: mental notes when it may be unsuitable to take notes; jotted or scratch notes, taken at the time of observation (non-participant observation or participant observation) or discussion, and comprising of highlights that can be remembered for later development; and field notes written up as quickly and as completely as possible. Keeping sound, orderly field notes is a vital part of undertaking qualitative research as observations and interviews are only useful to the extent that they can be remembered (Bryman & Bell, 2003). My field notes contained, among others, descriptions and photographs of general physical and social settings that were observed, the vendors and their children who were the focus of my observations, individual actions and activities, and group behaviour (Monette et al., 2005). I used a notebook to document all of my fieldwork activities, all the important dates and the interviews with and observations of the participants (McBurney, 1998:140).

1.7.7 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of methodically applying logical techniques to describe and illustrate, summarise and recap, and evaluate data (Shamoo & Resnik, 2003). The task is to make sense of massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns and construct an outline communicating the essence of what the data reveal (Best & Kahn, 2006:270).

Thematic analysis, according to Lapadat (2010), is a systematic approach to the analysis of qualitative data that involves identifying themes or patterns of cultural meaning; coding and classifying data, usually textual, according to themes; and interpreting the resulting thematic structures by seeking commonalities, relationships, overarching patterns, theoretical constructs, or explanatory principles. The analysed data were organised into meaningful

themes and categories. Themes, according to Ryan and Bernard (2003), are important concepts that show specific experiences of participants by the more general insights that are apparent from the whole data set. Arranging data systematically and thematically from transcripts facilitated the discussion of the findings via the themes and categories (Creswell, 2007). The themes that have emerged from each data set were presented and discussed separately to establish recurring ones. The findings were discussed, interpreted and supported through cross-referencing relevant sections in the literature review and the theoretical framework.

First, observation data were analysed and organised into meaningful themes and categories. Interview data were also organised according to individual responses and analysed by grouping answers together across participants. Field notes gathered during observations were also examined and presented with the actual quotations to show the real effect of the vending activities on these children. Interviews and conversations were audio recorded to facilitate explanation of the data gathered from these.

1.7.8 Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that trustworthiness of a research study is important to assess its worth. Hence, trustworthiness of this study was determined by credibility (the most important aspect of trustworthiness), transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility is defined as the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Macnee & McCabe, 2008). Techniques for establishing credibility comprise sustained engagement, persistent observation, triangulation and member checking (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Lincoln & Guba 1985). Transferability is the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts with other respondents (Bitsch, 2005; Tobin & Begley, 2004). Techniques for establishing transferability include thick description and purposeful sampling (Bitsch, 2005:85). According to Bitsch (2005:86), dependability is the stability of findings over time. It shows that findings are reliable and could be repeated.

Techniques to establish this embrace inquiry audit and triangulation (Ary, Jacobs & Sorensen, 2010). Lastly, confirmability is the degree to which the results could be confirmed by other researchers (Tobin & Begley, 2004). It is the degree of impartiality or the extent to which the findings are shaped by the respondents, and not researcher bias, motivation or interest. Methods to establish this include triangulation and reflexivity (Koch, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In this study, credibility was achieved through prolonged engagement at vending sites and persistent observation of female vendors and their children (three years old) at vending sites. Credibility was also achieved through triangulation of the data collection methods, which are observations and in-depth interviews. Triangulation of the data sources, which are the parents of children (three years), three-year-olds and a social worker, helped to achieve credibility. Member checking after collecting data complemented the two techniques. Triangulation of data sources and data collection methods also helped achieve confirmability. Transferability was achieved through a thick description of data on raising children in street environments. Lastly, dependability was achieved through inquiry audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Creswell and Miller (2000:124), qualitative researchers routinely employ member checking, triangulation, thick description, peer reviews and external audits in establishing trustworthiness.

1.7.9 Delimitation of the study

This research study was carried out only at the vending sites at Mvuma Street and the Nharira Market. The study focused only on six children aged between three and four years, their mothers and one social worker.

1.7.10 Ethical considerations

Best and Kahn (2006:84) assert that in planning a research project involving human participants, it is important to consider ethical guidelines to protect participants. They furthermore assert that carrying out research involving

human beings raises many legal and ethical issues that must be well taken care of before proceeding with their involvement in studies. Best and Kahn (2006) maintains that ethical guidelines are needed to guard against the obvious and less obvious atrocities of research.

These principles were applied in this study as participation was voluntary and the participants were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time. No inducements were offered to the participants who took part in this study. The participants were fully informed regarding the intention and process of the study, and informed consent and assent and permission to take photographs (see appendices 5 and 10) were acquired beforehand. The participants were guaranteed safety in participation and were not placed at risk of harm of any kind. Confidentiality, anonymity and privacy of the participants were guaranteed at all times. The anonymity and confidentiality of the participants were guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms (Schutt, 2009). Lastly, the participants were not exposed to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process or in its published outcomes. I applied for ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria, and it was approved. The ethical guidelines and considerations stipulated for the conduct of research of this type were strictly adhered to. This enabled me to observe all the ethical codes of conduct and procedures as stipulated.

1.8 LAYOUT OF THE THESIS

The study is divided into six chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Orientation and background

In chapter 1, the background of the proposed research is outlined. The chapter presents the rationale of the study, the problem statement, research questions, clarification of concepts, theoretical and conceptual frameworks, methodology, delimitations and ethical considerations of the research.

Chapter 2: Contextual and conceptual frameworks

This chapter contains the contextual and conceptual frameworks and the review of literature relevant to the study.

Chapter 3: Theoretical frameworks

The research study employed Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, Erikson's psychosocial theory and Piaget's theory of cognitive development.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

This chapter focuses on the qualitative research methodology, the research design, the data collection methods that were used in the study, the population, the participants, data analysis, trustworthiness of the study, delimitations of the study and the ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter 5: Data analysis and interpretation

This chapter presents the findings of the study. An explanation of these findings and the interpretation and discussion that have emerged during the analysis of the results from the data is provided.

Chapter 6: Summary, conclusions and recommendations

This chapter focuses on the summary of literature and the empirical findings of the study. It also highlights relevant recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXTUAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study was to explore the impact of the urban street environment on the development of street vendors' children in Zimbabwe. This chapter reviews related literature illustrating contextual variables that have an impact on street vending activities in some selected streets of the city of Harare. In this regard, the contextual framework gives insight into some historical events and factors that prevailed in Zimbabwe before and after independence that led to the proliferation of street vending. This chapter gives insights regarding the violation of children's rights as they spend most of their early childhood in urban streets. I hoped this conceptual analysis of street vending would facilitate my in-depth understanding of the nature of street vending in Harare and the life experiences of street vendors' children. Poverty, as a major factor that drives people to engage in street vending, and its impact on children's development will be also examined. Adequate nourishment, health and a sense of safety and security, which have effects on young children's development, are also looked into. Lastly, an assessment is made of street environments as the location where young children develop.

2.2 CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

The contextual framework to explore the impact of the urban street community on the educational development of street vendors' children in my study focuses on, among other things, economic and political variables defining the post-independence socio-cultural and educational circumstances in Zimbabwe. Historical events, such as ESAP, the agrarian land reform programme, Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Restore Order), hyperinflation, rural-to-urban migration and unemployment, had a severe impact on the drive towards urban street vending mainly in the capital city – Harare. The contextual framework highlights the rights of the child as

enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (AU, 1990), the Constitution of Zimbabwe (GoZ, 2013) and the Children's Act (GoZ, 2001).

2.2.1 Historical background of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is a country in Southern Africa, measuring 390 800 km² in size (Davis, 2005:438). It is land-locked (does not have a sea coast) and its neighbours are Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana and Zambia. Shizha and Kariwo (2011:3) remark that the country lies on a high plateau between two river basins – the Zambezi in the north and the Limpopo in the south. The climate and rich soils of the country, according to Shizha and Kariwo (2011), made agriculture very successful until the land reform programme in 2000.

A variety of resources, which include wild life and historical and natural sites such as the Victoria Falls and the Great Zimbabwe, have been the foundation of a flourishing tourist industry (Maponga & Musa, 2009). Annual Report, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas(2011:1) concurs that Zimbabwe was one of the richest and relatively developed countries on the African continent before the turn of the 21st century. Its economy was based mainly on mining, agriculture and, until recently, tourism and manufacturing, tobacco and gold being the main exports (Mlambo, 2014:2). After a successful rise in the 1990s with 1.4 million tourists since the land reform programme, tourism declined in 1999 and figures indicated a 75% fall in tourism to Zimbabwe by December 2000 (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:3).

The 2012 national census indicates that the population of Zimbabwe is estimated to be 13.061 million (Central Statistical Office, 2008), the population being relatively young, with 41% aged below 15, and 4% aged above 65 (Maponga & Musa, 2009). Baynham, Cornwell, Esterhuysen, Fair, Kotelo and Leistner (1998).remark that the official language is English, but the vast majority of the people (about 75%) are Shona-speaking, based on various

dialects of Chishona. Mlambo (2014) concurs that Zimbabwe is a multicultural society.

According to Mlambo (2014), Zimbabwe was the home of native black people, starting with Stone Age hunter-gatherers, until it was occupied by the British in 1890. The British colonisation started with the arrival of Cecil John Rhodes, who was sponsored by the Pioneer Column (a group of settlers who migrated from South Africa to the then Southern Rhodesia for reasons of colonisation and occupation) in 1890. This marked the start of an eighty-year-long colonial dispensation that saw the slow growth of a white settler population and development of a modern economy based largely on mining, agriculture and, eventually, manufacturing. This modern economic growth relied heavily on cheap African labour (Mlambo, 2014). Zimbabwe was named after the ancient Great Zimbabwe shrines built of stone, which are near Masvingo, which was formerly called Fort Victoria (Mlambo, 2014:1).

Shizha and Kariwo (2011) state that the country was called “Southern Rhodesia” until 1965 and Rhodesia until 1980. Before 1964, “Rhodesia” had previously referred to the countries made up of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, which was the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). The Federation, according to Mlambo (2014), was a union of modern Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. During that period, Zambia was called “Northern Rhodesia”, while Zimbabwe was “Southern Rhodesia”. The socio-economic and political base of the then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) was racially defined. The white colonial regime assumed control of the national economy as well as the political governance of the country, while indigenous Zimbabweans were relegated to the periphery of socio-economic and political importance (Mlambo, 2014:5).

The country was temporarily renamed “Zimbabwe-Rhodesia” between June and December 1979, a name that was created by the leaders of an internal political settlement deal between the Rhodesian Front, under the control of Ian Douglas Smith and the African National Council, an organisation that was

led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). Zimbabwe gained its political independence on 18 April 1980, after a prolonged war waged by two main political parties, namely the Zimbabwe African National Union, led by Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, which was led by Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo (Mlambo, 2014). The British had governed the country for nearly 100 years from 1890.

Among other cities and towns, such as Bulawayo, Gweru, Mutare, Kwekwe, Kadoma and Masvingo, Harare (formerly known as "Salisbury") was named the capital city of Zimbabwe. Harare is Zimbabwe's largest and capital city. Figure 2.1 depicts the urban outlay of Zimbabwe, with its major cities.



Figure 2.1: The country of Zimbabwe and its major towns (Surveyor General, Zimbabwe)

The map shows the greater Harare area, where abundant street vending is taking place. The area at the centre, which is coloured green, is the CBD where street vending is rife. This is the area where this study is situated.

2.3 MAJOR FACTORS LEADING TO STREET VENDING IN ZIMBABWE

There are several factors that contribute to people resorting to street vending. Madjitey (2014:38) identifies these as the political situation in a country, the economy, rural-to-urban migration and unemployment. The following section focuses on the socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe and how it affects young children who spend most of their time with their mothers on urban streets.

2.3.1 Political situation and the economy

This section focuses on the various political factors that have led to the economic decline in Zimbabwe that precipitated the rise of informal economic activities in the country. The pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence periods are described, illustrating their influence in the socio-economic and political outlook of contemporary Zimbabwe.

2.3.1.1 Pre-colonial period

According to Shizha and Kariwo (2011), Zimbabwe, from as early as the eleventh century has had some positive resemblance of economic development. “The plateau between the rivers Zambezi and Limpopo, in Southeast Africa offers rich opportunities for human settlement and its grasslands make excellent grazing for cattle” (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). This became a reality, years later.

According to Roussos (1988:4), during the pre-colonial period, the traditional economy was mainly geared towards subsistence, together with the specialised production of crafts, the growing and curing of tobacco, and gold mining. In concurrence, Mazarire (2009:35) remarks that early analyses of the

prehistoric states of Zimbabwe have depicted them chiefly as farming communities that adopted iron to modernise their agriculture and cultivate more extensively than their predecessors. Roussos (1988:4) adds that although crop cultivation was the major activity of this period, cows, sheep, goats and fowls were also kept.

Mazarire (2009:35) concurs that during this period, the people were pastoralists, who placed a lot of faith in livestock as cattle occupied a central place in their economies because they were important indicators of wealth and a means of maintaining clients. Therefore, wealth in the precolonial economy was measured based on the amount of cattle one possessed (Roussos, 1988). There is evidence indicating a considerable shift from a subsistence-oriented economy to much more capitalistic trade activities aiming to produce surplus commodities for exchange with the outside world. (Mazarire, 2009:35). According to Roussos (1988), the major products used for trading purposes were iron ore products, salt and tobacco, with the sale of ivory being prominent and lucrative of the exports of the Ndebele kingdoms.

2.3.1.2 The colonial period

British colonialism, spearheaded by Cecil John Rhodes and his British South African Company (BSAC) in 1890, transformed the social, political and economic landscape of the country and introduced Western systems of governance as well as the modern economy (Mlambo, 2014). Further to this, Roussos (1988:7) indicates that the presence of BSAC signalled the injection of international capital into the region. As a result, BSAC entered into alliance with settler capital; hence, it was granted a Royal Charter. This Royal Charter authorised BSAC to make, among other things, treaties and promulgate laws as well as maintaining a police force and undertaking public works in the name of the British Empire. Effectively this made the Company the government of the day in Southern Rhodesia (Roussos, 1988:7). Throughout this period, in which blacks were marginalised economically, politically and socially, a racially based socio-political regime prevailed (Mlambo, 2014:5). The author further asserts that most African communities across the country

rose against colonial rule in the Chimurenga wars of 1896 and 1897, but were defeated (Mlambo, 2014). Having realised that the BSAC was well organised and militarily indefatigable, indigenous Zimbabweans mobilised one another to form political organisation movements. These political movements campaigned for the one-man-one-vote political mantra to initiate majority rule under the leadership of black people. When the colonial authority refused to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia, Ian Douglas Smith declared unilateral independence in 1965 (Mlambo, 2014).

During the early years of colonisation, the Rhodesian national economy was based on mining and agriculture. Some decades later, the economy gradually developed to include manufacturing industries (Mlambo, 2014). According to Roussos (1988:7), by the end of the Second World War, there were 385 manufacturing establishments, employing some 34 500 people, which represented a 100% increase in manufacturing employment since 1938.

The country became progressively industrialised as the African population moved into the emerging urban centres to work in the expanding secondary manufacturing sector (Mlambo, 2014). After that, the economy grew rapidly because of import-substitution industrialisation strategies adopted by the colonial regime. The economy started to decline in the late 1970s due to a combination of sanctions and the intensified war of liberation under the nationalist movement (Mlambo, 2014).

For several economic and political reasons, in 1953, Southern Rhodesia merged with its neighbours, Northern Rhodesia and Malawi in the alliance of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, also known as the “Central African Federation” (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). Roussos (1988:10) asserts that the Federation brought together Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and they became a single federal territory under the British pioneer column. This attempt by the British Colonial Office to create a super federation, completely ignoring the sentiments of nationalist elements in all three member states backfired as the liberation struggle later on dislodged colonial establishments

(Roussos, 1988:10). Economically, the Federation brought many advantages to the member states as it widened the resource base, expanded the market to allow for economies of scale (i.e. mass production), expanded resources and employment and led to higher standards of living. Southern Rhodesia, being the most industrialised economy, received the bulk of the federal budget. The Federation also attracted increased capital inflows from abroad (Roussos, 1988:10).

The Federation collapsed in 1963 (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). Mlambo (2014:5) argues that this was partly because of African opposition to it. According to Roussos (1988:10), the rise of black nationalism in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia eventually led to the collapse of the Federation when these two territories withdrew. With its collapse, Southern Rhodesia inherited all the assets within her borders, which included a highly sophisticated money market, which was developed to service the entire Federation (Roussos, 1988). There is no doubt that the Federation greatly strengthened the economy of Southern Rhodesia. Roussos (1988:10) further confirms that the growth rate of the manufacturing industry in Southern Rhodesia was, for example, significantly above the federal average, while that of Northern Rhodesia territories was significantly lower. Mlambo (2014) remarks that economic growth, however, suffered a brief setback following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the Rhodesian government in 1965, which resulted in international economic sanctions in reprisal

The period 1965 to 1974 marked the Early Unilateral Declaration of Independence, in which the rise to power of the Rhodesia Front represented the end of the partnership between settler and multinational capital, which had been forged during the period of Federation (Roussos, 1988:10). Political power was to be sacrificed in the interest of maintaining control of British investments and the right to repatriate profits. This realignment, which effectively meant granting of independence to the colonies, while clearly in the interest of multinationality, was not in the interest of settler capital, which depended on its political power for its profitability (Roussos, 1988:10).

According to Mlambo (2014), the Unilateral Declaration of Independence opened the floodgates for bloody military confrontation between colonial forces and guerrillas fighting for independence. The author goes further to elaborate that Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declared its independence from Britain in 1965, after failing to convince the colonial power to grant such independence willingly. For a variety of complicated reasons, including economic need, many Africans fought in the colonial army in defence of a system that marginalised them (Mlambo, 2014).

The fighting only ended with the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979 (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). The major highlights of the Lancaster House conference settlement, according to Mutisi, Nyakudya and Barnes (2009:165), were that the minority white population was allowed to retain 20 of the 100 seats in Parliament for at least seven years, the new state was to inherit a debt of \$200 million and agreed to pay pensions to all Rhodesian civil servants, including those who had emigrated. The belligerents also agreed to a ceasefire and to hold fresh elections within three months to choose the new leader of independent Zimbabwe (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011).

The main point of disagreement, according to Mutisi *et al.* (2009:165), was on the issue of land as the Patriotic Front wanted the majority government to be allowed to expropriate unused white commercial land in order to resettle the many hungry Africans. However, the Lancaster House Constitution stated that land could not be confiscated, but would have to be bought on a willing-seller-willing-buyer basis (Mutisi *et al.*, 2009:165). Such an arrangement was, however, beyond the financial ability of the new state. The unresolved land issue was only temporarily rested, following British and American promises to buy and develop the white-owned lands, without, however, disclosing how much money they would put up for compensation (Mutisi *et al.*, 2009:165).

With the new constitution ready and the ceasefire arranged, the first elections were held to choose the leader of independent Zimbabwe. These events according to Mlambo (2014), paved the way for general elections, which the

Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) won, thereby ushering in the country's first independence government in 1980 under the leadership of Robert Gabriel Mugabe. Before then, an unsuccessful attempt to establish a moderate independence government under Bishop Abel Muzorewa had been made (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). Voted into power in the 1979 national elections, Muzorewa served as prime minister in the renamed Zimbabwe-Rhodesian government from June to November 1979 before he lost power to Mugabe in the 1980 general elections (Mlambo, 2014). Despite commendable progress and limited periods of good growth over the past two decades, the economy has been struggling since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the white government in 1965 (African Institute of South Africa, 2008).

2.3.1.3 Post-independence

At independence in 1980, when the ZANU PF came into power, it was primarily concerned with redressing socio-economic backlogs affecting the majority of the population (Baynham *et al.*, 1998). Muzondidya (2009:167) maintains that the major challenge confronting the post-independence government of the ZANU PF was nation building, post-war reconstruction (schools, hospitals, clinics, roads and railway lines) as well as restructuring the inherited colonial political economy. The government, therefore, embarked on a post-war reconstruction, which aimed to capitalise the reintegrated economy into the world economy (Muzondidya, 2009:167). To redress some of the inequalities inherited from the previous colonial order, it tried to broaden the economy and make it more inclusive by integrating blacks into black empowerment and the Africanisation of public services (Muzondidya, 2009:167).

In pursuant of its developmentalist objectives, the government tried to resolve both rural and racial inequality in landownership (Muzondidya, 2009:167). Baynham *et al.* (1998) lament that the government failed to appreciate the existing strong economic basis of the country and the imperative to give priority to further development of the private sector to create more

employment and to achieve the economic growth that would greatly facilitate attempts to redistribute wealth. Roussos (1988:4) remarks that the years since independence have seen dramatic changes in the Zimbabwean economy. The new government has had to cope with the rebuilding of a war-ravaged economy, with costs of implementing its policies of “Growth and Equity” and with the restraint caused by the world recession and years of drought. Mlambo (2014) concludes that since independence, Zimbabwe has had an inconsistent political and economic history, which has complicated and, sometimes, negated efforts to build the country as a united and prosperous nation.

Similar to other developing countries, the Zimbabwean economy has been influenced by internal and external factors (African Institute of South Africa, 2008). Problems from the colonial era were reproduced, albeit in different forms in the era of early independence (Chirau, 2012:37). Zimbabwe was indeed, among the “top four more industrialised countries in sub-Saharan Africa; it possessed a more diversified economy than most countries; and it had a better human resource base than most; and it had a middle-income status” (Sachikonye, 2002:130). However, by the end of 2002, it was in the throes of an economic meltdown of unprecedented proportions, described by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (in Mlambo, 2014:238) as the “worst economic crisis of its history”, with the economy confronting a complicated combination of “national and external debt, crippling foreign exchange shortages, unfavourable weather conditions, adverse real interest rates and hyperinflation”.

Contributed to the dramatic decline of the Zimbabwean economy, was a series of events beginning in the 1990s. Among others, these included the implementation of ESAP, payment of unbudgeted war veterans’ gratuities, the fast-track land reform programme, the involvement in the unbudgeted conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order), hyperinflation, rural-to-urban migration and unemployment.

- *Implementation of ESAP*

In line with its socialist policies, soon after independence, the government has been spending heavily on social programmes that included, among others, health services and tuition-free primary education (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:29). Kanyongo (2005) propounds that towards the end of the 1980s, it became evident that the socialist ideology of the government embraced in 1980 was no longer suitable to the changing world and was placing an unbearable financial burden on the government. Shizha and Kariwo (2011:29) further highlight that the economic sector was being neglected and was declining rapidly as the government had been spending significantly in the social services sector. As a result, it had to pursue a new approach to address the economic decline facing the country.

According to Nyathi (2000:70), the World Bank advised the government to structurally adjust its economy and remove protective import-export barriers and exchange controls. Shizha and Kariwo (2011:29) concur that the government implemented ESAP, which was prescribed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Kadenge (1992:4) remarks that ESAP programmes were used in a number of countries in efforts to revamp and redirect their economies and spur economic growth and development. The reasons for the restructuring package, according to Makina (2010:104), was to cut government spending, along with privatisation, deregulation and liberalisation.

Shizha and Abdi (2008) concur that the aim of ESAP was to enhance the role of markets to promote economic development through monetary deregulation, trade and capital markets liberalisation, privatisation and enforcing fiscal constraints. In Zimbabwe, ESAP also included liberalising the economy through reducing the size of the civil service, layoffs in the private sector, floating the Zimbabwean currency that was controlled by the government, cutting expenditure and removing aids from social programmes (Shizha, 2006a). It was adopted in 1990 and was fully implemented in 1992 with the hope that the economy would attain a 5% growth rate, but the consequences

were that many people were laid off from their jobs as local industrial companies shut down because of high competition from foreign companies that monopolised the open-market system (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). Kanyenze (2004:277) propounds that adopting neo-liberal policies meant that the government would “shift from the highly interventionist approach towards a more market driven economy”.

According to Bond and Manyanya (2003:37), the civil service budget was cut drastically and 18 000 civil service positions were abolished; price controls of essential commodities were abandoned, labour markets were de-regulated and healthcare declined. In concurrence, the International Labour Organisation (2008) says that ESAP resulted in the restructuring or closure of many companies. This saw the cutting of state subsidies to low-income groups, widespread retrenchment, escalating costs of living and lower real wages (Dube, 2010). In agreement, Njaya (2014) notes that the phenomena of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation have led to an unprecedented rise in street vending since the launch of ESAP. The informal economy, locally known as “the black market”, became key as a response to retrenchments and reduced wages (Chirau, 2012:40). Mupedziswa and Gumbo (1998) rightfully claim that marginalised urban people in Zimbabwe engaged in informal economic activities, such as trading in vegetables and fruit, as a way of dealing with the economic crisis brought about by ESAP. To supplement household incomes, women also began to engage in cross-border trading (Brand, Mupedziswa & Gumbo, 1995) to supply scarce goods in the growing informal sector. Tamukamoyo (2009:97) agrees that the “informal economy came into its own” in the 1990s because of the negative impacts of ESAP, with backyard industries and petty trading sprouting everywhere as workers and families adopted a range of livelihood strategies.

A study by Mhone (1995), which was conducted in Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru, indicated that informal sector work under ESAP helped to cushion poverty on the one hand, but on the other hand, the increasing number of participants in the formal economy increased competition and reduced profit

margins. In general, ESAP ended in the loss of employment and the reduction of the formal job market, thereby creating situations for the rise of the informal economy (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007). Muzondidya (2009:188) furthermore points out that government statistics by 1994 indicated that 20 710 workers had lost their jobs since the beginning of ESAP.

- *Payment of war veterans' gratuities*

The economic decline of Zimbabwe started to be visible in 1997 (Munangagwa, 2009:114). Chirau (2012:40) elaborates that this was worsened by the government's payment of gratuities to more than 50 000 former soldiers of the liberation struggle. An unbudgeted gratuity of Z\$50 000 (Zimbabwean Dollar) was paid to each war veteran plus monthly pensions of \$2 000 – a huge sum of money by the standards of those days (Chirau, 2012:40; Kanyenze, 2004). The government tried to introduce a “war veterans' levy” to raise money for these unbudgeted expense, but they faced much opposition from the labour force and ended up borrowing the money to meet these commitments (Munangagwa, 2009:114). This even more deeply undercut the formal economy and the livelihoods of black urban Zimbabweans (Chirau, 2012:41). To improve their livelihoods, the majority engaged in informal activities, such as street vending (Saungweme *et al.*, 2015).

- *Military intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo*

In 1998, Zimbabwe participated in the Democratic Republic of Congo civil war. The government expenditure for that war eroded a relatively huge part of the budget (Munangagwa, 2009:114). Many economists viewed this as the start of the decline of the Zimbabwe economy due to increased unbudgeted government expenditure as this led the government to spend more money than they received from revenues, thereby increasing the budget deficit. Assessing the involvement of Zimbabwean soldiers in the war, it is evident that this was one of the pivotal starting points of the economic decline of Zimbabwe (Munangagwa, 2009:114).

- *Fast-track land reform programme*

According to Mlambo (2014), the land question remained unresolved for 20 years after independence. Resultantly, in 2000, Zimbabwe entered a major crisis period, which was sparked by the much-debated land reform programme, which is popularly known as the “fast-track land reform programme”, which involved raiding of farms owned by white farmers. The transformation marked the beginning of the collapse of commercial farming and the manufacturing sector and the resultant displacement of millions of workers (Research and Advocate Unit, 2016:12). A sharp reduction in the formal agricultural employment from 345 100 (1998) to 193 800 in December 2002 was realised (Luebker, 2008:4). The loss of 150 000 jobs in formal agricultural enterprises was also seen in the context of this controversial land reform programme, under which about 4 000 white-owned large-scale commercial farms were seized since 2000. In addition, non-agricultural employment also dropped from 896 400 in 1998 to 802 800 in March 2005 (Luebker, 2008).

The annual wheat production, which was once at 300 000 tons in 1990, dropped to 50 000 in 2007 (Annual Report, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, 2011:3). In addition, Zimbabwe’s major source of foreign currency, the tobacco industry, collapsed almost completely in 2000 as the crop that used to earn some US\$600 million generated less than US\$125 million in 2007 (Annual Report, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, 2011:3). Mlambo (2014:236) concludes that the farm invasions had far-reaching socio-economic and political consequences, which eventually made the country a pariah state in the global community. The invasions crippled the economy by disrupting normal agricultural activities and, eventually, the agricultural sector (Mlambo, 2014). In concurrence, Luebker (2008) states that the fall-out with the international community, which led to economic sanctions following the fast-track land reform programme, accounted for the economic decline (Luebker, 2008).

- *Political opposition*

As noted previously, the deteriorating economic conditions and growing political discontent articulated by the various civic organisations in the late 1990s and the increasing desire for a new political dispensation led to the establishment of the Movement for Democratic Change in 1999 (Mlambo, 2014:232). The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions held a meeting with delegates from its structures and from other civic organs across the country at a National Working People's Convention to discuss possible solutions to the economic crisis of the country, and the decision was made to unify the working people in a struggle to take on such challenges. It also condemned, among others, the following (Mlambo, 2014:232):

- Failure of the economy to address the basic needs of the majority of Zimbabwe.
- The severe drop in income and employment.
- The decline and, in some cases, collapse of public services.

Increasing political repression of opposition forces, particularly, the Movement for Democratic Change, which presented the strongest challenge to the ruling party marked the beginning of a turbulent time in Zimbabwean politics (Mlambo, 2014).

- *Operation Murambatsvina (Restore order / Clean up the trash)*

The Zimbabwean economy, by 2003, was the fastest shrinking in the world, at 18% (Munangagwa, 2009:116). Nearly three million Zimbabweans earned their living through informal-sector employment in 2005, supporting another 5 million people, while only about 1.3 million people were employed by the formal sector (Coltart, 2008:5). In May 2005, more than 700 000 people were made homeless as a result of a campaign to demolish temporary or unlicensed residential premises or shacks (Mlambo, 2014:234). According to Coltart (2008:5), the informal economy had effectively become the main source of income for the majority of Zimbabweans by 2005 when Operation Murambatsvina took place. The rationale behind Operation Murambatsvina is

open to debate, but the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum (2006) interpreted it as a deliberate action to destroy urban livelihoods, given strong oppositional support against the ruling party in urban centres (Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum, 2006). “Although Operation Murambatsvina was directed against poor people, its effect on the formal economy was also severe” (Coltart, 2008:5). The informal sector of the economy has not yet recovered up to now. Operation Murambatsvina and other measures brought, in their wake, a rapid economic decline (Mlambo, 2014:235).

A special report by the UN, according to Tibaijuka (2005:33), estimates that 700 000 people countrywide have lost their homes or sources of livelihoods, which include flea markets, craft markets, tuckshops, vending stalls and urban agriculture; a further 2.4 million were indirectly affected in varying forms and degrees. Afrobarometer (2006) concludes that 2.7 million people were affected by the operation. Studies by both the UN and Afrobarometer concluded that the livelihoods of urban people engaged in informal economic activities were severely compromised. In concurrence, Vambe (2008) remarks that the controversial Operation Murambatsvina exacerbated already-compromised livelihoods. This is particularly disturbing, given that it was estimated in 2005 that the informal economy was generating 40 to 50% of Zimbabwe’s gross domestic product and employing up to 60% of the economically active population (Maroleng, 2005:4).

- *Hyperinflation*

In 2004, inflation stood at 622.8%, while the Zimbabwean currency had lost 99% of its value since 2001 (Mlambo, 2014:238). According to Mlambo (2014), this was, by all accounts, the worst peacetime decline of any economy. From 2006, the economy further deteriorated, with consumer price inflation exceeding 1 000%, and the government revalued the currency by removing three zeros from the banknotes, thereby artificially strengthening the Zimbabwean dollar (African Institute of South Africa, 2008:356). In concurrence, Munangagwa (2009:121) says that Zimbabwe’s annual inflation rose above 1 000% in August 2006, dramatising the severity of its economic

crisis. One thousand old Zimbabwean dollars became one new dollar, as redenomination notes were issued (Munangagwa, 2009:121). Already the highest in the world, the annual inflation rate raced to 1 729.9% in February 2007 from 1 593.6% the previous month (Munangagwa, 2009:121). This author furthermore notes that the hyperinflation was really biting the pockets of the ordinary man on the street in 2007. The recurring wave of political instability had resulted in the loss of investor confidence and caused many foreign investors to pull out of the country, as well as the failure to reduce hyperinflation in Zimbabwe and the environment, which was not only unstable, but also unpredictable and very risky (Munangagwa, 2009:122). Adversely affecting investor relations within the global economy was the indigenisation bill that was passed in Parliament that aimed at shifting 51% of the ownership of companies into the hands of Zimbabweans (Munangagwa, 2009:122).

Over the past few years, inflation has reached unprecedented levels. It was 1 649 000% in February 2008 (Central Statistics Office, 2008). In concurrence, Hanke (in Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4) reports that by 2008, Zimbabwe had entered the hyperinflation zone with the highest monthly inflation rate of 79 600 000 000%. In January 2009, at the same time, the Zimbabwean dollar became valueless, with economists reporting that Z\$100 000 0000 000 was equivalent to US\$2.5 (Hanke in Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). Due to hyperinflation, the Zimbabwe currency was heavily depreciated and this caused severe economic problems (Annual Report, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, 2011:4).

The economic situation later improved when the Unity government adopted a multicurrency system, whose majors were the American dollar and the South African rand (Mlambo, 2014:238). Because of the multicurrency system, inflation vanished.

- *Rural-to-urban migration*

In 1980, the transition to majority rule saw the lifting of decades of racial restrictions to the “Right to the City” (UN HABITAT, 2003:22). Rural-to-urban

migration was also attributed to closure of schools, hospitals and clinics, the sabotage of road and railway routes and the policy of protected villages (Roussos, 1988:13). Major cities in Zimbabwe attained population growth rates of over 5% per annum throughout the 1980s (UN HABITAT, 2003:22 UN HABITAT, 2003:22). According to UN HABITAT, (2003), the urban population of Zimbabwe rose rapidly from 23% in 1982 to 30% by the early 1990s (see table 2.1). Table 2.1 shows levels of urbanisation in Zimbabwe from the year 2000 up to its estimation in 2020.

Table 2.1: Levels of urbanisation in Zimbabwe (Source: UN HABITAT (2003))

Level of urbanisation %			Urban population		
2000	2010	2020	2000	2010	2020
35.3	42.5	49.1	4 459	6 380	8 652

This table illustrates the rate of increase in urbanisation from the year 2000 to its estimation in 2020. This trend, which is typical of many developing countries, can be labelled as the “challenge of rapid urbanisation”, whereby cities, as economic units, witness impoverishment while people migrating to urban areas improve their livelihoods in terms of income opportunities and access to social services (UN HABITAT, 2003:22).

The majority of people living in rural areas, as a result of ever-deteriorating economic conditions in the country, also migrated to urban centres in search of employment (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171). According to Davis (2005:445), only a relatively small proportion of these migrants found employment in the informal sector. Otherwise, the majority remained unemployed. This could be one of the reasons why street vending was the only option to survive (Davis, 2005). Added to this, Wakatama (2007) highlights that facilities available in the city with respect to employment,

schooling and social advancement were stretched so much that there was serious competition for everything. Resultantly, less privileged citizens were always left disadvantaged in all spheres of human development.

- *Unemployment*

Nhliziyo (2013) argues that one of the most outstanding features of urbanisation, particularly in developing countries, is unemployment. With the massive migration to cities, unemployment rates become too high. Davis (2005) further indicate that although it is possible to find employment in the informal sector, it is not surprising that people remain poor, mainly because of harsh economic conditions affecting the nation. According to Muzondidya (2009:169), employment creation in Zimbabwe was slow during the 1980s, whereas unemployment grew substantially right from independence. Only 10 000 new jobs per year were created in the first decade of independence, which did not keep pace with either the population increase or the large numbers of school leavers (Muzondidya, 2009:169). In concurrence, Shizha and Kariwo (2011) say that due to the rapid expansion of the Zimbabwean education system after independence, hundreds of thousands of youths are being churned out every year, resulting in the total labour pool increasing from three to five million between 1980 and 1999, but on the other hand, the formal job market can hardly absorb a third of these, which has also resulted in the seeking of employment opportunities in the informal sector.

Rural-to-urban migration has also resulted in a high population growth rate in urban settings, which was relative to the ability of the economy to create work. The major cities of Zimbabwe began to witness rising unemployment by the mid-1990s. The government provided the drive for the increase of the informal sector through a series of policies (UN, Zimbabwe, 2005). These included, among others, reducing regulatory bottlenecks to allow new players to enter into the production and distribution of goods and services, relaxing physical planning requirements and supporting indigenous business development and black empowerment. According to UN HABITAT (2003), many informal activities, such as tailoring, hairdressing, wood or stone carving and book

binding, were relaxed. Small and medium enterprises employing five to ten people in such areas as welding, carpentry, tin smithing, shoe repairs and small-scale car repairs were accorded special consent (UN HABITAT, 2003).

Since the early 2000s, unemployment has worsened (Manyanhaire *et al*, 2007:171). According to The World Bank (2003a), 81.8% of the secondary school leavers in Zimbabwe were unemployed in the period 1999 to 2001. As indicated elsewhere in this study, formal sector employment started to drop from a peak of 1 241 500 in 1998 to 1 012 900, reflecting a net loss of 228 600 sector jobs (Luebker, 2008:4). Resultantly, a compound annual growth of -5.0% was realised. Official statistics show that the Zimbabwean unemployment rate in 2011 was 10.7% (Saungweme *et al.*, 2015:2), while the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation admits that it was over 50%. The 2011 ZimStat survey statistics further showed that of about 5.4 million of the employed population aged 15 years and above, 4.6 million (85%) were considered to be in informal employment, 606 000 (11%) were in formal employment and 252 000 (4%) were in employment not classifiable. It is estimated that more than 200 000 jobs have been lost since the beginning of 2000, mostly in agriculture and manufacturing, and that over 60% of the country's population are living below the poverty line (Mlambo, 2014:238).

Raftopoulos (2004:12) argues that the year 2000 is particularly important and is often characterised as a watershed year in Zimbabwe because it “constituted an important junction of political events”. In this regard, Mukwedeya (2009) claims that the volatile and uncertain political economy characteristic of the current crisis has limited the ability of urban working people to engage in fruitful livelihood strategies.

Employment in the formal sector (including the civil service and manufacturing) has, at times, shown an annual drop in sheer numbers, while vending, small micro-enterprises and illegal trade operations have shown a consistent positive growth (Kamete, 2004; Mhone, 1995). In addition, Chirisa

(2009:258) argues that “it is not that jobs are non-existent, but that the existing formal employment jobs are not commensurately remunerated”. Urban working people regularly struggle to pay rent, buy basic food and access healthcare. Many skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers (and their families) have resorted to engaging in informal economic activities to supplement their household income.

Today, the Zimbabwean economy is on the edge of collapse, with formal employment estimated to be between 5% and 10% (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4). Njaya (2014) postulates that in urban Zimbabwe, there has been a massive growth in the informal sector over the past two decades, and this is closely tied to the ongoing economic and political crises. The informal economy has overshadowed the formal economy due to a combination of economic and political crises and unfavourable weather conditions in the form of recurrent droughts, which have forced a number of companies to close down (Njaya, 2014). Urban unemployment is higher than rural unemployment, at 29.5% compared to 2.6%, and youth unemployment is higher in urban areas, at 37.5% compared to rural areas with 4% (United Nations, 2015). All in all, 95% of those in employment in 2014 were in informal employment, an over 10% increase from 84.2% in informal employment in 2011 (United Nations, 2015). As a result of a total of over 4 610 companies that closed shops between 2011 and 2014, a loss of 55 443 jobs was realised (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2014). As a result, most of the unemployed residents in the city try to make a living through informal sector activities, such as vending. The number of vendors crowding the cities and towns of Zimbabwe is increasing at an alarming rate (Manyanhaire *et al.*, 2007:171).

2.3.2 Rights of children

Children are an important part of a country and the rights of every child are important (UNICEF, 2013). They have the same rights, no matter who they are or where they are. Early Childhood Education is increasingly being put on the agenda when children’s rights are being debated as they have the right to

develop, education as well as to survive. The right to a child's educational development has been embraced by the international community as well (UNICEF, 2013:2). According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008:11), Zimbabwe is a signatory to the UNCRC, the most comprehensive international document pertaining to the rights of children. I will further discuss the rights of the child, as enshrined in the UNCRC (1989), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Union, 1990), the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Goz, 2013) as well as the Children's Act (Goz, 2001).

2.3.2.1 Rights of the child as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

The United Nations (1989) is the first comprehensive document to write down the rights of the child as it combines economic, social and cultural rights with political and civil rights of children (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008:11). It is the most widely ratified and a legally binding agreement safeguarding children's rights to survival, protection, participation and development (Bornstein & Putnick, 2012:17). The CRC highlights the need for special care for children, including legal and other rights before and after birth and throughout childhood (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11). It stresses the responsibilities of the state as supporting the family in this role, rather than usurping this role (National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children 2004-2010).

The United Nations (1989) highlights the importance of the early years. According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008:11), the following rights of the child, set out in the United Nations (1989), are relevant to vulnerable children, such as the children of street vendors (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11):

- Article 3: The State is to provide adequate care when parents or others responsible fail to do so.

- Article 18: Parents have joint primary responsibility for raising the child and the State shall support them in this.
- Article 19: Children should be protected from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse.
- Article 20: The State is obliged to provide special protection for a child deprived of the family environment and to ensure that appropriate family care or institutional placement is available.
- Article 24: Children have a right to the highest level of health possible, which includes a right to health and medical services, with special emphasis on primary and preventive healthcare, public health education and the diminution of infant mortality.
- Article 28: All children have the right to education, and this right should be achieved progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity. It is the duty of the State to ensure that primary education is free and compulsory.

The United Nations (1989) also highlights the importance of the early years, saying, “State Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development” (UNICEF, 2013:1).

The Conventions on the Rights of the Child specifies the responsibilities of parents and the commitment of states with rights of their own, in a portrayal of children as distinct individuals. It encourages nations to draw upon its principles in developing laws, policies and institutions that aim to promote children’s rights.

By ratifying the UNCRC, the government of Zimbabwe signified its intention to comply with the provisions of the UNCRC and agreed to be bound by it. Thus, it is required to report to a UN Committee on the Rights of the Child on progress towards implementation, initially within two years and subsequently every five years. The first report to the Geneva Committee monitoring the

implementation of the CRC, according to Makamure and Muzuwa (2000), was submitted in early 1996; the second is still pending and long overdue.

Wakatama (2007) aptly remarks that although the government of Zimbabwe has ratified the UNCRC, passed supportive legislation to protect children and committed itself and civic groups to put children on the forefront of development issues, no major improvements in the welfare of children in especially difficult circumstances have been noticed. According to Makamure and Muzuwa (2000), these children need a comprehensive response. The number of children in difficulty circumstances, whether they are from households that are unable to cope with economic hardships from multiple sources or in post-conflict countries or refugee camps, constitutes an enormous challenge for Africa in terms of preventing an irreversible and quantum loss in human resources and potential. Makamure and Muzuwa (2000), propose that this group and their families constitute the first priority group for social protection.

Zimbabwe, according to Wakatama (2007:21), is among those member states that have defaulted on their obligation to uphold the rights of children in especially difficult circumstances. The author further highlights that there is a lack of political action and political will to put in place and enforce legislation that will guarantee the protection of these vulnerable and disadvantaged children. The circumstances of these children, wherever they are found, highlight the relevance that the UNCRC has for children (Wakatama, 2007:17).

The rights of children, as enshrined in the African Charter, are looked into next.

2.3.2.2 Rights of children as enshrined in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990)

Zimbabwe is a signatory to the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990), the first regional child rights treaty, which came into force in

1999 (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008). In 1990, the member states of the Organization of African Unity drafted their own charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and since then, some African countries have used it in conjunction with the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (1989). According to Wakatama (2007), the Charter, like the CRC, covers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. The preamble recognises that the child occupies a unique and privileged position in the African society, but also notes with concern the critical situation of most African children (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11). Furthermore, the Charter puts special emphasis on protection against harmful social and cultural practices and the responsibility of children towards parents and the wider community. It also stresses the importance of the family as the natural unit and basis of society and, like the CRC, emphasises the responsibility of the parents for the upbringing and development of the child (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11). Next, the rights of children, as enshrined in the constitution of Zimbabwe, are looked into.

2.3.2.3 Rights of children as enshrined in the constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20, 2013)

The 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe (Goz, 2013) deliberates certain rights on the child. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20, 2013:38-39) reads as follows:

- (1) Every child, that is to say every boy and girl under the age of eighteen years, has the right-*
 - (a) to family or parental care, or to appropriate care when removed from the family environment;*
 - (b) to be protected from economic and sexual exploitation, from child labour, and maltreatment, neglect or any form of abuse;*
 - (c) to education, health care services, nutrition and shelter;...*

- (3) Children are entitled to adequate protection by the courts, in particular by the High Court as their upper guardian.*

2.3.2.4 Children's Act (2001)

The Children's Act (chapter 5:06) was adopted in 2001 in order to localise the various international standards in as far as the care and protection of children are concerned in Zimbabwe (Bhaisen, 2016:4). It replaced the Children's Protection and Adoption Act (chapter 5:06). The emphasis of this act includes providing care and protection to all children in Zimbabwe and forming a children's court and registration of institution for reception and custody of children (Bhaisen, 2016:4). The Children's Act provides categories of children who need care, including those who are destitute or have been abandoned, who are denied proper healthcare, whose parents are dead or cannot be traced, whose parents do not or are unfit to exercise proper care over them, and whose parents or guardians give them up in settlement of disputes or for cultural beliefs (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11).

Under the Children's Act (Goz, 2001), the Government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (Department of Social Welfare), has the statutory responsibility to care for and protect children in the country. This act provides for the care and protection of all children. It gives the Ministry of Public Service and the Department of Social Welfare (2008) a statutory responsibility to implement and oversee the care and protection of children in general, and children in especially difficult circumstances in particular (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11). The officers of the Department of Social Welfare and the police are, in addition, appointed as probation officers in terms of section 46 of the Children's Act (Goz, 2006:17). The probation officers and the police officers are designated by this act as court officials and given the authority and responsibility to remove children from suspected situations of risk to places of safety (Goz, 2006:18).

In order to fulfil these obligations of the Children's Act (2001), the Department of Social Welfare has developed child welfare programmes with the following objectives:

- To monitor the situation of all children in the country and target those who fall through the safety nets of formal and informal traditional systems (governmental and non-governmental organisations).
- To put in place a framework and standard of care and protection for all children and ensure that the quality and quantity of such care and protection are maintained.
- To review child-related legislation to ensure relevance of the instruments.
- To register all child-centred organisations and monitor and coordinate their activities.
- To work cooperatively with all international organisations to provide appropriate care and protection of the Zimbabwean child in and outside Zimbabwe.

Children of street vendors are vulnerable children since the definition of vulnerable children, according to the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy, include children living on the streets and those that are neglected (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:3). The author goes further to indicate that the government has adopted a collaborative approach to care for and support vulnerable children, with programmes coordinated by the local structures through the Child Protection Committees at district, provincial and national levels (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:11).

Child welfare programmes targeting vulnerable children include the following:

- The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM), through which assistance with tuition fees, levies and examination fees is provided to vulnerable children.
- The government assists vulnerable families with basic living costs through programmes such as the Public Works Fund – Cash Transfers to Vulnerable Groups, Public Assistance Fund, Drought Relief, and Assisted Medical Treatment Order (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2008:15).

An elaborated analysis of the street vending phenomenon is presented next.

2.4 CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF STREET VENDING

A conceptual analysis of street vending will facilitate an understanding of the nature of street vending in Harare and the life experiences of street vendors' children on the streets.

2.4.1 Street vendor

A street vendor, according to Njaya (2014:70), "is a person who sells goods or services in public spaces including sidewalks, alleyways, train stations, buses and public parks without a permanent built-up structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or head-load)". Bhowmik (2005) also defines street vendors as those entities selling goods and services in the street without having a permanent built-up structure. Further definitions are:

...street vendors may be stationary in the sense that they occupy space on the pavements or other public/private spaces or may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place, by carrying their wares on push carts or in baskets on their heads. (Mitullah, 2003:7)

...street vendors are not a homogeneous group but are composed of various sectors such as fixed stall vendors who operate in front of their houses or from the street pavement, and mobile sellers who wander to different locations by carrying their wares by hand or on a push-cart. (Wongtada, 2013:60)

According to Roever (in Njaya, 2014:70), "street vendor" may refer to the following: vendors with fixed stalls, such as kiosks; vendors who operate from semi-fixed stalls, such as folding tables, crates, collapsible stands, or wheeled pushcarts that are removed from the streets and stored somewhere overnight; vendors who sell from fixed locations without a stall structure, displaying

merchandise on cloth or plastic sheets; or mobile vendors who walk or cycle through the streets as they sell.

In Zimbabwe, street vendors are observed in most public and private places, including industrial and construction sites, hospitals, schools, sports stadia, bus termini, church buildings, shopping and commercial centres, pavements, sidewalks, alleyways, open spaces and along virtually every street of Harare's suburbs, as well as the CBD (Njaya, 2014:70). In this study, "street vendor" refers to a person with a child aged between zero and three years, who sells goods in the street with their goods laid out on the sidewalk.

2.4.2 Nature of street vending in Harare

Mitullah (2003:7) states that street vendors trade in a variety of commodities ranging from food stuff, both fresh and processed, fabrics or clothes, shoes, cosmetics, flowers, traditional herbs, crafts, artwork or pottery, kitchenware, plastic products, hardware, electrical appliances and general merchandise such as office stationary, school supplies, books, sweets, brooms, tobacco and newspapers, among others. Chirau (2012:53) asserts that the majority of women sell second-hand clothes, sim cards for mobile phones, perfumes for men and women, pesticides for cockroaches and many other products. Meanwhile, other vendors provide services on the streets, and predominant among these are haircutting, hair plaiting, manicures and pedicures, car wash, bicycle repairs, unlocking cell phones, connection to the internet or installing WhatsApp on cell phones, and mending. Street vendors in Harare sell everything from fresh food and medical drugs to mobile phones and mobile recharge cards, electrical gadgets (television sets and stereos), cars and brick sand (Njaya, 2014:70).

The facilities used, include kiosks, open spaces, wooden, canvas or polythene stalls, hawkers' kiosks, pushcarts, bicycles, collapsible stands, semi-fixed stalls, such as folding tables, crates, trucks, other vehicles and vans with specific food service equipment (Njaya, 2014:70). Mitullah (2003:7) also

reports that traders use different structures, including tables, racks, wheel barrows, handcarts and bicycle seats to display their goods. Others display their goods on the ground on mats or gunny bags, while others simply carry their commodities in their hands or on their heads or shoulders.

There are also those who hang their goods, such as clothes, on walls, trees or fences, and an advanced group that construct temporary shades with stands for displaying their goods. Njaya (2014:70) propounds that the selling of merchandise from car boots is also becoming a common phenomenon in Harare, especially during weekends. Organised car boot sales are usually conducted as fundraising activities by schools and church organisations, where individuals come together to sell old or new goods.

In the case of street food vending, Njaya (2014:70) furthermore observes that the equipment used, includes baskets, plastic boxes, firewood braziers, gas stoves, braai stands, cooler boxes, plastic buckets and refrigerators. Cooking utensils include pots and pans (usually black, which is suitable for use on open fires), spoons (wooden and metal), plates (metal and plastic), knives, cups (metal and plastic), dishes and bowls (metal and plastic) (Njaya, 2014:70). The major categories of street vendors observed, include mobile, stationary, fixed and itinerant vendors (Bromley in Njaya, 2014:70).

2.4.3 Children of street vendors

Children of street vendors are children who dwell in the street together with their parents, relatives or guardians (UNICEF, 2013). These families normally sleep in and around their stalls, kiosks or containers (Madjitey, 2014:8). In this study, “children of street vendors” means children aged between three years who are brought to vending sites by their parents or caregivers because they do not have substitute caregivers to look after them at home while the parents are vending in the streets.

The significance of early years will now be elaborated on.

2.4.4 Importance of the early years

There has recently been growing recognition of the importance of the child's early years in both low- and middle-income countries (Nelson, 2006). State of Victoria Children (2010) adds that the importance of the early years is now well known throughout the whole world. What happens during the early years is of crucial importance for every child's development as the early years of childhood form the basis of intelligence, personality, social behaviour and the capacity to learn and nurture oneself as an adult (World Bank and United Nations Population Division, World Health Organisation [WHO], 2011). Ford (2013:1) further indicates that the early years are crucial for the development of a secure emotional attachment and survival skills that help children to succeed in life. In addition, Minnet (2014) posits that during the early years, the child develops physically, emotionally, socially and intellectually at a fast speed and that this holistic development, when taking place in a conducive environment, is the foundation of a healthy, secure and balanced person. Cooper (2002:1) explains that children learn many different skills in the early years, including walking and talking, as well as learning how to express their feelings and socialise with other people. The experiences, relationships and skills that children acquire during the early years are initialised and will affect them throughout their lives (Cooper, 2002:1).

Nelson (2006) and Ford (2013) concur that early years set the foundation for lifelong learning, development of behaviour patterns and problem-solving strategies, as well as intellectual growth. The experiences a child has in the early years also shape the child's brain and capacity to learn, and ability to get along with others and respond to daily stresses and challenges (Ford, 2013). UNICEF (2013) echoes that early years of childhood form the basis of intelligence, personality, social behaviour and the capacity to learn and nurture oneself as an adult. According to Ford (2013:1), studies show that the development of important emotional, cognitive and behavioural skills takes place early in life. The author further agrees that during early childhood, the acquisition of foundational skills is not only important for a successful transition to school but also critical for later academic achievement and social

adjustment. Thus, promoting and developing these skills during the early childhood phase strengthens the development of long-term outcomes for children (Mailwane, 2016).

According to UNICEF (2013:2), a good foundation in the early years makes a difference through adulthood and even gives the next generation a better start. Berns (2010) regards the early years as a time in which family members assist young children to develop trust, build relationships and interact with the outside world. State of Victoria Children (2010) concludes that the experiences a child has in the early years can either support or impede learning. Positive experiences help the brain to develop in healthy ways, while negative experiences, such as neglect and abuse, affect brain development negatively. More significantly, negative experiences contribute to the development of emotional and behavioural problems later in life (State of Victoria Children, 2010). Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development (2015) further highlights that when the quality of support, stimulation and nurture is deficient, child development is significantly affected. Feeney, Christensen and Moravcik (2010) aptly remark that the experiences and circumstances which children in their first three years of life are exposed to, have a determining impact on their development. Hence, there is reason to suspect that children growing up on urban streets may have their emotions negatively affected.

UNICEF (2013) also indicates that there is evidence illustrating that children who receive assistance and general support in their early years succeed better at school than those without. As adults, they have a better chance of being employed and being able to earn a living and enjoy better health and lower levels of welfare dependence and crime rates than those who do not have these early opportunities (UNICEF, 2013:2). The World Bank (2011:1) further highlights that investing in the early years is one of the most cost-efficient investments in human capital that leads to the sustainable development of a country. For every \$1 invested in the physical and cognitive

development of babies and toddlers, there is a \$7 return, mainly from cost savings in the future (WHO, 2011).

Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development (2015) indicates that the return on investment in education is increased by reducing repetition rates, increasing school readiness and making education more effective as a child who is ready for school is less likely to repeat a year of school, be placed in special education or drop out of school. As a result, investing in the earliest years save costs in remedial education, healthcare and rehabilitation services and can result in higher earnings for parents and caregivers (UNICEF, 2011).

Stock and Moodley (2011:11) emphasise that there is an urgent need for “laying a solid foundation for the development and growth” of children during the early years. Bipath and Jourbert (2017:4) regard early childhood education as “the great equalizer”, explaining that research on childcare in the first three years for deprived children indicates that high-quality childcare can produce benefits for cognitive, language and social development. Safeguarding the healthy cognitive, social and emotional development of young children also merits the highest priority of every responsible government, organisation, community, family and individual for the sake of raising healthy children worldwide (UNICEF, 2013:2). In his research, Nelson (2006:1) focuses on brain development and suggests that children who are physically, emotionally, socially and intellectually supported, will develop a multitude of neural connections that will serve them well throughout their life course.

Early brain development, according to Nelson (2006:1), establishes a child’s social competence, cognitive skills, emotional well-being, language, literacy skills and physical abilities and is a marker for well-being in school life resiliency. Providing responsive, nurturing and stimulating experiences establishes the wiring of the brain connections (Nelson, 2006:1). UNICEF (2013) concludes that it is crucial to reach children in a holistic manner and

incorporating health, nutrition, water and sanitation, education and interventions that support their full development.

The World Bank (2011) argues that intervention in early childhood is crucial because it mitigates the impact of adverse early experiences, which, if not addressed, lead to poor health, poor educational attainment, economic dependency, increased violence and crime, greater substance abuse and depression. Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development (2015) further highlights that intervention in the early childhood is essential for breaking intergenerational cycles of poverty, reducing social inequality by identifying the most vulnerable children and situations likely to perpetuate cycles of poverty, reducing the social, economic and gender disparities that divide a society and contributing to including those traditionally excluded.

Many children, such as those of street vendors, according to UNICEF (2013:1), “do not reach their full potential because they do not receive adequate nutrition, care and opportunities to learn”. Masten, Gerwitz and Sapienza (2013) concur that during the early years, it is important for children to have a good quality of care and opportunities for learning, adequate nutrition to facilitate positive development of cognitive, social and self-regulation skills as well as good nutrition. UNESCO (2015:2) adds that good health, nutrition and a nurturing environment build a strong foundation, which facilitates transition to primary school, thereby increasing the chances of completing primary school, paving the route to a life that is less likely to be characterised by poverty and disadvantage. Good nutrition, health, consistent loving care and encouragement to learn in the early years of life, according to World Bank and United Nations Population Division (2011) also help children do better at school. This is important for children in poverty situations, such as children of street vendors.

2.5 IMPACT OF STREET ENVIRONMENTS ON CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT

Children of street vendors live with their parents in overcrowded and impoverished home environments, unsafe neighbourhoods, slums, kiosks, containers, and on pavements of shops (Madjitey, 2014:14). Balgeramire (1999) further notes that these children lack proper hygiene and sanitation, safe drinking water, proper healthcare, recreational facilities, proper clothing and good transport systems. Bruscano (2001), Seccombe (2002) as well as Densley and Joss (2000:217) assert that these children are, moreover, exposed to various environmental hazards and dangerous practices that affect their total development, economic independence as well as personal safety. Balgeramire (1999) raises specific concerns regarding these children's health when he mentions that most of the vendors buy and consume food prepared in unhygienic conditions on the street since they do not have any place to cook and cannot afford to eat from restaurants. They are prone to the consequences of inadequate diets, underfeeding, malnutrition, hunger and diseases (Balgeramire, 1999).

Exposure of these children to life on the street may lead to "poor adjustment, aggressive and antisocial behaviour, conduct disorders, communication difficulties, adjustment problems, poor self-concept and low self-esteem" (Densley & Joss, 2000:217; Elbedour *et al.*, 2002:255). They are sometimes mistreated so that they are traumatised and may possibly develop psychological problems (Bruscano, 2001). According to the Bernard van Leer Foundation (2004:3) children's early experiences affect their development as well as the development of the society and the world. Elliot and Davis (2009:113) agree that during the early years of development children demonstrate the greatest ability to learn and develop. For this reason, it seems critical that nations invest in their young, thereby preparing and equipping them for future challenges. This, according to Elbedour *et al.* (2002), poses a major challenge to the development of a child's sense of trust, security and confidence.

Children have rights for their survival, protection and development that may be relevant in their lives and to influence judgements taken on their regard within the family, the school or the community (National Plan of Action, 2011:1). All children have the same rights, regardless of their status in society. Article 27, Section 1 of the United Nations (1989) states that state parties should recognise the right of every child to have a basic standard of living for a child's physical, mental, spiritual and social development. Raising children on the streets could also be violating article 81(d) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013:39), which states that "every child has the right to family or parental care or to appropriate care when removed from the family environment". Article 81(f) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Goz, 2013:39) goes on to state that the child has a "right to education, health care services, nutrition and shelter, which could be also violated by this practice".

Above all, when children are raised on the streets, goal number 1 of the Education for All movement (UNESCO, 2000), will not be achieved. Education for All is one of the global commitments several governments agreed on at the World Education Forum in 2000, in Dakar, Senegal (UNESCO, 2015). Its focus was to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults. An agenda was launched to reach six wide-ranging goals by 2015. Goal number 1 was targeted at expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children. The intention of this goal was to make sure that all young children should be raised in safe and caring settings that enable them to become healthy, alert and secure children who are able to learn. Clearly this specific goal has not reached its target as millions of children are still living in dire circumstances.

Raising children on the streets can cost Zimbabwe its chances of achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Similarly, the Michigan State Board of Education (2006) posits that when infants and toddlers are cared for in a setting outside their homes, such as in streets, responsive and nurturing caregiving requires deliberate and intensive attention to their physical and

emotional needs as well as their inborn desire to make sense of the world about them. In view of all this, streets are not conducive environments for raising children (Samson & Cherrier, 2009:9). Likewise, a study carried out in Mexico City to find strategies developed by female street vendors indicated that children who remained on the streets with their mothers suffered more frequently from gastro-intestinal diseases and accidents” (Hernandez 1996:169). The gastro-intestinal pathology was found to be associated with the child’s remaining at the mother’s place of work, where nursing, feeding and general care takes place in unsanitary conditions. Hernandez *et al.*, (1996) furthermore note that the higher frequency of accidents among children who remain with their mothers indicated the difficulty of caring for them adequately during the day, as well as the insufficiency of alternative domestic support networks. They conclude that there is a higher risk (morbidity and accidents) for children of female street vendors than that found at national level among the same group, and a particularly high risk among children under one year (Hernandez *et al.*, 1996).

2.5.1 Impact of poverty on street vendors and their children

Due to the economic downturn, where rapid urban population growth has resulted in unemployment, many people started to live below the poverty line (Mlambo, 2014), which is the major characteristic of street vendor life. According to Engle, Black, Berhrman, Cabral deMello, Gertier, Kapiriri, Martorell and Young (2007:1) “the economic definition of poverty is typically based on income measures, with the absolute poverty line calculated as the food expenditure necessary to meet dietary recommendation, supplemented by a small allowance for non-food goods”. Wood (2003:707) concurs that “poverty has been described as an economic state that does not allow for the provision of basic family and child needs, such as adequate food, clothing and housing”. Abebe and Quaicoe (2014:112) define poverty solely as a lack of income.

Atkinson, Cantillon and Nolan (2002:78) propound that poverty has various manifestations, including a lack of income and productive resources sufficient

to ensure sustainable livelihoods, hunger and malnutrition, ill health, limited or a lack of access to education and other basic services, increased morbidity and mortality from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments, and social discrimination and exclusion, characterised by a lack of participation in decision making and in civil, social and cultural rights.

Literature reveals that poverty is complex, multidimensional, interwoven and can be measured and understood in different ways Hossain & Zeitlyn 2010:3 UNICEF (2009:8) suggests that the most basic understanding of child poverty is a lack of income to the families or households in which children live. A lack of income disables people getting the goods and services to fulfil their basic needs and improve their standard of living. According to Maponga and Musa (2016: vii), in 2011 to 2012, 73% of all Zimbabweans were considered poor, while 22.5% of the population were living in extreme poverty. The authors go further to say that Zimbabwe's improved economic growth rates over the past five years have not significantly reduced unemployment and poverty, both of which remain high. This, therefore, suggests that poverty is still prevalent in most families in Zimbabwe. Children of street vendors are a vulnerable group as they live in harsh economic conditions and with a high incidence of poverty (Madjitey, 2014:61).

2.5.1.1 Impact of poverty on children's development

Engle *et al.*, (2007:2) postulate that children growing up in poverty experience "double jeopardy". The authors assert that these children are not only directly exposed to risks in their homes and communities, including illnesses, crowding and family stress but also lack psychological stimulation and limited resources. Children growing up in poverty often experience more serious consequences to risks than their counterparts from higher-income families. Child poverty, according to UNICEF (2009), is a root cause for other forms of deprivation, namely being deprived of surviving, developing, participating and being protected. Engle *et al.*, (2007:1) state that poverty presents chronic stress for children and families, which may interfere with successful adjustment to developmental tasks. The authors further assert that children

raised in poor families are at risk of academic and social problems as well as poor health and well-being, which can, in turn, undermine educational achievement. Income poverty can severely curtail children's development and opportunities (UNICEF, 2009).

Poverty also affects cognitive development as malnourished children because of poverty are known to have slowed-down cognitive development (Engle et al., 2007:1). Studies have found consistently negative associations between poverty during early childhood and academic outcomes (Moore, Redd, Burkhauser, Mbwana & Collins, 2009:4). According to Wood (2003), research has compared poor children with their counterparts who are not poor on a number of aspects of development, including intellectual and educational attainment. Scores of IQ tests seem to vary with the level of poverty, whereas educational attainment seems to be related to poverty early in a child's life and the duration of family poverty (Wood, 2003:709). Weikart (in Petterson & Albers, 2001:1794) assert that the general relation between poverty and cognitive development has been well established in earlier studies.

Research indicates that even by the age of two, children from low-income families score lower on standardised tests of intelligence (Ramet & Ramet, 1981). According to Duncan, Brooks-Gun (1994) and Klebanov, (1994) and Smith *et al.*, (in Petterson & Albers, 2001:1794) more recent studies have confirmed the impact of poverty on children's cognitive abilities (Conger *et al.*, 1992; Elder, Liker & Cross, 1984; McLoyd, 1990). Smith *et al.* (1997) in Petterson and Albers (2001:1794) scrutinised the effect of poverty on cognitive ability among young children between the age of two and eight using the Infant Health Development Programme. The findings indicated that family income affected children's cognitive development as early as age two (Petterson & Albers, 2001:1794). Overall, children in families with low incomes had lower IQs than children in families with incomes relatively closer to, but still below the poverty line, who also fared worse than children in the higher income group (Petterson & Albers, 2001:1794).

According to Petterson and Albers (2001:1794), current research also indicates that “the effects of long-term poverty on children’s cognitive ability are significantly greater than the effects of short-term poverty. The effects of long-term poverty were twice as large as the effects of transient poverty”. Smith *et al.* (in Petterson & Albers, 2001:1794) also found that children in persistently poor families scored six to nine points lower on cognitive evaluations than children who have never been poor, whereas the effects of short-lived poverty were typically four to five points lower than the effects of continuous poverty. In addition, the negative consequences of persistent poverty increase as the child gets older, suggesting that the effects of poverty are cumulative (Petterson & Albers, 2001:1794).

Poor children are also the most vulnerable with regard to education. The majority of children coming from poor backgrounds cannot afford payment of fees and uniforms, and thus risk remaining outside the education system. Due to poverty, street vendors may not afford to pay fees for their children to access early childhood development centres. As a result, their cognitive development may be compromised.

Research suggests that there is a relationship between income poverty and physical vulnerability and abuse (UNICEF, 2009). Numerous studies have also indicated that poverty is associated with higher rates of poor health and chronic health conditions in children (Wood, 2003:709). The author further states that national surveys find that compared with parents who are not poor, parents who are poor more often rate their children’s health as “fair” or “poor” and are less likely to rate their children’s health as “excellent” (Wood, 2003:709). Petterson and Albers (2001:1794) found that income was positively associated with measures of physical health, such as children’s height, weight, haemoglobin and fat scores. Petterson and Albers (2001:1794) reported that children living in persistently poor families were more likely to experience deficient nutritional status (as measured by low height for age and low weight for height). Since street vendors operate in overcrowded and impoverished home environments, unsafe neighbourhoods, slums, kiosks,

containers and on shop pavements of shops, their children are also prone to disease and result in poor health. Their exposure to many people on the street pavements may lead them to all sorts of abuse (Madjitey, 2014).

Poverty is also related to children's social and emotional development. According to Moore *et al.* (2009:4), children in poverty have a greater risk of displaying behavioural and emotional problems, such as disobedience, impulsiveness and difficulty getting along with other peers. The authors further assert that children in poverty display less positive behaviour, such as compliance, than their non-impovertised peers. Due to their economic status, children of street vendors are likely to suffer from emotional and behavioural problems. In concurrence, Duncan and Brooks-Gun (1997:62) state that poor children suffer more from emotional and behavioural problems than non-poor children.

Moore *et al.* (2009:5) furthermore report on research which indicates that "poor children are more likely to experience frequent moves and change in family structure than the affluent children". In turn, children with turbulent lives, such as children of street vendors, are more likely to have negative social and emotional outcomes than children whose lives are relatively stable. Due to municipal police harassment, vendors constantly change vending sites and this can lead to negative social and emotional outcomes in their children. Furthermore, it is suggested that there is a link between lack of income and social exclusion among children (UNICEF, 2009).

In concurrence, Eamon (2001:258) aptly remarks that poor children are more likely to experience peer rejection, lower popularity and conflictual peer relations, than non-poor children. Fewer family resources would likely constrain purchasing acceptable clothing and engaging in peer activities. Eamon (2001:258) also warns that children who are perceived as "different" may be stigmatised and isolated, and less frequent participation in peer-group activities would decrease opportunities for social interactions and building and maintaining peer relations. The author further asserts that children who are

isolated from mainstream peer groups also may establish peer relations based on alternative values, which encourage behaviour such as aggression (Dodge, Pettit & Bates, 1994; Eamon, 2009:258).

2.5.2 Impact of street environments on children's nutrition, health and safety

Life on the streets can have a negative effect on nutrition, health, safety and the general well-being of the child. The synergy between adequate nourishment and a sense of safety and security, according to Lancet (2007:2), has an effect on the formation and combination of neural pathways and as a result, on the brain's ability to develop properly.

2.5.2.1 Nutrition

The importance of nutrition as a basis for healthy development is often underrated (WHO, 2002). Inadequate and poor nutrition leads to ill-health and ill-health contributes to further worsening in nutritional status (WHO, 2002). These effects, according to WHO (2015), are most dramatically observed in infants and young children. Sufficient food is crucial in terms of a child's growth, development and well-being, but it is not enough. Some street children can get enough food; however, the food may not have enough nutrients, which may lead to malnourishment, anaemia and vitamin deficits (Mukherjee, 2014:65). Vendors often feed their children junk food as junk food is easily available, relatively cheap and attractively packaged and promoted, and children in particular are attracted to these foods of little nutritional value (Woodward, 2009:110). The author further asserts that children need sufficient food of the correct nutritional value so that their growth and development will not be adversely affected in any way. Insufficient nutrition or incorrect nutrition can lead to malnutrition, which can be either undernutrition or over-nutrition (Woodward, 2009:110).

Undernutrition can lead to stunted growth and deficiency diseases, such as rickets, scurvy, kwashiorkor and anaemia, while over-nutrition can lead to

obesity in childhood or adulthood, with the attendant diseases of obesity such as heart problems and diabetes (Woodward, 2009:109). The reasons for malnourishment among street children are manifold and interconnected. These include the intake of contaminated food, inadequate nutritional intake of vital nutrients, defective nutritional practices and recurrent sicknesses (WHO, 2015:87).

Hakim and Rahman (2015:6) confirm that the greater bulk of children who live in street environments were found to be underweight gainers due to a lack of access to safe drinking water, scanty nutritious foods consumptions and a lack of hygienic practices. If their nutrients deficiencies exist for a long time, the authors add that this results in interference with body functioning and increasing the occurrence of diseases. Therefore, children living in street environments are at a threat to a wide range of health consequences and malnourishment.

Nutritious food is critical to overall development in children (WHO, 2015). Even if children have all their physical needs taken care of, when their emotional and social needs are neglected, they will fail to thrive and develop a sense of well-being (WHO, 2015). Similarly, if their physical needs are not taken care of, if they suffer from hunger, then the other three areas of development do not have much of a chance. It is clear that all four areas of development need to be present for a child to be fully prepared to become a functioning independent and productive adult (Woodward, 2009:136-137).

Nutritional status is a vital issue in children's health, physical and emotional well-being and intellectual development. Emotionally, the child is contented when his or her physical needs are taken care of (food, physical closeness and bonding) (Woodward, 2009:137). National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy (2015:26) concurs that poor nutrition in early childhood can lead to irreversible stunting and developmental delays, resulting in poor cognitive development and, ultimately, low educational performance. According to Lancet (2007:7), inadequate nutrition undermines brain

development. The author elaborates that inadequate nutrition during infancy and early childhood affects the functions and structure of the brain in ways that are difficult to offset later. Jukes (2006:26) concur that undernutrition impairs children's mental development in the early years. The author further asserts that malnourishment is related to changes in social and emotional development. For example, in Kenya, malnourished children were found to be less sociable than sufficiently fed children. Severe episodes of undernutrition can lead to increased apathy, reduced activity and less frequent and less thorough exploration of the environment (Jukes, 2006:34).

The right to sufficient food and nourishment is also protected by many legitimate and developmental instruments, including the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990), the sustainable development goals, and others (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:26). Nutrition provision for infants and young children is crucial. This includes safe nutritive practices. Poor nutrition in these crucial periods can lead to permanent stunting and developmental delays, which result in poor cognitive development and, eventually, lower educational and labour market performance (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:27).

2.5.2.2 Health

The WHO (2002) defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of diseases or infirmity (Bruce *et al.*, 2014:250). Health and social well-being, therefore, can best be viewed as a holistic concept, encompassing the different aspects of a person's health needs. It is imperative to know whether the conditions in which children live are conducive to healthy living. Talukder, Alam, Islam, Paul, Islam and Akther (2015:243) state that life on the streets continues to have an unfavourable effect on the health of children living on the street, particularly young children below ten years as they have a higher risk of experiencing health problems because their young age increases their vulnerability. Mukherjee (2014:65)

adds that “constant physical and mental strain and living in environments least protected against health hazards makes street children highly prone to infectious diseases”. Polluted drinking water and a lack of sanitation services, according to the WHO (2015:75), are also two environmental factors that can make street environments unsafe for human beings especially children.

Sometimes vendors do not have running water or toilets near their vending sites. Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (2016:31) says the absence of ablution facilities also affect even their market as consumers feel threatened by poor health conditions around the vendors. Thus, insufficient waste removal and sanitation services result in unhygienic market conditions and undermine the vendors’ sales as well as their health and that of their children and customers (Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, 2016:31). Insufficient sanitation services and facilities pose a health hazard (Manjengwa, Matema, Tirivanhu & Tizora, 2016:59) as street vendors and their children have moderate deprivation; moderate deprivation is defined as access to an unimproved toilet facility. Inadequate access to clean water is also a major concern for vendors who sell prepared foods.

Similarly, a study carried out by Gupta (2012), which examined the state of nature of life of street children housed at an disorganised colony in the city of Delhi indicated that most children suffered from fever very, often followed by dysentery. Due to regular exposure to dirty conditions, children were also suffering from coughing and throat infection (Gupta, 2012:640). The poor living conditions of street children make them highly vulnerable to injury and illnesses (WHO, 2015:72). A Mexico study also reported that respiratory and gastro-intestinal problem were the main health problems, which arose from street environments (pollution and contaminated food and water) (Chowdhury, Chowdhury, Huq, Jahan, Chowdhury, Ahmed & Rahman, 2017:588). A study, which was carried out to have an empathetic look into the lives of street children for identifying their health-related needs, revealed that most of the street children were suffering from different type of diseases, while accidental injuries and skin infection were topping the list (Chowdhury *et al.*, 2017:589).

Vendors are sometimes exposed to heavy rains, wind, sun, dust, extreme cold or heat. These harsh conditions also do not spare the health of vendors and their young children. The right of infants and young children to basic healthcare (including environmental health services such as access to water and sanitation), especially during the early childhood years is expressly protected by many international and national instruments, including the UNCRC, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:26). A right to healthcare, to safe drinking water and a clean and safe environment is one of the fundamental rights of children stated by the UNCRC. Talukder *et al.* (2015:243) reiterate that children on the streets are deprived of their rights to health, nutrition and safe drinking water. The right to a safe environment is one of the fundamental rights of children, and parents and caregivers have an obligation to protect children from accidents and physical and emotional trauma (Woodward, 2009:166). Access to basic preventative and curative medical care for young children prevents health threats to development (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:26).

2.5.2.3 Safety

Through spending so much of their time on the streets, children of street vendors are exposed to environments that are inherently dangerous (Tassoni, 2006). The safety of children in street environments is particularly threatened and undermined by injuries. Children are prone to injuries incurred due to knocks by both human and vehicle traffic (Achmad, 2012:9). Physical characteristics, according to UNICEF (2009), make children especially susceptible to injury. For example, children's body size increases the risk of accidents in road traffic accident. When accidents occur, according to Tassoni (2006:89), children's development may be affected as, for example, a head injury can cause cognitive delay. Injury is also a major cause of disability, with long-lasting impact on all areas of a child's life, health, education, family and future livelihood (WHO(2011) ; UNICEF, 2008). Over and above, a sick child will not play, resulting in missing the developmental benefits of play (Bruce &

Meggitt, 2006). Young children have a limited capacity to evaluate risk. As such, parents and other caregivers can play an important role in helping the children in their care to interpret what is happening around them (WHO, 2007:16). Their supervisory role is particularly useful for ensuring the safety of children in complex environments such as on streets (WHO, 2007:16). Maslow's hierarchy of needs indicates safety and security needs as fundamental towards human achievement (Huit, 2008). Lancet (2007:2) concludes that 200 million children under the age of five are not achieving their developmental potential because of multiple adversities, marked by the lack of adequate nutrition, poor health and a lack of safe environments.

2.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study sought to determine the impact of urban street environments on young children's development by reviewing related literature on the street vending phenomenon. Discussing the history of Zimbabwe was deemed necessary to situate this study within a specific context. Street vending, as a direct result of political and economic challenges in Zimbabwe, was discussed as well as the resultant impact on children who are affected in the process. As the focus of this study is on three-year-old children, the importance of the early years was highlighted as well as the devastating effects of poverty in early childhood. The importance of adequate nourishment, health and a sense of safety and security, which also has an effect on young children's development, has also been discussed. In the next chapter, the theoretical framework underpinning my study will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews literature on the theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks underpinning my study. In terms of a theoretical framework, my study is guided by the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner, the psychosocial theory of Erikson and the cognitive theory of Piaget. Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory is the main framework to understand the street vending phenomenon. It postulates that the child is situated within "nested contexts" in which human development occur (Bornstein & Putnick, 2012). These multiple circles have a profound influence on the child (Madjitei, 2014:63). The theory provides a context for studying the educational development of street vendors' children in street environments. It is, therefore, relevant to my study as it analyses the effects of different environmental systems on the educational development of street vendors' children in urban settings.

To consolidate my understanding of Bronfenbrenner's theory and its impact on young children's intellectual development, I discuss Erikson's psychosocial and Piaget's cognitive theories respectively as part of my theoretical framework. Piaget's preoperational stage, where the children in my research fall, is discussed in detail since I am convinced that in doing so, my understanding of the impact of street vending experiences on young children's intellectual growth could be superbly enriched. Erikson's psychosocial theory shows how each individual progresses through a series of stages that represent challenges that must be resolved successfully to lay a firm foundation for the next stage. His view is that the social environment, combined with biological maturation, provides each child with a set of "crises" that must be resolved (Huitt, 2008:1). This framework is relevant to my study since the theory is also centred around the quality of the interaction between the child and the caregivers (vendors), particularly in relation to the demands

posed by society as expected and acceptable behaviours from the child at a given age and stage.

The following section focuses on Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory.

3.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory as a framework enabled me to scrutinise the educational development of children of street vendors within interactive, multi-layered, and changing environments (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2010). According to Bronfenbrenner (in Bogenschneider, 1996:129), "children are shaped not only by their personal attributes, but also by the ever-widening environments in which they develop". Thus, the ecological theory enabled me to understand, among others, the basic needs for positive educational development in children, and specifically, the children of street vendors. For the purpose of this study, I am not using the chronosystem, but will concentrate on the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems of the ecological theoretical framework to guide my study.

3.2.1 Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (1976:6) looks at a child's educational development within the context of a system of relationships that form his or her environment. It focuses on the social contexts in which people live and the people who influence their development (McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2009). Bronfenbrenner (1976) proposes that human development takes place through reciprocal interaction between the human organism and the persons, objects and symbols in its environment. The theory places the child at the centre of multiple circles of influence, realising that only by considering these interrelationship structures can a child's educational development be adequately addressed (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). Developmental outcomes of children are consequences of the influences of the various ecological settings surrounding the child. Thus, children are shaped, not only by their personal attributes but also by the ever-widening environments in which they develop

(Bogenschneider, 1996:129). The interaction among factors in the child's maturing biology, the immediate family or community environment and the societal landscape provides impetus to, and steers their development (Paquette & Ryan, 2001).

There are three major principles that constitute the ecological model. The first principle, as stated by Bronfenbrenner (1994:380) states that –

...especially in its initial phases, and to a great extent through the life course, human development takes place through processes of increasingly more intricate interaction between an active, evolving bio-psychological human organism and the persons, objects and symbols in its immediate setting.

Bronfenbrenner (1976) further illustrates that the interactions in the ecology should be enduring and occurring over time to be effective. Such interactions are termed “proximal processes” and include child-to-child as well as parent-to-child activities, among others (Bronfenbrenner, 1994:39).

The second principle specifies:

...The form, power, content and direction of the proximal processes effecting development vary as a joint function of the characteristics of the developing person: of the environment (immediate and remote) in which the processes are taking place; and the nature of the developmental outcomes under consideration (Bronfenbrenner, 1994:39).

This principle suggests a complex relationship between the quality of the interactions in any system and the developmental outcome. Central in this theory is that the power of the processes varies as a function of the environment in which the processes occur. Bronfenbrenner (1995) postulates that the effects of proximal processes are greater than those of the overall environment in which such processes occur. What happens in the child-to-

child and parent-to-child activities has a greater impact on the developmental outcome than would be the case with what generally happens in the entire institutional activities.

According to the third principle, the ecological environment is regarded as a nested arrangement of structures, each having an effect on a child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In his theory, Bronfenbrenner (1977) proposes four systems that are embedded in the ecology of human development. These are the micro-, the meso-, the exo- and the macrosystem.

3.2.1.1 *Microsystem*

The first structure, the microsystem ("micro" meaning small) refers to the immediate settings in which the child interacts with physical objects, peers, family members and the community and neighbourhood in a direct face-to-face mode (Berns, 2010:18). McGraw-Hill Higher Education (2009) concurs that the microsystem constitutes direct interactions with parents, teachers, peers and others. Children's microsystems also include any immediate relationships or organisations they interact with, such as the school or day care (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). Figure 3.1 depicts the microsystem.

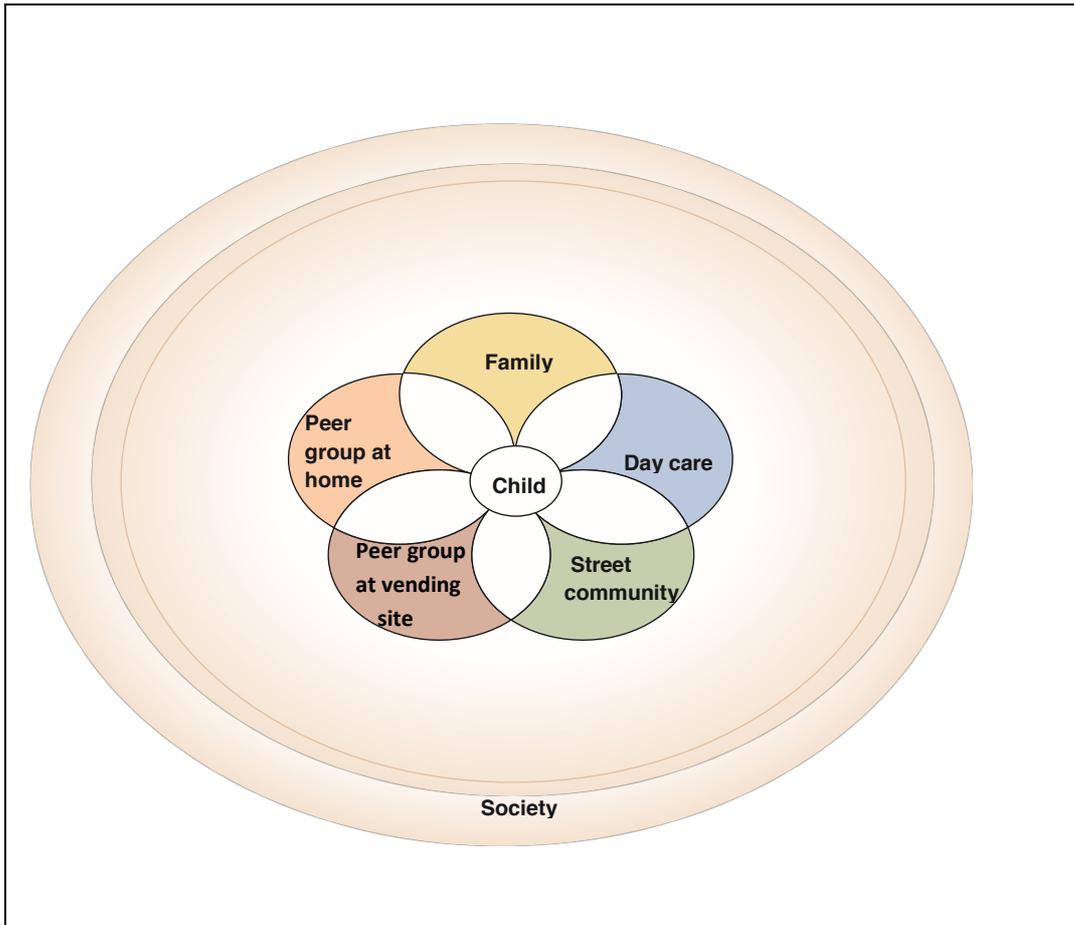


Figure 3.1: The microsystem (Berns, 2010:19)

At the centre of the microsystem, is the child, and then the child’s relationship with the family, peers, community, media, school, day care, and so forth. The microsystem has a direct impact on the child’s educational developmental outcomes because of the proximity of the child to the objects and the persons within the immediate environment. The more inspiring and encouraging these relations are, the more the child is able to develop educationally. The family, for example, is the setting that provides nurturance, affection and a variety of developmental opportunities (Berns, 2010:19). It is the primary socialiser of the child in that it has the most significant impact on the child’s educational development (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). For example, the economic situation in Zimbabwe affects the family environment first and later turn on to individuals, affecting individual educational development (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). As a result of the economic change, most parents who have lost their jobs are now engaging in informal activities, such as street

vending. Parents, who constitute the microsystem, take along their infants and toddlers to vending sites in the streets to earn a living. As a result, the streets, which are inhabited by street vendors, directly influence the growth and educational development of infants and toddlers through reciprocal interactions, which, over time, has a negative impact on their growth and educational development.

According to Gabarino (1992), the child who is inadequately nurtured or loved, such as a child who is raised in street environments, may have developmental problems. This initial disadvantage will continue and even deteriorate as the child progresses through school, unless timely interference is applied both at home and at school (Berns, 2010:19). In this system, Bronfenbrenner (1979) argues that the developing child is not an inactive receiver of the processes rooted in this system, but also influences the way such processes are experienced. Bronfenbrenner (1979) concurs that the child also influences how the society responds to their needs because of the biological competences that they bring to the interactions. Microsystems in this study are settings such as the family, peer groups at home and peer groups at vending sites, day care and school, which have a direct influence on children's educational development.

3.2.1.2 Mesosystem

The second structure, the mesosystem ("meso" meaning intermediate) consists of linkages and interrelationships between two or more microsystems, such as the family and the school/day-care centre, or the family and the peer group (Berns, 2010:21). McGraw-Hill Higher Education (2009) concurs that mesosystems constitute connections between microsystems, such as family and school, and relationships between students and peers. Figure 3.2 shows the structure of the mesosystem.

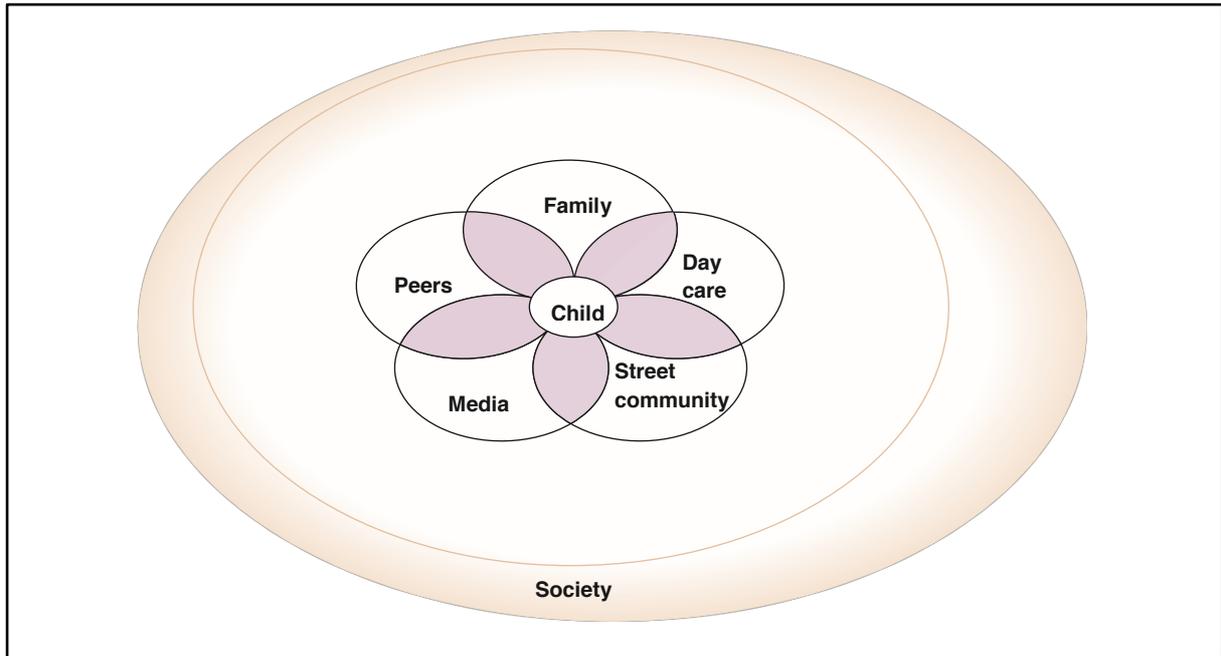


Figure 3.2: The mesosystems (Barns, 2010:21)

The mesosystem describes how different parts of a child's microsystems work together for the sake of the child (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). Thus, the mesosystem typically encompasses interactions among family, school, day care, peer groups or television; for some children, it may also include the church, camp, and so forth (Bronfenbrenner 1976:6). A key defining property of the mesosystem is that the microsystems concerned or being linked should each contain the developing child. It is the quality of the linkages that map out and promote educational development. For example, the economic downturn and the subsequent ESAP in Zimbabwe affected the intersection between different microsystems (the mesosystem), such as the interplay between family and day care (Woodside *et al.*, 2006). Workers who have been retrenched during ESAP could not afford to pay fees for their children to attend day care, resulting in many young children being brought to vending sites in the streets (Boas & Hatloy, 2008:19). For the purpose of this study, the mesosystem represents the relationship among family, day-care centres, peer groups at home and peer groups at vending sites.

3.2.1.3 Exosystem

The third structure, the exosystem (“exo” meaning outside), refers to settings in which children are not active participants, but that affect them in one of their microsystems (Berns, 2010:21). Bronfenbrenner (1979) refers to the exosystem as connections between settings, which do not contain the developing child. The exosystem influences educational development indirectly through the microsystem, in which the developing individual is an active participant. McGraw-Hill Higher Education (2009) concurs that the exosystem constitutes experiences in settings in which the child does not have an active role that influence the child’s experiences. Examples of the exosystem include the workplace of immediate family members, usually the parents’ workplace, the family’s social networks and the neighbourhood community contexts. The events in these systems have an impact on the educational development of the child through the family microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Figure 3.3 represents the exosystem.

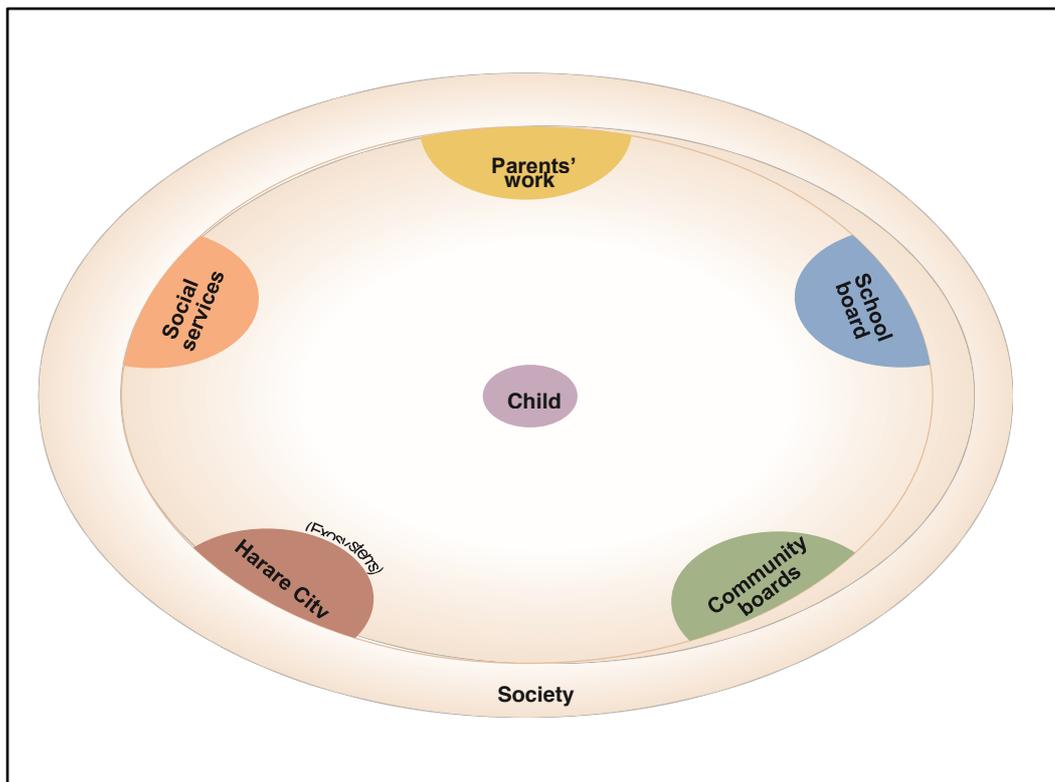


Figure 3.3: The exosystems (Berns, 2010:21)

Decisions made at the parents' workplace may influence the child's life. For instance, if a child's parent gets laid off from work, this may have negative effects on the child since the parent may be unable to pay school fees and rent and may also fail to provide basic dietary provisions. On the contrary, if the parent is promoted, this may have a positive effect on the child because the parents will be better able to provide for the child's physical needs. Dovetailing to the challenges street vendors in the majority of urban centres in Zimbabwe face, it is sensible to believe that their children are experiencing hardships mainly because of retrenchment (Hilson & Potter, 2005:103). Consequently, these parents fail to provide basic necessities, let alone sending their children to school. For this study, the exosystem consists of the larger social settings, such as parents' workplaces, the Department of Social Welfare, the City Council and day-care/school boards.

3.2.1.4 *Macrosystem*

A macrosystem refers to the all-embracing influential patterns of culture or subculture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal and political

systems, of which local micro, meso, and exo systems are the concrete manifestations (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). It constitutes the broader culture in which students and teachers live (McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2009). Bronfenbrenner (1977:515) describes the macrosystem as follows:

A macrosystem differs in a fundamental way from preceding forms in that it refers not to specific contexts affecting the life of a particular person but to general prototypes, existing in the structure or substructure that set the pattern for the structures and activities occurring at a concrete level....

According to Bronfenbrenner (1976:6) such “macrosystems are conceived and examined, not only in structural terms but as carriers of information and ideology that both explicitly and implicitly endow meaning and motivation to particular agencies, social networks, roles, activities, and their interrelations”. Figure 3.4 depicts the macrosystem. These settings can also affect a child educational development either positively or negatively.

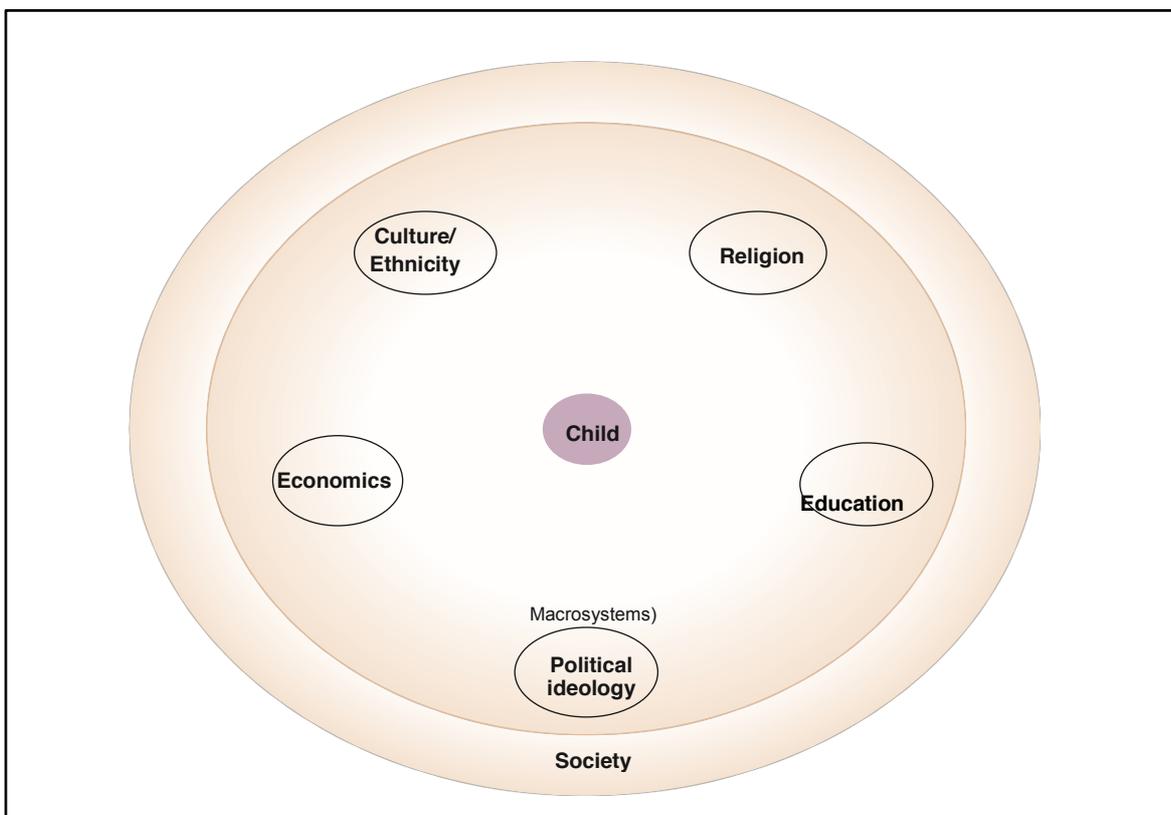


Figure 3.4: The macrosystems (Berns, 2010:21)

At the broadest level of society, individual development may be affected by issues such as changing laws or political and social institutions, and by access to technical innovations (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). For example, the economy melt-down as well as the stringent policies of ESAP saw many people (retrenched workers from both public and private sectors) moving into the uncontrolled, informal, poverty-driven sector, and for that matter, street vending, in urban centres in the country. The macrosystem in this study will represent the economic, social, cultural, legal, educational and political systems in the country.

As suggested by the ecological theory, it is vital to consider events at various levels of the human ecology, comprising the individual, family and home, school, peer, work and community settings in dealing with children of street vendors (Bogensneider, 1996:128). The ecological theory of human development therefore provides the avenue for the situation of children of street vendors to be assessed in terms of change at the various levels of the ecological system (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:290).

In summary, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory provides a theoretical framework for exploring the educational development of street vendors' children. It highlights the complex interactions between the factors and conditions that culminate into the ever-increasing issue of the street children phenomenon. The central concern of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory is the mutual relationship or mutual reciprocity between developing individuals and their environment. Therefore, from Bronfenbrenner's perspective, the presence of young children on the streets is the product of the reciprocal interaction between street vendors' children and other persons, objects and symbols in the four systems.

The next section focuses on the development of a child as a framework for this study.

3.3 THEORIES ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Sigelman and Rider (2009:2) define development as “orderly, patterned, and relatively enduring changes and continuities in the individual that ensue between conception and death”. Children develop in different domains, which include the physical, cognitive, social, emotional and moral domains. In this study, I will focus on the emotional and cognitive domains.

3.3.1 Theoretical insights on emotional development

Boundless (2016:1) highlights that emotional development is essentially the way emotions change or remain constant across the human lifespan. These changes also reflect the changes in a child’s relationships with others that occur throughout childhood (Boundless, 2016:1). Added to this, McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:4) describe emotional development as including the many modifications that occur in emotions, self-concept, motivation, social relationships, moral reasoning and behaviour advancement, which also depend largely on the child’s interactions with other people. It also involves affectionate relationships with adults, such as teachers and other caregivers, to promote the child’s emotional well-being, academic achievement and acceptance by peers (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:29). Cohen (2006) remarks that emotional development includes the child’s experience, expression and management of emotions as well as the ability to create positive and worthwhile relations with others. According to the National Scientific Council on the Developing Child (2004:2), the core features of emotional development include, among others, the ability to identify and understand one’s own feelings, to accurately read and comprehend emotional states in others to manage strong emotions and their expression in a constructive manner, to regulate one’s own behaviour, to develop empathy for others and to maintain relationships.

Eisenberg and Champion (2004) confirm the availability of research literature indicating the need to regulate human emotions. In this regard, Cohen (2006) concurs, showing that emotional regulation refers to children’s ability to

monitor, assess and change their emotional reactions in any given situation (Cohen, 2006). In addition, Bell and Wolfe (2004) further indicate that emotion regulation reflects the interrelations of emotions, cognitions and behaviours of people. It is a skill that develops over time and involves both responding to situations with emotions that are socially acceptable and developing the ability to withhold emotions or delay spontaneous reactions when necessary (Boundless, 2016:2).

Young children's understanding and skill in the use of language is of the utmost importance in the emotional development, opening new ways for communicating about and regulating emotions (Campos, Frankel & Camras, 2004). Boundless (2016:2) asserts that as children develop advanced language skills, they also develop the ability to regulate emotions. According to Fabes, Leonard, Kupanof and Martin (2001), the use of emotions-related words appears to be related with how likable children are considered by their peers. Children who use emotion-related words were found to be better liked by their colleagues (Fabes *et al.*, 2001). The National Scientific Council on the Developing Child (2004:2) further propounds that emotional regulation skills are important because they play a role in how well children are liked by peers and teachers and how socially competent they are perceived to be. Children's capacity to regulate their emotions suitably can contribute to views of their overall social skills as well as to the extent to which they are liked by their peers (Eisenberg & Champion 2004). To the contrary, poor emotion regulation can harm children's thinking, thereby compromising their judgement and decision making (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2000).

Cheah and Rubin (2003) advise that caregivers can demonstrate positive role models on emotion regulation through the behaviour, verbal and emotional support they offer children in handling their emotions. The authors further remark that responsiveness to children's signs contributes to the development of emotion regulation. Caregivers support children's development of emotion regulation by reducing exposure to excessive worry, chaotic settings or over- or under-stimulation (Cheah & Rubin, 2003). The National Scientific Council

on the Developing Child (2004:2) also indicates that responsive caregiving supports infants and toddlers in beginning to regulate their emotions and develop a sense of predictability, safety and responsiveness in their social environments.

A child's temper also has influence on emotional development. Temperament refers to a person's manner of thinking, behaving or reacting (Boundless, 2016:1). Children who are negatively focused, tend to have more difficulty in regulating their emotions than those who are focused on the positive aspects of life (Boundless, 2016:1). Thompson and Goodvin (2005) assert that healthy emotional development for infants and toddlers unfolds in a relational context, that is, positive ongoing relations with familiar, nurturing adults. Due to the negative experiences they may encounter, children who are raised on the street may have more difficulty with emotional regulation.

The development of empathy is also critical to emotional development in young children. Levenson and Ruef (1992:234) postulate that empathy is about "knowing what another person is feeling, feeling what another person is feeling and responding compassionately to another's distress". The authors add that empathy shows the social nature of emotion as it links the feelings of two or more individuals. According to Eisenberg (2000), research has shown a association between empathy and prosocial behaviour. In particular, prosocial behaviours, such as sharing, helping and comforting or showing concern for others, illustrate the development of empathy. Cohen (2006) concurs that the capacity to identify with the feelings of another person helps in the development of socially positive and unselfish behaviour. Unselfish behaviour occurs when a person does something in order to benefit another person without expecting anything in return (Boundless, 2016:2).

Therefore, empathy, according to the National Scientific Council on the Developing Child (2004:2), helps a child develop positive peer relationships; it is affected by a child's temperament, as well as by the parenting style. Children raised under the care of affectionate parents are most likely to

develop a sense of empathy and altruism, whereas those raised in harsh environments, such as streets or neglectful homes, tend to be more aggressive and less kind to others (Boundless, 2016:2). The effects of stress, violence, harassment and isolation, as a result of exposure to the street, affect children of street vendors in a sense that it may lead to social-emotional and mental health problems (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010).

The development of relationships is also a crucial part of emotional development in childhood (Boundless 2016:2). Play is one way in which children develop relations with others (Boundless 2016:2). There are several types of play, and each type builds upon the other in a three-step process. Solitary play occurs in the beginning of childhood, when children spend the most time alone with preferred play materials. It then leads to parallel play, when children begin to take an interest in other children, but prefer to play side-by-side. Children who engage in parallel play, sit next to one another during play, but each child engages in his or her own activity. Finally, there is associative and cooperative play when children begin to engage with one another, exchanging and sharing play materials. Vendors may restrict their children from playing around for fear that they may wander around and be snatched or hit by traffic; hence they encourage their children to engage in solitary or parallel play.

Next, the concept of socio-emotional development as proposed by Erikson in his psychosocial theory is discussed.

3.3.2 Erikson's psychosocial theory (1973)

Erikson extended Freud's psychosexual view of personality development and theorised that children's personalities grow in response to the social world in the same manner their skills for social interaction mature (McLeod, 2013:2). His view is that "the social environment combined with biological maturation provides each child with a set of 'crises' that must be resolved" (Huitt, 2008:1). In other words, the theory is premised on the view that at each stage of

human development, and indeed as children mature, society and culture pose crises for specific age groups. Erikson saw development as a passage through a series of stages, each with its particular goals, concerns, accomplishments and dangers (Woolfolk, 2004:100).

At each stage, Erikson suggests that the individual faces a developmental crisis – a conflict between a positive alternative and a potentially unhealthy alternative (Woolfolk, 2004:100). McGraw-Hill Higher Education (2009) concurs that each stage is characterised by a psychosocial challenge or crisis. The way in which each individual resolves each crisis has a lasting effect on the person's self-image and view of society (Woolfolk, 2004:100). In other words, accomplishments at later stages depend on how conflicts are resolved in the earlier years (McLeod, 2013:2). The results of the resolution, whether successful or not, are carried forward to the next crisis and provide the foundation for its resolution (Huitt, 2008:1)

These crises are not so terrible that they cannot be resolved, but require to be settled using strategies that are personally (to the child) and socially (to the caregiver) satisfying. Erikson believed that individuals go through eight life stages between infancy and adulthood, each stage involving a central crisis. These stages, according to McGraw-Hill Higher Education (2009), reflect the motivation of the individual. Positive resolution of each crisis leads to superior personal and social competence and a stronger foundation for solving future crises.

I will now focus on the stage of autonomy versus shame and doubt, which encompasses children who are three years old as they are the focus of my study.

3.3.2.1 *Autonomy versus shame and doubt*

Just when individuals have learned to trust their parents, they must put forth a degree of independence (Snowman & McCown, 2012). Woolfolk (2004:101) highlights that in the second stage, young children begin to assume important

responsibilities for self-care, such as feeding, toileting and dressing. Fleming (2004) adds that walking, talking, and later, dressing and feeding oneself as well as learning to control bowel functions are all tasks that the child learns during this stage. The child learns what he or she can control and also develops a sense of free will and a corresponding sense of regret and sorrow for inappropriate use of self-control (Huitt, 2008:1).

If toddlers are permitted and encouraged to practise their capabilities, they develop a sense of autonomy (Woolfork, 2004:101). McGraw-Hill Higher Education (2009) elaborates that independence is fostered by support and encouragement. The well-nurtured and loved child emerges from this stage confident in him- or herself, delighted with his or her newly achieved skill and becomes proud rather than ashamed. On the other hand, if parents and teachers are impatient and do too many things for young children or shame young children for unacceptable behaviour, these children develop feelings of shame and doubt (Snowman & McCown, 2012:29). Experiencing a sense of control without loss of self-esteem develops autonomy, while over-demanding or overprotective parents cause the child to feel shame and doubt (Tuckman & Monette, 2011:133). Erikson believes that children who experience doubt at this stage will lack confidence in their own abilities throughout life (Woolfolk, 2004:101). Children raised on the street may be condemned, overly controlled or restricted to one place and not given the opportunity to assert themselves as parents may fear that the children can go astray. As a result, they may not feel adequate in their capabilities and may then become overly dependent upon their caregivers, lack self-esteem, and feel a sense of shame or doubt in their own abilities (McLeod, 2013).

The issue in this theory is centred around the quality of the interaction between the child and the caregivers, particularly in relation to the demands posed by society as expected, and acceptable behaviours from the child at a given age and stage.

Cognitive development is discussed next.

3.3.3 Piaget's theory on cognitive development

According to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:4), "cognitive development refers to the age-related changes that occur in children's reasoning, concepts, memory, and language". These changes, according to the authors, are refined by children's experiences in families, schools, and communities. Shaffer and Kipp (2010) concur that cognitive development refers to age-related changes that take place in mental activities, such as thinking, learning, perceiving and remembering. Cognitive development, according to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:4) is also "the development of basic skills in reading, writing, mathematics and other academic subject areas". It involves the presence of all essential apparatus within the various settings (families, schools and communities) to introduce, mediate, describe and demonstrate, to interpret the external world and to provide children with opportunities to learn (Bornstein & Putnick., 2012:18).

Next, the concept of cognitive development as advocated by Piaget in his theory of cognitive development is discussed.

Jean Piaget was a psychologist whose interest was in children's cognitive development. Piaget's theory, first published in 1952, is centred on the idea that the child, regardless of age, is capable of construction his or her own knowledge. Piaget studied the cognition of his own three children (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013) and settled that children developed cognition through interaction with objects and people in their environment. Wells (2012) posits that Piaget's observations were naturalistic, which is more valid than laboratory-based research. His observations led him to settle that, as infants, children interact with the world primarily through trial-and-error behaviour, and as they mature, they begin to represent, symbolically "manipulate" and make mental guesses about objects and actions in the world around them (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:10). Piaget believed that cognition develops through interaction between an individual and the physical environment (including social objects in the environment). According to him, as the child grows, thinking becomes increasingly logical and abstract (McDevitt & Ormrod,

2013:14). To Piaget, cognitive development is a progressive reorganisation of mental processes as a result of maturation and the environment (McLeod, 2015). Children create knowledge of their world and then experience discrepancies between what they already know and what they newly discover in their environment. Piaget proposed that cognition develops through the processes of assimilation, accommodation and adaption. These principles constitute the mechanism of cognitive development.

According to Piaget (1962), assimilation refers to the art of taking information from the environment through the sensory organs. In the mind, information is considered to be new and, hence, stands as independent mental structures. The mental structures are called “schemas” (Woolfolk, 2004). According to Mwamwenda (2004), these are the mental representations of the new knowledge that has been obtained and is under construction in an individual’s mind. The schemas are fitted into spaces in the mind, and the process can be likened to the creation of more space to fit new arrival (Piaget, 1962). This results in the establishment of pigeon holes that can accommodate the schemas together with the existing ones. Before such space is granted, there can be some mental confusion as to which schema belongs where, and whether some new schemas already have colleagues similar in nature. This kind of confusion that takes place in the individual’s mind, according to Piaget (1962), is called “disequilibrium”.

However, disequilibrium does not last long, and ultimately the schemas have been fitted into the existing schemas and pigeonholing has been completed. Piaget terms that “equilibrium” (Mwamwenda, 2004). This suggests that a permanent solution has occurred in place of the temporal confusion that was apparent, and all the schemas have been taken in and given space to reside, hence the accommodation process. According to Woolfolk (2004), the accommodation principle holds that there has been due consideration of the new mental schemes and they have given a share of space. When eventually the new schemes and those already existing are balanced and now exist together without causing confusion, the individual has

reached adaptation (Piaget, 1962). Therefore, adaptation is the final state of adjustment and creation of new knowledge that will stand and not be confused with what has been encountered before.

Key to Piaget's theory is the idea that the level of complexity of one's cognition increases with age and maturation; hence cognitive development is stage-related. Piaget posited that the child progresses through four stages of cognitive development on his or her way to independent thinking (Atherton, 2011; Desai, 2010:61; Piaget, 1973). Each stage, characterised by more complex modes of reasoning, prepares the child for the succeeding levels (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:13). The sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational and formal operational stages are the four stages of Piaget's cognitive development. Although the theory focuses on four stages, the preoperational stage is relevant for my study since the children in this study are three years old.

3.3.3.1 Preoperational stage

The preoperational stage stretches from infancy through toddlerhood to early childhood. According to Atherton (2011) and Kail and Cavanaugh (2010), children at this stage learn how to manipulate symbols, such as numbers and words, to represent aspects of the world, but relate to the world only through their perspectives. The authors further state that at this age, according to Piaget, children are self-centred and self-oriented and have an egocentric view. The child's reasoning is not yet logical and is still centred around the self. The self is principal in conversations and discussions with peers and other significant adults. The child is still ruled by the external world, rather than his or her own thoughts. At this stage, perception still dominates over reason (Desai, 2010:6). The key developmental milestone at this stage is verbal language, which is critical in early childhood education.

Last, but not least, children learn through play. Piaget's (1962) theory of play specifies three types of play, corresponding to the first three stages of his theory of human development (Lillard, 2014:428). Each type of play behaviour

reflects the underlying mode of thought in its stage. Three-year-olds, according to Piaget (1962), are in the preoperational stage and engage in symbolic play. Lillard (2014:428) remarks that by the end of the sensorimotor period, the rituals of play produce symbols, such as a box symbolising a cup. Symbolic thought is the key cognitive advance of the preoperational stage and is manifested in pretend or symbolic play, which is critical in the child's cognitive and social development and the main tool for understanding the environment in which he or she lives (Bruner 2000; Piaget, 1963; Vygotsky, 1977). In symbolic play, different mental processes are developed: first, the symbolic function; then thinking, memory, imagination, speech, creativity and all the cognitive functions (Petrovic-Soco, 2014:236).

According to Bronfenbrenner (1994:576), the inconsistency and stress within the family setting may have disruptive effects on the development of the children's cognition. As the child of the street vendor experiences the effect of distress in the family situation, it becomes difficult for the child to learn and to develop cognitively. When parents and other caregivers are not able to provide resources and opportunities to facilitate children's learning, it may lead to the inability of these children to use their cognition to capacity.

In summary, the preoperational stage of Piaget's theory provides a framework for exploring and conceptualising the cognitive development level of the children in this study. It highlights the various characteristics of children in the preoperational stage and throws light on what should be expected of children at each level of their growth and educational development. Due to the nature of their job, street vendors may not be able to match the needs and requirements of their children to their developmental capacities. Knowledge of the child's need for interaction with the physical and social environment is pertinent for the processes of assimilation, accommodation and adaption. The caregiver has a critical role of organising the environment that amplifies the cognitive processes. Also, street environments may not be conducive for children to explore as much as they would want to and, as a result, delay the development of critical educational achievements at this stage.

In the next section, competencies for three- to four-year-olds are discussed.

3.3.4 Competencies of three- to four-year-olds

It is important to know the general expected competencies of three- to four-year-olds as this information can assist in determining whether children of street vendors in the same age group have competencies that commensurate with their age.

3.3.4.1 Cognitive competencies of three- to four-year-olds

National Early Learning and Development Standards (2009) outline cognitive developmental expectations in children aged three to four years. It states that young children, aged three to four years, know their full names, age, gender, where they live, address, family members and neighbours or other people they regularly see. Women and Children's Health Network (2013) concur that three- to four-year-olds can tell you how old they are and can say whether they are a boy or a girl. National Early Learning Development Standards (2009) adds on to say that three- to four-year-olds are also able to describe some aspects of themselves, for example, colour of hair and gender.

Informed Parents – Successful Children Project (2008) states that three- to four-year-olds can sort and classify objects by colour, shape, sizes, and so forth. Smith, Cowie and Blades (2015) concur that at three to four years old, children are able to match two or three primary colours, know parts of the body and imitate adult speech. National Early Learning Development Standards (2009) also says three- to four-year-olds can count by rote up to 20 and begin to count objects in one-one correspondence up to five. They also recognise and name simple shapes, use measuring utensils and classify and match objects (National Early Learning Development Standards, 2009).

3.3.4.2 Socio-emotional competencies of three- to four-year-olds

National Early Learning Development Standards (2009) outlines socio-emotional developmental expectations in children aged three to four years. It

states that children three to four years old play with children across gender, racial and cultural differences. Women and Children's Health Network (2013) says three-year-olds often enjoy being with other children and they now begin to play together; they show greater social awareness and they play alongside others. They also choose who to play with, join in imaginative play with others and show concern and sympathy for others who are unhappy (National Early Learning Development Standards, 2009). Smith *et al.*, (2015) add that three-year-olds play in twos or threes, sharing ideas. They are friendly to other children and may have close friends (Smith *et al.*, 2015).

Though the Informed Parents – Successful Children Project (2008) says that three-year-olds want to do things on their own, National Early Learning Development Standards (2009) says they also understand taking turns as they can take turns in conversations. National Early Learning Development Standards (2009) also says three- to four-year-olds ask permission to do something, seek help and comfort from familiar adults, sing familiar rhymes and songs and use the toilet on their own. Women and Children's Health Network (2013) concur that they are starting to take responsibility for their own toileting and are less likely than two-year-olds to have kicking and screaming tantrums.

3.3.5 Play

Street environments may not allow children adequate opportunities and space to engage in meaningful play. Bruce (2006:180) asserts that opportunities for play are essential for all of us, but paramount for young children in their discovery of their world. Play, according to Kostelnik, Soderman and Whiren (2011:44), is the province of all children from the time they are born throughout the elementary school years. The importance of play in early years cannot be underestimated as "it is an essential and critical part of all children's development" (Bailey, 2006). Bodrova and Leong (2005) and Kostelnik *et al.* (2011:44) concur that all aspects of development are enhanced through children's play activities, particularly the affective and cognitive domains.

According to Piaget (in Smith & Pelligrini, 2013), play is not only an enjoyable and spontaneous activity but it also contributes significantly to children's cognitive development. Bailey (2006) asserts that play is important to brain development as children learn to think, remember and solve problems. Gilmore (2014) concurs that play is important because it shapes and structures the mind from an early age, and thus intellectual growth occurs. Piaget (1962) opines that children have all the cognitive abilities to learn on their own, and their interaction with their environment enables them to do so. He believed that constantly interacting with their environment, making mistakes and then learning from them, help children create their own knowledge. In this view, he describes the child as a lone scientist who makes sense of the world, interpreting and acting accordingly to conceptual schemas that are developed in his or her interaction with the environment. Piaget saw play as the construction of knowledge by interacting with play objects. Ginsburg (2007) concurs that play is the vital means by which children create knowledge and process information and learn new skills. Anderson-McNamee (2010:3) elaborates that children gain a lot of knowledge through their play, as they acquire an understanding of different concepts such as colour, size, shape and texture through play; this helps them learn about relationships as they, for instance, try to put a square object in a round opening or a large object in a small space. The knowledge of relations among ideas, objects and events, according to Piaget (1962) is created by the processes of assimilation, accommodation and equilibration. Play becomes the vehicle to propel the taking in of new knowledge to fit in with previously developed understanding. Cherry (2012) asserts that assimilation is dominant in play.

According to Bruce (2006), Vygotsky placed much emphasis on the support of other capable peers as having a great impact on the development of cognition. To Vygotsky, cognitive development does not take place in isolation, but through socially acceptable contexts as presented by play. Scaffolding, which is central to the development of cognition, can only take place when children are allowed to play. Play presents an opportunity to bridge the gap between what the child can do without assistance, and what

the child does not know, but can master with assistance from fellows. Children can scaffold one another to reach new zones of cognitive development, and such play is vital in the life of young children.

Vygotsky (1978) argues that play is a vital part for both language development and a child's understanding of the world. Children are scaffolded by more capable peers when they face problems in language (Vygotsky, 1978). When children are involved in different types of play, there is some form of dialogue that sometimes takes place, thereby improving their language or vocabulary. Through play, children therefore become more competent in their language use.

Play is beneficial to young children because it is therapeutic. Play is therapeutic in the sense that it helps children who are in emotional pain to face their feelings and deal with them so that they gain control over their lives (Bruce *et al.*, 2010). It allows children to express negative emotions that pertain to situations over which they have no control in their day-to-day life. These situations may include traumatic experiences and conflict they encounter. Frost, Wortham and Reitel (2008) concur that play is proper in that it presents a safe passage-way for children to vent out their emotions. After witnessing an accident on the highway, a child might pretend to be involved in an accident and acts out the scene. The child feels free to express the frightful emotions previously encountered.

This way, the child is enabled to come to terms with the situation. Therefore, play is of immense value in that it allows children to express their feelings and dispel negative emotions to replace them with positive ones. It helps children to manage their feelings and cope with upsetting things that happen in their lives. Anderson-McNamee (2010:3) also agree that "play allows children to express their views, experiences and at times, frustrations". Minnet (2014:197) concurs that "play helps to reduce stress as the acting out of stressful situations can help them to seem more familiar and therefore less frightening". For example, playing doctors and nurses can help children

overcome a painful hospital experience or prepare them for a stay in hospital. Over and above, play is of prime importance in that it is a safety valve capable of ridding the individual of distressing emotions. This is the catharsis effect of play, which makes it right, proper and inevitable (Frost *et al.*, 2008).

Kostelnik *et al.*, (2011:44) further indicate that play provides a safe haven for the release of tension, the expression of emotions and the exploration of anxiety-producing situations. For example, using a sharp stick to inject a doll is safer than using a needle to inject a sick baby. Therefore, play helps to divert aggressive instincts (Minnet, 2014:197). Play also offers a child the ability to master skills that help to develop self-confidence and the ability to recover quickly from setbacks. For example, stacking blocks without their falling makes a child feel proud (Anderson-McNamee, 2010:3).

Vygotsky (in Verenikina, Harris and Lysaght 2003) perceives play as a social interaction and believes that children learn about self through interaction with others. When children play together, they learn to mix easily with others and how others behave (Minnet, 2014:196). Therefore, children should not be deprived of playing with their peers. Playing with peers also helps children to learn how to be part of a group as they learn skills of sharing, cooperation, and working within groups (Anderson-McNamee, 2010:3). Kostelnik, *et al.*, (2011:44) concur that as children play together, they explore social relationships, discovering points of view in contrast to their own, working out compromises and negotiating differences, for instance, when two children want the same toy.

3.3.5.1 Play materials

As children play, they need play materials. According to research, one of the most powerful factors related to cognitive development during infancy and the preschool years are the availability of play materials (Bruce, 2010). According to Goldstein (2012:37), toys stimulate and prolong play, and “if children are to discover what they are good at, what they like, and what they are like, then they will need variety in their play, and a broad assortment of toys to make it

possible". Play materials, according to Bruce (2010) are extremely important for multiple developmental perspectives such as cognitive, social or emotional, physical and language developmental perspectives.

It has been established, through a number of studies, that access to a variety of materials and toys is related to children's cognitive development (Bailey, 2006). The author further asserts that availability of toys to young children is also related to the child's IQ at three years of age. Children with access to a variety of toys were found to reach higher levels of intellectual achievement, regardless of the children's sex, race or social class (Bailey, 2006). In one study, the availability of toys intended for social play increased social interaction by disabled children in an inclusive preschool (Driscoll, 2009)

Given the abundant nature of the research evidence that play in humans is adaptive and fundamental in supporting a whole range of intellectual, emotional and social abilities, it seems self-evident that children who, for whatever reason, play very little or not at all, will be disadvantaged in their development (Whitebread, 2010:28). All children have specific rights, which are set out by the UNCRC (1989), where Article 31, which focuses on children's need for leisure, play and culture, states that the child has a right to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to their age (Kidsrights, 2012). The African Charter of Children's Rights (1990) also states that every child in the world has the right to play.

Studies of the severely disadvantaged children discovered in Romanian homes reported a range of severe intellectual and emotional deficits, including abnormal repetitive or brief play behaviours, together with deficient growth and functioning in a number of key brain regions (Chugani, Behe, Muzik, Nagy and Chugani, 2001; Whitebread, 2010:28). Research also shows that children, especially boys, who do not play, are more likely to bring personal tragedy on themselves and social tragedy on their communities, such as killing someone through persistent drunk driving as they have not learned to

see how others might feel or what the consequence of their actions might be for other people (Bruce, 2010:359).

3.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The theoretical framework in this study provided different perspectives of how children develop and how street environments affect their educational development. The main framework is based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, which explains how the child develops within nested contexts. Theoretical insights on emotional development provided a window on the significance of emotional regulation during interactions with others. Erikson's psychosocial theory centres around the quality of the interaction between the child and the caregivers, particularly in relation to the demands posed by society as expected and acceptable behaviours from the child at a given age and stage. This may have a positive or a negative impact on the child's socio-emotional development. Piaget's view provided a framework on how children in the preoperational stage develop cognitively. The importance of play, which is critical in children's cognitive and emotional development, was highlighted. The next chapter explains the research methodology used to ascertain the impact of street environments on children's development.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 3, I reviewed literature on theoretical frameworks that underpin my study. My study was guided by Bronfenbrenner's (1976) ecological systems theory, the psychosocial theory of Erikson (1973) and the cognitive theory of Piaget (1972). Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory was used as the main framework to understand the street vending phenomenon. It was employed to explain the position of children of street vendors at various levels of systems and what impact these different settings have upon their cognitive and socio-emotional development (Madjitey, 2014). The preoperational stage of Piaget's theory of cognitive development was explored in the context of cognitive development. Erikson's theory is centred on the quality of the interaction between the child and the caregivers (vendors), particularly in relation to the demands posed by street environments.

In Chapter 4, the research methodology that informs my study was explained. Research methodology, according to Fisher (2010), is the study of methods, and it raises all sorts of logical questions about what is possible for researchers to know and how valid their claims to knowledge might be. As part of the research design, I explained the interpretive paradigm that guided my study, the qualitative research approach and the case study design. I furthermore, motivated why a phenomenological approach was appropriate for this study. Research methods constitute the role of the researcher, purposive sampling, the research site, research participants, data collection methods, data analysis, trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of the research was to find answers to the main research question. Emanating from the problem statement (see section 1.3), the study addressed the following primary question:

4.2.1 Primary research question

What is the impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe?

The study primarily focuses on young children's educational development. However, it was important to examine familial circumstances of street vendors and their children, the challenges children of street vendors meet in their cognitive and emotional development and intervention strategies that can be put in place to mitigate challenges experienced by children of street vendors.

4.2.2 Secondary research questions

- What are the familial circumstances of Zimbabwean street vendors and their children?
- What challenges do Zimbabwean street vendors' young children face in their cognitive and emotional development?
- What intervention strategies can be put in place to mitigate the challenges that children of street vendors experience in their development?

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Every research study has its own implicit or explicit design that logically links the research questions with the data to be collected and the approaches for analysing the data so that the findings address the envisioned research questions and strengthen its validity and accuracy as well (Yin, 2011:75-76). A research design, according to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), is a plan

for choosing research sites, subjects and data collection processes to address the research questions. Bhattacharjee (2012:35) describes it broadly as a “comprehensive plan for data collection in an empirical research project”. He further asserts that a research design is the “blueprint” of the activities which are aimed at providing answers to particular research questions or testing specified hypotheses which have to include three processes. which are the constitution of the sample, the development of the data collection instrument, and the data collection process (Bhattacharjee, 2012:35). The research design, according to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:45), translates the research questions into concrete details of a study by specifying the process for conducting a study. This, the, shows the individuals that will be studied, their selection and when, where and in which situations they will be studied (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:31)

Denscombe (2012:99) asserts that a good research design should:

- provide “a description of the various components of the investigation”, thereby proposing the general technique that will be followed and itemising the data collection methods and data analysis approaches that will be used;
- give a justification for choosing the research strategy which “has to be informed by the research questions”; and
- reconcile the various data collection techniques with the research questions of the study, and demonstrate how appropriate data proposed to provide answers to the research will be produced.

As part of the research design, I discuss the interpretive paradigm in which my study is situated, the qualitative research approach I followed, as well as the multiple case study type that I used to collect data.

4.3.1 Research paradigm

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007a:47), a paradigm is a “set of assumptions or beliefs about essential aspects of reality” that determine the researcher’s

worldview. In other words, it refers to assumptions that a researcher holds in relation to the reality that he or she seeks to establish about the phenomenon of interest in his or her research study. A paradigm reflects philosophical orientation about “fundamental aspects of reality” that influence the researcher’s worldview (Merriam, 1998:3; Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:47). Taylor and Medina (2013) add that viewed from a philosophical perspective, a paradigm refers to the nature of reality (ontology), both external and internal to the knower, the kind of knowledge that the knower can generate (epistemology), as well as a particular approach of producing the knowledge (methodology). Denzin and Lincoln (2012a:19) summarise that a paradigm is “a set of overarching philosophical systems denoting particular ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies”. Therefore, a set of beliefs and expectations concerning reality (ontology), knowledge of that reality (epistemology), and the strategies of knowing that reality (methodology) and methods characterise any research paradigm (Creswell, 2007:238). Merriam (1998:3) concurs that “a fundamental consideration” in designing a research study revolves around the philosophical assumptions that the researcher believes with regard to the nature of reality, the kind of knowledge that can be generated, as well as how knowledge is produced. Alghamdi and Li (2013:1) explain as follows:

Paradigms define how the world works, how knowledge is extracted from this world, and how one is to think, write, and talk about this knowledge. Paradigms define the types of questions to be asked and the methodologies to be used in answering them. Paradigms decide what is published and what is not published.

Grix (2004:68) adds that research is best done by “setting out clearly the connection between what a researcher thinks can be researched (ontological position) relating it to what is known about it (epistemological position) and how to acquire it (methodological approach)”. According to Scotland (2012:9) there are three main paradigms, namely positivism, interpretivism and critical theory, and each paradigm is based upon its own ontological and

epistemological assumptions. The study adopted the interpretive paradigm of qualitative research.

4.3.1.1 Interpretive paradigm

According to Bhattacharjee (2012:103), the term “interpretive research” is often used interchangeably with “qualitative research”, although it is quite different from the latter term since it refers to a research paradigm. Interpretivism is also referred to as the constructivist, humanistic or naturalistic paradigm. It recognises that social reality is constructed and interpreted by the individuals who take part in the social world themselves, according to the philosophical positions they possess (Cohen *et al*, 2011). Bhattacharjee (2012:103) elaborates that interpretivism is premised on the notion that social reality is neither singular nor objective as it is based on multiple human experiences and social contexts that represent ontology. Interpretivism is “best studied within its socio-historic context by integrating the subjective interpretations” (Bhattacharjee, 2012:103) made by participants, which is the epistemology. Interpretive researchers, therefore, argue that social reality cannot be experienced individualistically of the social context in which it is rooted, and can, therefore, be understood in terms of the meanings attached to it by the various participants (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The main strength of the interpretivist paradigm, according to Cohen *et al*. (2007:19) and McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:49), is that it places superiority on the viewpoints of participants who are part of the ongoing action being examined.

For various reasons, this study is situated within the interpretive paradigm as the most relevant philosophical positioning. First, it was relevant since the study aimed to generate knowledge instituted by lived experiences of street vendors with the street life phenomenon that the study sought to explore (Klotz & Lynch 2007). The interpretive paradigm generates knowledge based on the lived experiences of participants with the street life phenomenon. Second, according to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:49), the interpretivist paradigm enables the researcher to capture the intricacies and understated

nuances of individuals' experiences in complex environments, such as urban streets. To the interpretivist, reality is a multifaceted and a complex social construction of lived experiences, values and meanings (Cohen *et al.*, 2007; Grix, 2004). Therefore, the ontological assumptions of interpretivism are that social reality is seen by many people who interpret events in different ways, leaving multiple viewpoints of an event (Mack, 2010).

My role as a researcher in the interpretivist paradigm is, therefore, to “understand, explain, and interpret social reality through the eyes of different participants” who are street vendors (Mack, 2010:8) through paying particular attention to their different viewpoints and providing rich accounts of the street vending phenomenon under investigation (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:60). The same phenomenon would have multiple understandings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:110), and these interpretations differ across time and space. I therefore decided to explore the views of six vendors, with young children aged between zero and three years, on the street life phenomenon to compare the various perspectives they might have of the phenomenon under study, which is the impact of the street environment community on young children's development. The interpretivist assumption adopts the view that reality is not a fact out there that needs to be found, but is created in people's minds (Crotty, 2009:43), which therefore guided me to explore the street vending phenomenon. The interpretive paradigm was appropriate as I got lived experiences of participants on street vending and raising children on the streets.

According to Creswell (2009:13), the interpretivist paradigm usually employs case study, ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology and narrative study as preferred research methods. I therefore employed a case study design, considering that this approach is more in tune with the participants I was studying, as it allowed them to be flexible to interpret their own experiences of the world. Interpretive methods give insight of behaviour, explain actions from the individual's point of view and endeavour not to dominate them (Scotland, 2012:12). Table 4.1 reflects the assumptions

(Nieuwenhuis, 2007:59-60) on which an interpretivist perspective is based and how these assumptions relate to this study.

Table 4.1: Interpretive assumptions and the application to my study

Assumptions	How it relates to my study
<p>“Human life can only be understood from within”, therefore we study the subjective experiences and interpretations of people and their interaction with their social environment (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 59).</p>	<p>This viewpoint allowed me to gain access to the individual viewpoints and understandings of the lived world of street vendors with young children of three years old. I was able to distinguish the way in which their world was “constructed” as well as the bearing it had on the cognitive and emotional development of the children of street vendors.</p>
<p>“Social life is a distinctively human product”, and the meaning people give to a certain phenomenon is always linked to the unique context (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 59)..</p>	<p>An understanding of the context in which the cognitive and emotional development of children of street vendors takes place is particularly crucial in how the phenomenon is understood. This study created an opportunity for a clearer appreciation of the opinions of street vendors in relation to their peculiar social contexts and how street life might have some effect on the cognitive and emotional development of children.</p>
<p>“The human mind is the purposive source of origin and meaning” (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 59). Exploring the intricacies of a phenomenon leads to a better</p>	<p>Through in-depth literature, the theoretical framework and field work, I was able to expose how street vendors assign meanings to the street life phenomenon and to understand how their actions and</p>

Assumptions	How it relates to my study
comprehension of the meaning it has for people.	interactions with others and the environment influence the cognitive and emotional development of their children.
<p>“Human behaviour is affected by knowledge of the social world) (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 60). Understanding more about reality enriches our conceptual framework and provides a link between the concrete world and the abstract theory.</p>	<p>Interpretivism suggests that “multiple realities or multiple truths exist based on one’s construction of reality” (Mantzoukas, 2004:1000). Multiple realities originated from my interaction with street vendors and their children as to their perspectives of the street life phenomenon. These various perspectives stimulated a mutual linkage between what actually exists in the concrete world and the theoretical framework from which I operated to generate relevant relationships.</p>
<p>“The social world does not exist independently of human knowledge” (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 60). Our prior knowledge, values, beliefs and intuition influence the way we understand reality.</p>	<p>I recognise that my prior experience and knowledge were inextricably linked with my research on the cognitive and emotional development of children of street vendors in Zimbabwe. This provided the lens through which I conducted my investigation and guided my understanding of the street life phenomenon.</p>

The selected paradigm guides the researcher’s expectations in the research process in terms of methods, participants, tools and rendering results (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 2011:91). The nature of my research topic and tenets of the selected paradigm necessitate that my investigation would rely on the qualitative research approach, which will be discussed next.

4.4 RESEARCH APPROACH

Creswell (2014) refers to a research approach as research plans and procedures that encompass broad assumptions about the research questions, which are narrowed down to detailed procedures relating to how data will be collected, analysed and interpreted. In this study, I used the qualitative research approach as I deemed it appropriate for the process of investigating the phenomenon of raising children in urban streets.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2012), qualitative research seeks answers to questions that focus on how social experience is created and given meaning. Qualitative research also offers a practical approach to addressing research questions in order to obtain an in-depth description of street life experiences of street vendors and their young children. Qualitative methods produce information only on the specific cases studied; hence smaller, but focused samples are often needed, rather than large samples (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). My study used a small sample as only 13 participants took part in my study. A phenomenological approach embedded in a qualitative approach was used.

4.4.1 Phenomenological approach

Smith and Osborn (2008:53) refer to a phenomenological approach as “an inductive approach concerned with understanding an individual’s personal account of a particular experience or phenomenon”. The authors further assert that the focus of phenomenological inquiry is what people experience with regard to some phenomenon or other and how they interpret those experiences. Therefore, a phenomenological study is a study that attempts to understand peoples’ perceptions, perspectives and understanding of a particular situation or phenomenon. The approach focuses on exploring the lived experiences of individuals. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:346) concur that the purpose of a phenomenological study is to describe and interpret the experiences of particular participants regarding a particular event in order to understand the participants’ meanings ascribed to that event. Finlay and

Ballinger (2006:318-319) add that the phenomenological approach allows in-depth exploration of how a phenomenon appears to us in our consciousness, as well as the nature and meaning of such phenomena. This can be thought of as capturing the essence of the experiences as perceived by the participants. Macmillan and Schumacher (2010:346) further assert that the basis of phenomenology is that there are multiple ways of interpreting the same experience concerning a phenomenon, as described by the participants in the study. I thus collected data from street vendors who had complex knowledge of what they experienced and how they experienced it (Macmillan & Schumacher, 2010:346). In this study, the phenomenological approach helped me determine, describe and understand the phenomenon of raising children in street environments. The study used a multiple case study design embedded in qualitative case designs.

4.4.2 Case study design

A case study is a qualitative research design best suited for gaining an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon within its context without imposing preconceived notions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). Gall *et al.* (2007:451) concur with this definition as they define a case study as “an in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspectives of the participants involved in the phenomenon and in educational research”. Best and Kahn (2006) also define a case study as a way of categorising social data for the purpose of viewing social reality. It studies a social unit as a whole. The social unit may be an individual person, a family, a social group or a community (Best & Kahn, 2006). Gall *et al.* (2007:451) propound that in a case study, a substantial amount of information is collected about the specific case selected to represent the phenomenon. Often data are collected over an extended time period and several methods of data collection are used. The rationale for the choice of a case study is that it confined me to a small, manageable group of street vendors with young children, where rigorous and thorough explorations were made to investigate the phenomenon of raising children on urban streets (Best & Kahn, 2006). The case study also provided me with an in-depth, comprehensive, vivid and thick description of data in this

study. It also enabled me to gain full knowledge on the impact of street contexts on young children's development (Gall *et al.*, 2007).

In this study, I used a multiple case study design since I had several cases to investigate. Baxter and Jack (2008:550) assert that if a study contains more than a single case, a multiple case study design is required. Several cases are examined to gain insight into the similarities and differences among the cases. According to Baxter and Jack (2008:548), a multiple case study enables the researcher to explore differences within and among cases. The goal is to reproduce findings across cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008:548). The use of multiple cases yields more robustness to the conclusions from the study. Yin (2003:115) emphasises that multiple cases strengthen the results by replicating the patterns, thereby increasing the robustness of the findings. In this study, I interviewed six street vendors with children aged three years and one social worker. Each individual presented her own case, telling her own story and how they experience the phenomenon of street vending with young children in the streets.

The research methods are discussed next.

4.5 RESEARCH METHODS

Decisions pertaining to where the research study will be conducted as well as whom to include form an important part of the research methods that a researcher chooses to use in the project (Maxwell, 2013). Maxwell (2013) further asserts that the choice of research methods is influenced by the nature of the research problem that is to be studied, as well as its context. Issues relating to research methods extend beyond the collection of data, the selection of research sites and participants and the analysis of the data collected, including forming research relationships with individuals taking part in the study (Maxwell, 2013).

In the following subsections, purposive sampling, the selection of research sites and participants, data collection methods and data analysis processes, the trustworthiness of the study and ethical considerations made in this study are discussed.

4.5.1 Role of the researcher

As a qualitative researcher, approaching this study through the lens of interpretivist paradigm assumptions, I adopted the role of interviewer, observer, recorder and interpreter, based on the theories from which I drew some hypotheses and from my own experience, by employing empirical methods of inquiry, such as explaining and exploring (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Maree (2007:87) maintains that the researcher will also be mainly responsible for the practical activities, which include facilitating, preparing, structuring, sampling, observing, conducting interviews, analysing data, crystallising data and report writing on all findings. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), the researcher will also be a sensitive observer, who records phenomena as faithfully as possible, while at the same time raising additional questions. Johnston and Christen (2012:207) aptly remark that the researcher is said to be the data collection instrument because it is the researcher who must decide what is important and what data are to be recorded.

Mantzoukas (2004) hints that researchers are the central figures in the research endeavour because they are always involved in the conception, collection, analysis and writing of the research study. I endeavoured to exercise self-control and overcome personal preconceptions by suspending my biases and carefully focusing explicitly on what I observed and what the participants said. This was done to ensure that my interpretation of the data remained trustworthy, and my conclusions neutral (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:114).

McMillan and Schumacher (2010:335) posit that qualitative researchers often have prior professional experience of the phenomenon under investigation,

which enables them to empathise with their participants and recognise subtle meanings in the responses of their participants. During interviews and observations, when I noticed my prior knowledge of the phenomenon of the study, it made it easier for me to put myself in the position of the participants and, therefore, I fully appreciated their concerns.

4.5.2 Purposive sampling

According to Abrams (2010:541), sample selection is a critical part as it “matters greatly to the integrity of a qualitative study, and in particular has a strong relationship to the richness of the data collected and the breadth and scope of the conclusions that are drawn”. The validity and accuracy of research results, according to Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2005:148), depend heavily on how samples are drawn. In coming up with participants for this study, I used purposive sampling since it is a sampling technique generally used in qualitative research (Best & Kahn, 2006:248). Schutt (2009) defines purposive sampling as a non-probability sampling method in which a researcher purposely chooses participants who are relevant to the research topic. Nieuwenhuis (2007a) and Patton (2002) remark that purposive sampling is a criterion-based selection generally used for qualitative studies, in which the researcher decides to select deliberately beforehand which characteristics (such as the research sites and settings, the participants and persons, or events and areas) are needed to provide the best insight into the research topic and answer the research questions.

Best and Kahn (2006:248) propound that purposive sampling allows the researcher to choose research participants who provide the richest information. Gall *et al.* (2007:248) concur that purposive sampling enables researchers to select research participants who supply rich and detailed information about the phenomenon under study. The aim was to choose cases that have rich information on the phenomenon under study. This technique selects certain persons, settings or events because they can provide the information desired (Best & Kahn, 2006:249). Using purposive sampling for my study enabled me to use predefined selection criteria.

Selecting participants who gave rich information helped me to gain an in-depth understanding of the street life phenomenon (Stake 2005:450).

4.5.3 Research sites

The study was carried out at two research sites. The first one was located at the corner of Mvuma Street, which is in the CBD of Harare, while the second one was near the Nharira Market area, which is about 500 metres from the CBD. The two locations were purposefully selected because there was a huge influx of vendors, some with very young children. Figure 4.1 shows the Mvuma Street research site.



Figure 4.1: Mvuma Street research site

Mvuma Street, which is to the left of the vending site, leads to Julius Nyerere Way, one of the major ways in the CBD. A narrow pavement to the right, which runs parallel to Mvuma Street, also leads into Julius Nyerere Way. This is a lucrative site for business as the pavement is often congested by human traffic that passes through the site in the morning to their workplaces and at the end of the day on their way to the major bus terminus. The influx of pedestrians enables vendors to trade or do their businesses, as they always

buy wares displayed at the site. Vendors mount their wares by the edge of the pavement to protect them from being knocked down by fast-moving pedestrians as they rush to their workplaces. Vendors do not display all their wares due to the fear that municipal policemen will confiscate everything. So, they keep the rest of the wares in bags which they put behind them close to their stalls. Mvuma Street is a very busy road that is used by buses and taxis as they leave the major terminus to get into Marimba Way, which leads to exit roads that go to the southern and south-western high-density suburbs. Motorists often park their vehicles less than a metre behind the vendors' stalls. As this vending site is not designated for vending, vendors therefore operate illegally. They always play a cat-and-mouse game with the municipal police who ensure order in the CBD area. Figure 4.2 depicts the Nharira vending site



Figure 4.2: Nharira Market research site

The Mupezanhamo vending site is almost 500 m from the CBD area and is located near Nharira flea market. The road that passes through Nharira Market is very busy as it leads to Mbare, the biggest market in Zimbabwe where people board buses to different parts of the country. The road also leads to south-western high-density suburbs, which include Mbare, one of the

oldest high-density suburbs in Zimbabwe. Nharira Flea Market is a place where a lot of second-hand clothes from neighbouring countries are sold. This vending site is designated for vending; therefore, vendors trade freely, without being scared of harassment by municipal police officers.

During months end, many people flock to this market to buy second-hand clothes for their families. Taxis and buses drop prospective buyers near this vending site opposite the eastern entrance of this major flea market. As people disembark from and embark onto taxis into and out of the market, they also buy wares at this vending site. Most vendors sell food, such as cool drinks, *maheu* (commercial traditional drink), buns and fresh potato chips. This helps to alleviate the buyers' hunger as they spend a lot of time going round the flea market comparing prices from one stall to the other. Vendors at this market also sell other wares, which include towels, shoes, wooden cutlery, buckets, toiletries and many others. There is also a huge influx of human traffic, particularly during month's end as people flock into the market to buy second-hand clothes.

4.5.4 Research participants

For the purpose of this study, six street vendors who had children aged three years old were selected purposefully from the two vending sites. One social worker from the Department of Social Welfare was also purposefully selected. The six three-year-old children were selected for this study because this is the age group that is supposed to be enrolled in early childhood development (ECD) 'A' classes in primary schools in Zimbabwe, but are often found at vending sites with their vending mothers. The mothers participated in the study because they are the ones who engage in street vending and bring their children to the vending sites for various reasons. They were able to explain their experiences with young children on the streets. Their opinions helped to unveil the phenomenon of raising children on the streets. A social worker provided professional input regarding children (0-3 years) who are being raised in street environments. From the two vending sites, I first identified ten street vendors who had young children in the one- to three-years age range.

From the ten vendors I selected six mothers who had three-year-old children. Three were selected from Mvuma Street, while the other three were selected from the Nharira Market. From the Department of Social Welfare I requested the assistance of an experienced social worker who had worked in the organisation for at least two years and was involved in follow-up routines with street vendors with young children. The department identified such a social worker.

To qualify as participants for this study, people had to meet the criteria of one of the following three groups:

- Female street vendors and mothers
 - making their lives on the streets;
 - with children three years old;
 - who were willing to participate in the study; and
 - who were willing that their children (aged three) may be observed and interacted with.

- Children
 - aged three years (of the above-mentioned mothers); and
 - who often accompany their mothers to vending sites.

- Social worker
 - who had worked in the organisation for at least two years;
 - who had personal social interaction with the street vendors with children three years old;
 - who exhibited empathy and was involved in follow-up routines with street vendors with young children three years old; and
 - who was willing to participate in the study.

4.5.5 Data collection methods

Qualitative data, according to Freeman *et al.* (2007:27), encompass the “rough materials researchers assemble from the world they are studying”,

which include documents, transcriptions of interviews and interactions, artefacts, observations, focus groups, the collection of extant texts, the elicitation of texts and the creation or collection of images. Data-gathering techniques for the interpretivist include observation, interviews, focus groups, documents and audio-visual materials that generate information mainly in the form of words (Creswell, 2000). Klotz and Lynch (2007) assert that the interpretive approach relies heavily on naturalistic methods (interviewing and observation and analysis of existing texts). Taylor and Medina (2013) concur that the interpretive paradigm generates knowledge through interviewing, participant observation and constructing accounts of the cultural backgrounds of individuals that are characterised by authenticity and trustworthiness. In this study, the information sought was generated by exploring the participants' lived experiences with the phenomenon under scrutiny through interviewing and observation. I observed street vendors with children aged three years in their vending sites and later interviewed them in order to get their opinions on street vending and raising children on the streets. I utilised interviews and observation to gain insight into the individual viewpoints of street vendors and their children on the street life phenomenon because these techniques were flexible and sensitive to the social context in which the data is grounded (Grix, 2004).

4.5.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are conversations between the researcher and interviewees, usually with the researcher asking questions, which the interviewees answer (Lambert, 2012:105). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2012:645), an interview is simply the art of asking questions and listening to get answers. Monette *et al.*, (2005:181) define an interview as “a face to face interaction between an interviewer and interviewee during which the interviewer reads questions directly to a participant and records his or her answers with the purpose of understanding the interviewee's life experiences or situation”. The aim of interviewing is simply to get access to what is in or on someone else's mind.

Interviews allow researchers to explore interviewees' attitudes, opinions and feelings (Lambert, 2012:105). In this regard, the interview allowed the participants to openly disclose their thoughts, feelings and perceptions regarding the impact of street environments on young children's cognitive and emotional development (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). The interviews also enabled me to discuss in depth and probe extensively for sensitive issues that street vendors' children experience on the streets. According to Best and Kahn (2006:265), in personal interviews, the interviewer can establish rapport with the person being interviewed, direct the attention of the participants to the material, motivate them to answer the questions carefully and give more accurate and complete information. I was able to notice when participants seemed not to understand a question and subsequently clarified its meaning, and probe for more comprehensive answers when a participant gave a brief answer or did not respond to the question. Semi-structured interviews were used in this study.

- *Semi-structured interviews*

According to Henning *et al.* (2004) as well as McMillan (2010:277-279), a semi-structured interview is a sanctioned descriptive research technique that is used for the purpose of getting concrete answers or hints to answer research questions. Denzin and Lincoln (2012:63) further posit that in semi-structured interviews, the interviewer asks all respondents the same series of pre-established questions. De Vos (1998:22) concurs that pre-formulated questions are carefully arranged and put to all the interviewees in a similar sequence.

The semi-structured interviews allowed me to produce rich, in-depth interviews that focused on the individual and provided opportunities to address complex experiences and investigate the impact of street environments on young children's cognitive and socio-emotional development. The semi-structured interviews also allowed the participants the opportunity to share their experiences, perceptions and worldview with me. The open-ended nature of the interview questions allowed the participants to

answer the questions according to their frame of reference and share their personal experiences, opinions and beliefs (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). Wragg (2002:148) confirms that when semi-structured questions are applied, more concrete information is likely to be collected since initial questions are followed by probes, which enable interviewees to bring out important ideas that the researcher might have been reluctant to consider for inclusion in the original question list. In this study, individual semi-structured interviews with six female street vendors with children three years of age and one social worker were conducted. I followed interview guides (see appendices 7 and 8) and child interaction guide (see appendix 9) for the three categories of participants of my study.

- *Interview procedures (mother participants and social worker)*

I adhered to the following protocol during the interview process (Rule & John, 2011:64):

- Establishing a calm atmosphere for the interview.
- Explaining the purpose of the study.
- Allowing the participants to ask questions for an understanding of the study and ensuring that they were willing to participate before I started the interview.
- Informing participants of my ethical requirements (see appendix 10).
- Adopting a relaxed, rather than inquisitorial style to build rapport.
- Listening carefully and avoiding interjecting the participants.
- Being thoughtful regarding the emotional climate of the interview
- Probing and summarising to confirm my understanding.

Adhering to the above-mentioned procedure helped me establish good rapport with the participants and have a rewarding experience. Interviews were audio-tape recorded with the permission of the participants. Each interview lasted an average of one hour. I also took down notes of my observations during all the interview sessions. To complement the in-depth interviews, I also used observation to collect data in this study.

4.5.5.2 Observations

Observation is simply a way for the researcher to see and hear what is occurring naturally at the research site (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010:350). According to Marshall and Rossman (2011:139), the term “observation” captures a variety of activities, which range from loitering around at the setting, knowing people, getting to know their routines, using strict time sampling to record their actions and interactions and using a checklist to tick off anticipated actions. Marshall and Rossman (2011:139) elaborate that observation is the orderly capturing and recording of events, behaviours and artefacts (objects) in the social setting. Qualitative observation, according to Johnson and Christen (2012:207), involves observing all potentially relevant phenomena and taking extensive field notes without specifying in advance exactly what is to be observed. An observation, in qualitative research, according to Best and Kahn (2006:264), “usually consists of detailed notation of behaviours, events and the contexts surrounding the events and behaviours”. Baxter *et al.* (2010:199) propound that observation “involves the researcher watching, recording and analysing events of interest”. Marshall and Rossman (2011:139) remark that observation is central to qualitative research. The authors add on that observation is a highly important method in all qualitative studies as it is used to discover complex interactions in natural settings, even in studies using in-depth interviews. Observation plays an important role as the researcher notes the participants’ body language, affect, tone of voice and other paralinguistic messages, in addition to the words. In this study observation was chosen for the following outlined reasons (Robson, 2011:316):

- It gave me data about “real life” in the “real world” as it helped me to see in real life what street vendors and the social worker have mentioned in interviews.
- I could observe not only what vendors and their children do but also what they say and how they interact.
- The data that were gathered, confirmed and extended the interview data.

- Like interviewing, it was a flexible approach as focus could be changed.

The observation method was also appropriate for this study since it involved young children who had not yet developed camouflages to conceal themselves from the public, as adults do (Thorndike & Hagen, 1997). The strength of the observations was their ability to show me what the street vendors' children actually do – not what their mothers said (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:44).

As with interviews, there are different kinds of observations. These include participant and non-participant observation (Lambert 2012:106). Non-participant observation was used in this study.

- *Non-participant observation*

Non-participant observation is whereby an observer watches what is going on without getting involved, while in participant observation, the observer takes part in the event, such as a meeting which he or she is observing (Lambert, 2012:106). Gall *et al.* (2007:276) concur that non-participant observation is a research technique whereby the researcher watches the participants of his or her study with their knowledge, but without taking an active part in the situation under scrutiny. Gall *et al.* (2007:276) further explain that non-participant observation allows the researcher to obtain data of truthful social behaviours objectively when participants are being observed. In this study, I employed non-participant observation to observe street vendors and their young children. I watched the activities of both parents and children on the pavements along Mvuma Street and in the Nharira Market area. Each vendor and her child were observed for a whole day at their respective vending sites to ensure credibility. I observed, among other things, the physical and social setting, the vendors and their children who were the main focus of the observations, individual actions and activities, and group behaviour (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:233). Furthermore, I observed how young children respond to the demands of particular settings and their nonverbal behaviours:

carefully observing their postures, actions, and emotional expressions which provided important information about their abilities (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:54-55). I followed an observation guide (see appendix 6), which I prepared to enable me to document what I was looking out for in order not to miss important and relevant data. Observation data were recorded as field notes. During and immediately after the observations, I took field notes to record not only what is seen and heard but also my reflections on what had occurred (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010:350).

- *Field notes*

According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010:350), field notes are simply the recordings of observations and reflections on them. Bryman and Bell (2003) elaborate that field notes are concurrent notes of observations or talk taken during the conduct of qualitative research. Depending on the situations, the notes taken can be full (e.g. exact transcripts of conversations taken by hand or recorded by a tape recorder) or brief notations or notes that can be elaborated on later (Bryman & Bell, 2003). In concurrence, Monnet *et al.*, (2005:232) and McBurney (1998:144) say that detailed, descriptive accounts of the observations made during a given period are called “field notes”. Bryman and Bell (2003) identify three categories of field notes, namely mental notes, which are recorded when it may be unsuitable to take down notes; jotted or scrap notes, taken at the time of observations (non-participant observation or participant observation) or discussions consisting of highlights that can be recalled for later development; and field notes written up as promptly and as fully as possible. Keeping good systematic field notes is an important part of conducting qualitative research as observations and interviews are only useful to the extent that they can be recalled (Bryman & Bell, 2003).

My field notes contained, among others, descriptions and photographs of general physical and social settings that were observed, the vendors and their children who were the focus of my observations, individual actions and activities and group behaviour (Monette *et al.*, 2005). I used a notebook to

document all of my fieldwork activities, all the important dates and interviews and the observations of the participants (McBurney, 1998:140). Table 4.3 presents a summary of the data collection details.

Table 4.2: Data collection details

Participants	Method	Purpose
Children	Observation Interaction guide	To gain an understanding of the physical and social setting in which children are raised, their actions and activities and how they respond to the demands of street environments. To examine how the physical and social setting can affect their educational development.
Parents	In-depth interviews and observation	To explore their observations, experiences or perceptions with regard to the impact of street environments on their young children's educational development.
Social worker	In-depth interview	To gain insight into the impact of street environments on young children's educational development from the social worker's point of view as she deals with the social and emotional well-being of street vendors' children.

In the next section, my data analysis procedures will be discussed.

4.5.6 Data analysis

According to Shamo and Resnik (2003), data analysis is the process of systematically applying logical approaches to describe and illustrate, summarise and recap, and evaluate data. Freeman *et al.*, (2007:28) define data analysis as “a systematic process and procedure of sorting through the data to come up with common themes or categories by removing overlaps and reporting adequate and appropriate methods of data generation”. Nieuwenhuis (2007:99a) indicates that qualitative data analysis “tries to establish how participants make meaning of specific phenomenon by analysing their perceptions, attitudes, understanding, knowledge, values feelings and experiences in an attempt to approximate their construction of the phenomenon”.

The process of data analysis, according to Boeije (2001), is constituted by dismantling, segmenting and reassembling data to form meaningful findings. Wahyuni (2012) adds that the process of dismantling and reassembling pieces of data should be guided by the research questions and aims of the study. The task is “to make sense of huge amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct an outline communicating the essence of what the data reveal” (Best & Kahn, 2006:270).

Data analysis was done concurrently with the data collection, as Merriam (1998) advises that these two processes should be carried out simultaneously in qualitative research. This allowed me to review questions in order to align them with the aim of the study when questions were not eliciting valid information. Bradley, Curry and Devers (2007:3) support the view that “data analysis is an on-going, iterative process that begins in the early stages of data collection and continues throughout the study”.

The process of data analysis commenced as soon as data were collected with the transcription of the audio recorded interviews captured on the voice

recorder. The interview data were organised according to individual responses and later grouped together across participants. Observations at each vending site were done concurrently since participants were close to one another. The observation data collected were grouped according to similar types of occurrences while also looking for differences among individuals, settings and times. The field notes gathered during observations were analysed and presented with the actual quotes to show the real effect of the vending activities on these children. The thematic analysis method was used to analyse both observation and interview data.

4.5.6.1 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Lapadat (2010) concurs that it is a systematic approach to the analysis of qualitative data that involves identifying themes or patterns of cultural meaning; coding and classifying data, usually textual, according to themes; and interpreting the resulting thematic structures by seeking commonalties, relationships, overarching patterns, theoretical constructs or explanatory principles. Themes, according to Ryan and Bernard (2003), are important concepts that show specific experiences of participants by the more general insights that are apparent from the whole data set. The goal of the thematic analysis, according to Clarke and Braun (2013), is to identify themes – that is, patterns in the data that are important or interesting – and use the themes to address the research and say something about an issue. For both observation and interview data analysis, I followed the following thematic analysis steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006):

- **Step 1**

I read and re-read the transcriptions and field notes in order to become familiar with what the data entailed, paying attention to patterns that occurred.

- **Step 2**

I generated initial codes by documenting where and how patterns occurred. I organised my data into a meaningful and systematic way. I was concerned with addressing the study research questions. I coded each segment of data that was relevant for example, children's safety.

- **Step 3**

I examined the codes, and some of them clearly fitted together into a theme. I combined codes into overarching themes that accurately depicted the data. For example, in my observation data, I had several codes that related to safety, and I collated these into a theme called 'safety'. I organised the codes into broader themes. Some seemed to say something about my research question on challenges faced by children with regard to their cognitive and emotional development.

- **Step 4**

In this phase, I looked at how the themes supported the data and the overarching theoretical perspective. I reviewed, modified and developed the preliminary themes that I had identified in step 3, and I gathered all the data that were relevant to the theme. For example, I had data on human traffic, vehicle traffic and where the child stays, which were relevant to the safety theme.

- **Step 5**

I refined the themes at last time, and the aim was to identify the essence of what each theme was about. I defined what each theme was, which aspects of data were being captured and what was interesting about the themes. Arranging data systematically and thematically from transcripts and field notes facilitated the discussion of the findings via the themes and categories (Creswell, 2007).

- **Step 6**

After final themes had been reviewed, I started to write the final report. While writing the final report, I decided on themes that made meaningful contributions to answering the research questions, which were refined later as the final thesis. The themes that emerged from each data set were presented and discussed separately to establish recurring ones. The findings were discussed, interpreted and supported through cross-referencing relevant sections in the literature review and the theoretical framework.

4.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS

Trustworthiness is one way researchers can persuade themselves and readers that their research findings are worthy of attention (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Tobin and Begley (2004), a number of developments have been recognised in order to achieve trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry, especially in the areas of criteria for assessing a quality and robust research study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) postulate that trustworthiness of a research study is vital to assessing its worth. Trustworthiness, according to Lets, Wilkins, Law, Stewart, Bosch and Westmorland (2007), ensures the quality of the findings and increases the reader's confidence in the findings. Trustworthiness in this study was addressed by employing the following trustworthiness strategies: credibility (the most important aspect of trustworthiness), transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

4.6.1 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that ensuring credibility is one of the most essential aspects in establishing trustworthiness. Credibility is defined as "the sureness that can be placed in the truth of the research findings" (Halloway & Wheeler, 2002; Macnee & McCabe, 2008). Credibility, as a criterion for the trustworthiness of findings in qualitative research, is viewed as equivalent to internal validity and, therefore, refers to the accuracy of the study in reflecting what it intended to achieve in the collected data (Wahyuni, 2012). In other

words, it deals with the question: “How congruent are the findings with reality?” (Merriam, in Shenton, 2004:64). According to Abrams (2010:540) and Lincoln and Guba (2003) credibility embraces “the degree to which the findings symbolise credible conceptual interpretation”. Shenton (2004:63), in concurrence, indicates that in an endeavour to address credibility in qualitative research, investigators have to “demonstrate that a true picture of the phenomenon under scrutiny is being presented”. Trochim and Donnelly (2007:149) maintain that in addressing credibility in a qualitative study, researchers seek to establish whether the results of the study are “credible or believable”.

Techniques for establishing credibility, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Graneheim and Lundman (2004), include triangulation, member checking and prolonged engagement and persistent observation. Triangulation is a credibility procedure where researchers search for convergence in a study (Creswell & Miller, 2000:126). Triangulation may involve the use of different methods, especially observation, focus groups and individual interviews (Shenton, 2004:65). According to Brewer and Hunter (in Shenton, 2004:65), the use of different methods in concert compensates for their individual weaknesses and exploits their respective benefits. Baxter and Jack (2008) concur that by comparing data collected using different methods data quality is promoted as the weaknesses of one method will be compensated for by the strengths of the other.

Triangulation also involves the use of a wide range of informants and this is one way of triangulating data sources (Shenton, 2004:66). Here specific views and experiences can be confirmed against others and finally a rich picture of the attitudes, needs or behaviour of those under scrutiny may be constructed based on the contributions of a range of people. Yin (2003, 2009) supports the idea of multiple data sources being used to enhance credibility.

In this study, credibility was ensured through triangulation of interviews and observations. Interviews were conducted with street vendors and one social

worker, and observations of vendors with their children at different vending sites were made. I capitalised on the strengths of the two methods to improve the overall validity of data because observing the street vendors and their children generated insight that could be missed if I had used interviews only. Data triangulation was also ensured through the collection of data from different categories of participants who, in this study, was a social worker and street vendors.

Location triangulation also served to enhance the credibility of findings. Brown (2005:32) asserts that location triangulation involves gathering data at multiple sites (e.g. different vending sites) in order to minimise and understand any differences or biases that might be introduced by the participants at each of the institutions. In this study, two different vending sites were used. Involving participants from different vending sites yielded data that have emerged from different research sites.

Credibility was also achieved through prolonged engagement and persistent observation. Prolonged engagement, according to Brown (2005:31), involves investing sufficient time on the research site, while persistent observation involves using adequate numbers of observations, meetings, interviews, and so forth, so that participants have enough confidence and trust in the researcher to allow for adequate study of the phenomenon and adequate checks for misinformation. In this study, prolonged engagement was achieved through visiting the vending sites regularly to carry out different activities, such as introductory meetings, discussing ethical issues, collecting demographic data, conducting interviews and making observations. The observations took a minimum of one week per vending site, while the interviews lasted no less than one hour per participant.

Member checks, which Guba and Lincoln (1985) consider to be the single most essential provision that can be made to strengthen the credibility of the research were also used in this study (Shenton, 2004:68). In this study, member checks relating to the accuracy of the data took place on the spot,

during the course of the data collection process and at the end of it. Repetitive observations of the same event and questioning participants to clarify key issues were employed to enhance credibility.

4.6.2 Transferability

Transferability, according to Bitsch (2005) as well as Tobin and Begley (2004), refer to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts with other respondents. Shenton (2004:69) concurs that transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations. In other words, it is the extent to which findings in one research study can be extended to other settings. In agreement, Abrams (2010) as well as Lincoln and Guba (1985) define transferability as how the findings extend beyond the bounds of the project to other settings that are identical to the one where the research was conducted. Transferability ensures that results hold true across various people, times and settings (Lewis, 2009:5).

Techniques for establishing transferability include “thick description” (Bitsch, 2005:85). Creswell and Miller (2000:129) propound that thick description enables readers to make decisions about the applicability of the findings to other settings or similar contexts. In order to enhance the transferability of research findings to other contexts, Anney (2014) also reiterates that the researcher should provide thick descriptions and extensive information to all aspects of the research process, ranging from the collection of data to the compilation of the research report within a detailed contextual account of the study. When such detailed descriptions are given, other researchers may be in a position to transfer the findings to other contexts with other participants (Anney, 2014). In agreement, Shenton (2004:69) also says that thick description helps to convey the actual situations that have been investigated and, to a certain extent, the contexts that surround them. Creswell and Miller (2000:128) elaborate that thick description involves the description of the setting, the participants and the themes and categories of a qualitative study in detail. Giving enough detail, according to Brown (2005:32), enables

researchers to decide for themselves if the results are transferable to their own contexts.

In my study, I achieved transferability by providing contextual information about the research process as a whole and detailed descriptions relating to the selection of participants and research sites, giving their background information. I also described data collecting procedures, including the instruments to be used as well as a detailed explanation of the data analysis process. With the thick description provided in my study, I could transfer the findings on the impact of the urban street community the educational development of street vendors' children in Zimbabwe to other, similar contexts in the country, Africa and the whole world.

4.6.3 Dependability

According to Bitsch (2005:86), dependability refers to the stability of findings over time. It shows that findings that are consistent can be repeated. In concurrence, Guba and Lincoln (1985) define dependability as the extent to which a replication of the study with the same or similar participants in the same or similar context would produce similar results. In other words, dependability ensures that the same results would be observed if the study would be repeated (Trochim, 2006).

Techniques to establish dependability include an audit trail (Ary *et al.*, 2010). An audit trail, according to Koch (2006), involves auditing the events, influences and actions of the researcher. It “allows any observer to trace the course of the research step-by-step via decisions made and procedures described” (Shenton, 2004:72). In other words, the researcher gives a comprehensive account pertaining to the research decisions that were made as well as the activities done relating to how the data were collected, recorded and analysed. Koch (2000) suggests that trustworthiness of a study may be accepted if a reader is able to audit the events, effects and actions of the researcher, while Shenton (2004) proposes that audit trails represent a means

of guaranteeing quality in qualitative studies. Anney (2014) and Cancary (2009) also suggest that strategies such as an audit trail and a coding-recoding process can be adopted to ensure dependability of research findings. The latter involves coding and recoding data to refine the data analysis process through comparing the initial coding of data with the recorded data (Anney, 2014). Shenton (2004) propounds that dependability of findings can also be enhanced by providing detailed reports of the research process to allow investigators to repeat the study in future research.

In this study, I achieved dependability through documenting, at length, the processes within the research that are needed to allow a future investigator to repeat the work, if not necessarily to obtain identical results. I kept records of all possible features that explain my intentions with participants, such as how the research design and research questions were formulated within clear and explicit theoretical and philosophical traditions. I also reported in detail the activities I carried out at all the research sites, such as explaining, observing, questioning, listening, recording, analysing, interpreting and considering the ethical issues.

4.6.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed by other researchers (Tobin & Begley, 2004). It is the degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings are shaped by the respondents and not by researcher bias, motivation or interest. Guba and Lincoln (1985) agree that confirmability is the degree to which the results are completely void of researcher influence and partiality. Some of the strategies suggested for ensuring confirmability are:

- identifying and describing negative instances that will be inconsistent with observations made earlier on during the data collection process (Trochim, 2006);
- an audit trail which, according to Shenton (2004:72), “allows any observer to trace the course of the research step-by-step via the decisions made and procedures described”; and

- keeping a reflective journal, in which the researcher documents all events that take place in the field and the researcher's personal reflections relating to the study, particularly the phenomenon under scrutiny (Anney, 2014).

In this study, confirmability was ensured through an audit trail to preserve a measure of objectivity in the research process.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Best and Kahn (2006:84) assert that “in planning a research project involving human participants, ethical issues cannot be overlooked”. It is, therefore, important to consider ethical guidelines to protect participants. Flewitt (2005:558) elaborates that ethical issues are particularly salient when researching vulnerable members of society, such as street vendors and their children. Best and Kahn (2006:84) warn that carrying out research involving human beings raises “a lot of legal and ethical issues that must be well taken care of before proceeding with their involvement in studies”. Flewitt (2005) concludes that ethical guidelines are needed to guard against the obvious and less obvious atrocities of research. It is for this reason that this study took cognisance of ethical issues as they constitute an integral part of the research. These include the assurance of informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity of the participants and obtaining ethical clearance for research.

4.7.1 Informed consent and voluntary participation

The first ethical concern that arises in the planning of research is related to informed consent and voluntary participation of human subjects of research (Best & Kahn, 2006:84). Informed consent is an ethical provision to ensure that participants understand what it means to be involved in a particular research and are prepared to make informed decisions regarding whether to participate or not. Informed consent, according to Banister (2007), is an indication of respect of humanity.

The Nuremberg Code (Berg, 2002), the Helsinki Declaration (Escobedo *et al.*, 2007) and the Belmont Report (Ryan, 2003) provide ethical values and guidelines for guarding the human subjects of research. These declarations hint that the consent document should be provided to all of the participants. The document spells out that participation in research studies should be strictly voluntary. The informed voluntary consent document should address the following (Gay, Mills, Airasian, 2006:408):

- Participants should receive adequate information about the study and its expected value.
- Participants should be provided with all options illustrating benefits and possible challenges that they may encounter in the process.
- Participants should duly understand the information provided.
- Participants should volunteer freely to participate in the research process.
- The researcher should provide relevant information regarding the development of the project regularly or upon requisition.

Escobedo *et al.* (2001:1) indicate that after being fully updated regarding the purpose of the research, benefits, procedures and possible challenges, the participants are expected to sign the consent form confirming their “full and conscious consent” to participate in the research process. These principles were applied in this study as the street vendors were fully informed regarding the process and intention of the study. I shared with the prospective participants all aspects of the research study as well as the purpose of the research. It was vital that the vendors were made aware of the value and benefits of the study to them so that the data collected could be described as emanating from co-operation, consent and assent during interview situations (Ananga, 2011a). Informed assent and consent for children and parents as well as permission to take photographs were acquired beforehand (see appendix 5). According to Fargas-Malet, McSherry, Larkin and Robson (2010:117), it is important that when conducting research with children, researchers must gain the co-operation of parents and other adults whose decisions have far-reaching effects on these children. In view of this, I

explained to the parents the need for them to give consent for their children to be observed. I also

Participants were afforded the opportunity to agree voluntarily to participate in the study. I continually informed them that their decision to participate was completely voluntary and that they were free to discontinue at any time, should they wish to do so (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In this view, Ananga (2011a) indicate that possibilities to withdraw without giving reasons are not only critical in research but also a way to promote the validity of the findings. In this regard, the street vendors were constantly reminded to indicate if they were still interested to continue as part of my regular check-up points for informed and voluntary agreement to take part in the study.

4.7.2 Confidentiality and anonymity of participants

Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity is also critical in research (Best & Kahn, 2006). Confidentiality, anonymity and privacy of the participants were guaranteed at all times. In this regard, I assured the participants that their identities would not be revealed as pseudonyms were used (Schutt, 2009). I also assured participants that their data would be confidential. Specific details that could make it easier for a setting, a context or a participant to be identified would not be provided (Flewitt, 2005:553).

4.7.3 Protection from harm

Macmillan and Schumacher (2010) assert that a researcher should ensure that no participant experiences physical harm during fieldwork as there must be a sense of caring and fairness in the researcher's thinking, actions and personal morality. In this study, the participants were guaranteed safety in participation and were not placed at risk of harm of any kind. I displayed empathy with the street vendors as some of them displayed signs of emotion during the interview sessions.

4.7.4 Ethical clearance

Furthermore, in making sure that procedures for ethical issues are adhered to in the conduct of my research, I applied for ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria. This is a rigorous process where possible ethical pitfalls are identified. The committee reviewed my application and the first attempt was not successful. After revisiting the application and thoroughly addressing the issues raised by the committee, I resubmitted and obtained clearance to conduct fieldwork. This enabled me to observe all the ethical codes of conduct and procedures as stipulated. The ethical guidelines and considerations stipulated for conducting research of this type were strictly adhered to. Lastly, the participants were not exposed to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process or in its published outcomes. Table 4.4 shows the ethical guidelines framework for my study.

Table 4.3: Ethical guidelines framework (adapted from Creswell, 2012)

Stages	Critical activities for ethical consideration
Soon after proposal defence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Obtaining approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education of the University of Pretoria (see appendix 11).• Obtaining approval from the Harare City Council to conduct research with street vendors in the CBD (see appendices 1 and 2).• Obtaining permission from the Department of Social Welfare to interview one social worker in the study (see appendices 3 and 4).
Beginning the research	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Contacting participants and presenting them with the informed voluntary consent and assent form, and seeking permission to take photographs, which would be used in the thesis (see

Stages	Critical activities for ethical consideration
	<p>appendix 5).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informing participants of the purpose of the study, benefits and possible challenges that could be encountered. • Informing participants that they are free to withdraw from participation at any time without giving notice or reasons for withdrawal. • Signing of assent and consent forms by parents participants (see appendix 5).
Data collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informing participants that the data to be collected through interviews and observation and their photographs would be used for my PhD research that would be published at the end of the study. • Obtaining consent to all research sites venues suggested by participants.
Data analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoiding siding with participants and promising to remain focused to the dictates of qualitative enquiry, the multiple case study design as well as the interpretivist research paradigm. • Avoiding plagiarism, academic fraud and misrepresenting study findings.
Reporting findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remaining truthful regarding announcement of final results and shall not falsify evidence regarding any authorship of data findings and conclusions.
Publishing of the study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asking if participants would like to receive copies of the final document. • Consulting with my supervisors on the protocols regarding the circulation of the final document to research participants.

4.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, issues related to the research design and methodological position that underpinned my study were discussed. In order to gain an insight into the impact of street environments on children's cognitive and emotional development, a multiple case study design embedded in the qualitative approach was conducted. I justified my choice to use qualitative methods. In view of the qualitative research approach that this study adopted, the interpretivist paradigm was chosen as the most relevant philosophical paradigm, since the study intended to generate knowledge constituted by the lived experiences of participants with the phenomenon that the study set out to explore. It involved an understanding of the context of the study, deciding on the sources of data and justification for whatever decisions are made, and developing and refining the study instruments to ensure that the questions posed would address the impact of street environments on young children's cognitive and emotional development. Lastly, strategies which were employed to ensure trustworthiness and ethical issues were pointed out.

The following chapter gives a comprehensive data analysis and interpretation from observations and interviews. The data are presented in themes and subthemes as I prepared to juxtapose emerging knowledge trends with the identified related literature.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5, I report on the research findings as I provide a comprehensive presentation and analysis of each data set. The themes that have emerged from each data set are presented and discussed separately to establish recurring ones. The findings are discussed, interpreted and supported through cross-referencing relevant sections in my literature review and theoretical framework. A synthesis of the themes that emerged is then provided to consolidate my findings. Concluding remarks are provided at the end of the chapter.

I begin by discussing the research procedure, looking at how I gained entry into the vending sites and how observations were carried out and interviews conducted. The discussion gives an insight into the context in which the research was carried out.

5.2 GAINING ENTRY

When permission to carry out research was sought from the City of Harare Human Capital and Republic Safety Department (see appendix 2). I started moving round the CBD to identify vendors with children zero to three years old. I noted that Mvuma Street was dotted with vending sites that had children who fell in this age range. These vendors operated illegally since this place is not designated for vending. I also observed that just opposite the Nharira Market Place, a designated place for vending also had vendors with young children aged zero to three years.

I had initially intended to get assistance from the municipal police to identify such vendors, but I decided to do it on my own since the presence of the

municipal police could scare the vendors, particularly those who operated illegally in undesignated sites. On several occasions, I visited their vending stalls, bought some of their wares and informally interacted with them and their children. I became a regular customer and this helped me to establish rapport.

After a week, I had identified ten street vendors who had children in the zero-to-three-years age range. I selected them based on the following criteria: parents with children of zero to three years old who are making their living on the streets, and children (of the above-mentioned parents) who accompany their parents to vending sites on a daily basis. From the ten street vendors, I selected six who had three-year-olds. Three three-year-olds were selected in Mvuma Street and the other three were selected near the Nharira Market.

I chose this age group because in Zimbabwe, it is government policy that these children, who are in the pre-primary phase, are expected to be attending ECD 'A' class. All public schools in Zimbabwe, irrespective of their geographical location, have established two ECD classes for three- to four-year-olds (ECD 'A') and four- to five-year-olds (ECD 'B'). According to Circular Number 14 of 2004, this educational arrangement was meant to increase access to early childhood development programmes to prepare young children to participate competently in lower primary learning programmes with limited challenges (Circular Number 14 of 2004). Generally speaking, preschool learning programmes in public institutions in Zimbabwe are less expensive than private schools. Given the economic challenges the majority of vendors face, it would have been probable for them to arrange for their children to attend the less expensive early childhood development centres in public institutions.

After several instances of informal contact with the vendors, I went around the vending sites, introducing myself to each of the vendors present. Because most of them are semi-literate, I explained what it means to participate in research. I provided them with consent forms, which they voluntarily signed

(see appendix 5). I spelt out my intention to observe and investigate the rationale for vending in urban streets. I further indicated that the interviews would be audio-recorded and photographs taken. I also assured them that the information gathered would be used solely for the purpose of carrying out my study, and that their identities would be protected, thereby ensuring that every step of my data collection process is treated with the strictest confidentiality. As a result, pseudonyms were used to protect their identities.

5.3 BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDY

Table 5.1 indicates the biographical data of parents and children who participated in this study.

Table 5.1: Biographical information of parent participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Marital status	Number of children	Educational background	Nature of vending site	Accommodation	Business activity	Period of vending	Child
Mary	39	Female	Married	2	Grade 7	Undesignated	Renting	Vegetables	3 years	Lovejoy
Agneta	28	Female	Single	2	Grade 7	Undesignated	Renting	Vegetables	1½ years	Kate
Patricia	25	Female	Married	2	'O' Level (No subject)	Designated	Renting	Buckets, dishes, towels	1½ years	Simbi
Edith	34	Female	Single	2	Grade 7	Designated	Renting	Bread, tissues	1 year	Nokuthula
Olivia	25	Female	Married	2	Form 1	Designated	Renting	Boxer shorts, socks, flip flop slippers	2 years	Tanya
Winnet	20	Female	Single	1	Form 4 (Did not write)	Undesignated	Renting	Vegetables	1 year	Prince

As indicated in Table 5.1, all of the participant vendors were female, with ages ranging between 20 and 39 years. Out of the six participants, three are married and three single. Five participants indicated they have at least two children, while the last participant has one. Four of the vendors live in Hopley, which is a densely populated and disadvantaged community located south of Harare. Two live in Epworth, which is also a disadvantaged community with low-income earners located east of Harare. Basing on their proximity to the city of Harare, it is possible to commute daily to conduct vending business in the capital.

Regarding educational achievement, five participants indicated that they did not study beyond grade 7, while the sixth one attempted up to ordinary level, but could not manage to write the examinations. Each of the participants had a three-year-old child at the vending site. Four of these children were girls while two were boys. Because all of the participants were Shona-speaking, we agreed to use this language as the medium of communication. Below, I briefly present background information of each parent participant. As indicated previously, the names given are not real. I used pseudonyms because it was my intention to remain guided by the ethical guidelines on educational research of the University of Pretoria as well as the Belmont Report (Ryan, 1979), the Nuremberg Code and the Helsinki Declaration (Escobedo *et al.* 2007), indicating that the identity of research participants should be disguised throughout the study unless specifically stated otherwise.

- **Mary**

Mary is a 39-year-old fruit and vegetable vendor, who stays at her friend's house in Hopley, a high-density suburb, with her unemployed husband. They live with two children, aged ten and three respectively. Regarding her educational achievement and like the majority of my participants, Mary did not study beyond primary school level. Because Mary's parents were poor, she could not go to secondary school. Both Mary and her husband are unemployed and they cited this as their major driving force to engage in illegal vending in the Harare CBD. They sell vegetables and fruit at the same site in

Mvuma Street. Mary sells tomatoes, while her husband sells lemons. Because of limited financial resources, Mary cannot afford to send her daughter to any of the day-care centres close to where they live. Instead, she brings her to the vending site every day. As a way to reduce the burden of extra payment for the upkeep of their child, Mary and her husband negotiated with their neighbour to look after their child during their vending time. The agreement did not last because the child started complaining of ill-treatment. Hence, they decided to take her to the vending site daily. Mary and her husband had no choice but to expose their child to long vending hours in the streets of Harare only to retire to bed well after nine p.m. every day. The other child goes to school and waits for the parents and his sister to come back late.

- **Agnella**

Agnella is a 28-year-old single mother who rents a room in Hopley with her two children. Like Mary, she also has a very basic education as she also went up to grade 7. She could not continue with her education since her parents had died when she was in grade 1. Like the majority of orphans in Zimbabwe, Agnella could not secure financial assistance to continue with education. She engages in vending because she is not employed. She also brings her three-year-old daughter to the vending site because, like other vendors, the vending proceedings are far less than her family's total expenditure, which includes medical aid and medical and day-care provisional facilities. She has been bringing the child to the vending site every day for the past year and a half. She goes to the street every morning around eight a.m. and start arranging her stalls around ten a.m. Because she is fully aware that illegal vending is a crime, she only starts operating well after ten a.m. when she is quite sure that law enforcement agencies are complete with their daily check-up routines. She goes back home around nine to eleven p.m., depending on how busy the day is. She likes to go home late because transport is cheaper by then.

- **Patricia**

Patricia is a 25-year-old mother who is married and have two children at her vending site. The children are nine months and three years old respectively.

They rent a house in Epworth, a suburb that is very close to the CBD of Harare. She left school when she was in Form 1 because her parents could not afford paying her fees. She earns a living through selling different wares, including buckets, dishes and towels near the Nharira Market. She has been selling her wares at the market for two years. She comes to the vending site six days per week, arriving at around six a.m. and leaving around six p.m. Due to financial limitations, she is unable to send her children to day-care centres.

- **Edith**

Edith is a 34-year-old general merchandise vendor, operating in one of the less busy streets in the outskirts of the city of Harare. She rents a room in Hopley suburb, where she lives with her three-year-old daughter. She is divorced. She lives with her child aged three, while the other child lives with the father. She left school after completing grade 7. She could not proceed with her studies because her parents did not have money to pay her school fees. She sells bread, toilet paper and airtime. She has been bringing her child to the vending site for six months. She brings her every day around six a.m. and leaves the site around six p.m. She brings her child to the vending site because she had no-one to leave the child with and she does not have money to hire a maid. She used to leave the child in the custody of some neighbours, but she later on discovered that it was unsafe for her child.

- **Olivia**

Olivia is a 25-year-old mother who is married and lives in a rented house in Hopley, a high-density suburb, with their two children aged three years and ten months respectively. Olivia failed 'O' Level examinations and could not rewrite because of financial constraints. Her husband also is a vendor at another site near the same area. Both of them have been vending for one and half years. They sell boxer shorts, socks, slippers, flip flops and plastic shoes. They bring their children to the streets because they do not have anyone who can look after them while they are vending and cannot afford to hire a maid.

They come to their vending sites six days a week. They arrive as early as 6 a.m. and leave at 6 p.m. Olivia operates near the Nharira Market.

- **Winnet**

Winnet is a 20-year-old single mother who lives with her mother and her three-year-old son in their rented room in Epworth. Because of an unplanned pregnancy that was later disowned by the man, Winnet did not write her ordinary level examinations. After giving birth, she could not resume her studies because her mother could not afford sending her back to school and also taking care of the newly born baby. Winnet then decided to engage in vending as the only readily available income-generating activity for the less educated. Like other vendors, Winnet cannot afford to hire a babysitter to take care of her child. Her mother goes to the main market to buy vending wares early in the morning and gives it to Winnet to sell it on the streets. Sometimes when her mother comes from the main market, she takes the little boy back home, but if she has errands to run, she leaves him with his mother on the streets. Winnet comes every day at around eight a.m. and leaves around seven p.m. and she has been coming with the small boy for a year now. Winnet sells her wares at the corner of Julius Nyerere Way and Mvuma Street.

The biographical data of the child participants are presented in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Biographical information of child participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Preschool enrolment	Nature of vending site	Period of coming to vending site
Lovejoy	3 years	Female	Not enrolled	Undesignated	3 years
Kate	3 years	Female	Not enrolled	Undesignated	1 ½ years
Prince	3 years	Male	Not enrolled	Undesignated	1 year
Tanya	3 years	Female	Not enrolled	Designated	2 years
Simbi	3 years	Male	Not enrolled	Designated	1 ½ years
Nokuthula	3 years	Female	Not enrolled	Designated	1 year

- **Lovejoy**

Lovejoy is Mary's three-year-old daughter who has been coming to the vending site since 2014. She is not enrolled in the ECD 'A' class, nor does she attend any day care in the community because the parents cannot afford paying fees for day care. Lovejoy used to be left in the custody of a neighbour while the parents were vending, but she started complaining about ill-treatment from the neighbours, and the parents later decided to take her to the vending site daily.

- **Kate**

Kate is Agnella's three-year-old daughter who has been coming to the vending site for the past year and a half. She is not enrolled in the ECD 'A' class, nor does she attend any day care in the community. The mother cannot afford paying fees for day care.

- **Prince**

Progress is Winnet's three-year-old son. He has been coming to the vending site for the past year. He is not enrolled in the ECD 'A' class, nor does he attend any day care in the community. The mother cannot afford paying fees for day care. Prince does not come to the vending site every day as his grandmother sometimes looks after him while his mother is vending.

- **Tanya**

Tanya is Olivia's three-year-old daughter. She has been coming to the vending site since she was born. She is not enrolled in the ECD 'A' class, nor does she attend any day care in the community. The parents cannot afford paying fees for day care. Tanya had a ten-month-old sister who also comes to the vending site.

- **Simbi**

Simbi is Patricia's three-year-old son. He has been coming to the vending site every day for the past two years. He is not enrolled in the ECD 'A' class, nor does he attend any day care in the community. The parents cannot afford paying fees for day care. Simbi has a one-year-old brother who also comes to the vending site.

- **Nokuthula**

Nokuthula is Edith's three-year-old daughter. She has been coming to the vending site for the past six months. She is not enrolled in the ECD 'A' class, nor does she attend any day care in the community. The mother cannot afford

paying fees for day care. Nokuthula used to be left in the custody of some neighbours while the mother was vending, but the mother later decided to bring her to the vending site every day for her own safety.

5.4 OBSERVATION DATA

The use of observation as a data collection instrument in qualitative research is not only reliable but also very flexible considering the influence of contextual variations. In this regard, Moyles (2002) advises that researchers should capitalise on this strength to maximise trustworthiness of findings. After obtaining consent to observe parents, I immediately embarked on my fieldwork observing how vending parents balance attendance to customers, while ensuring that they supervise the play, socio-emotional and cognitive development of their young children who spend most of their early childhood development in the streets. Through observations I gained first-hand information on how young children are being raised in street environments.

5.4.1 Vending sites

I made observations at two vending sites in the City of Harare. These were the Nharira Market and Mvuma Street research sites (see section 4.5.3). At the Mvuma site, I observed three mothers and their three-year-old children, Prince, Lovejoy and Kate (pseudonyms). At Nharira Market site I also observed three mothers and their three-year-old children, Tanya, Simbi and Nokuthula (pseudonyms). Since their mothers' stalls were hardly a metre apart, I had to observe their activities concurrently during the whole period of observation.

5.4.2 Data analysis: observation data

The following observation schedule (see appendix 6) guided the various foci that I needed to look out for during my observation:

- Where the child stays or plays
- Human traffic

- Vehicle traffic
- Safety
- Cleanliness of the vending environment
- Food provision
- Toilet facilities
- What made the child happy?
- What made the child angry?
- Child's interactions with the mother

The data derived from these aspects are discussed below.

5.4.2.1 Where the child stays or plays

My analysis of the observed data revealed some interesting variations. Most of the children played around their parents and some participated in packaging and arranging merchandise. On several occasions I noted Lovejoy seated between her parents who were selling lemons and tomatoes. The child was sitting aimlessly, with no toys to keep her occupied. I also noted Simbi standing aimlessly at his mother's stall. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show Lovejoy and Simbi at their parents' stalls.

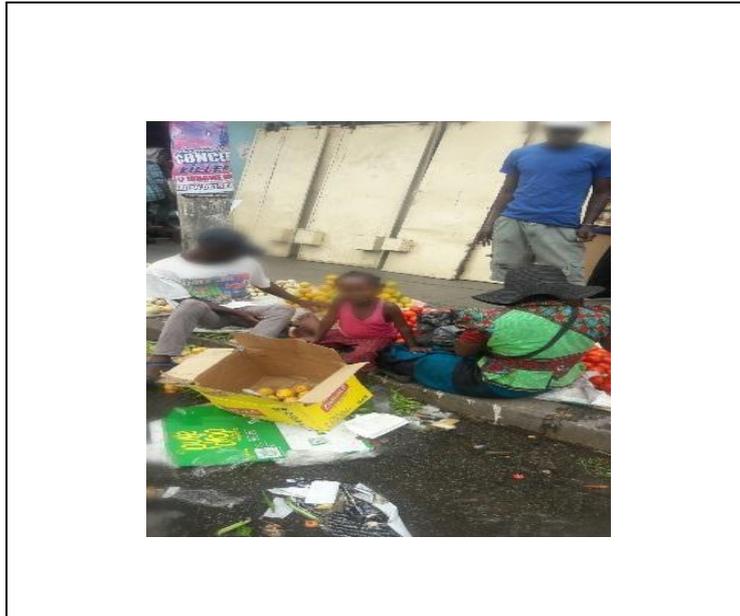


Figure 5.1: Lovejoy seated at her parents' stall



Figure 5.2: Simbi standing at his mother's stall

Sometimes the children played on top of their mothers' vending wares. On several occasions at Mvuma I observed Prince playing on top of his mother's cabbages. Figure 5.3 shows Prince playing on top of his mother's wares.

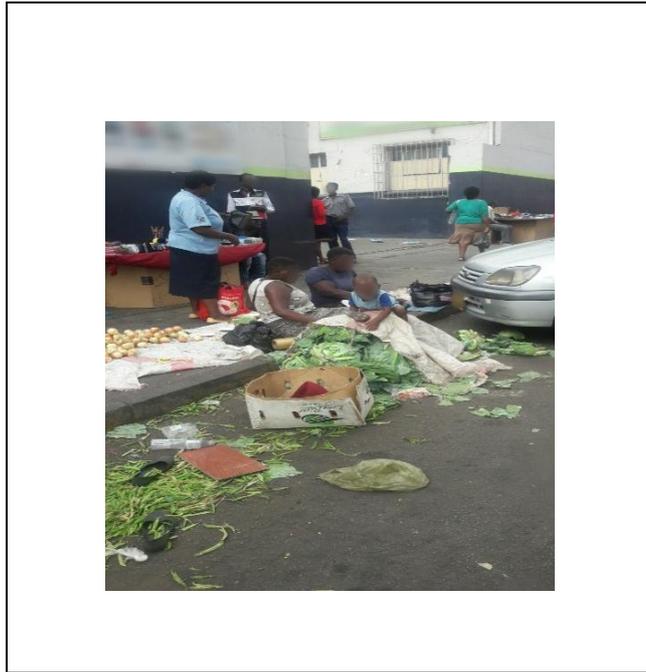


Figure 5.3: Prince playing on top of his mother's stuff of cabbages

The boy is playing on a heap of cabbages the mother is selling. These findings indicate that as vendors conducted their business, they seem to restrict children from moving away from them. The children were always confined to their mothers' vending stalls.



Figure 5.4: Simbi playing alone on a heap of stones

In some cases, children were observed playing, mostly on the pavement. Since there was limited space on the pavement, the parents were observed continually instructing their children to sit or play by the shop wall where there was not much human traffic. However, the children would not stay there for long since they continually sought proximity with their mothers. At the Mvuma vending site, children were also observed playing in parking areas. I observed Prince moving up and down the parking area and motorists were constantly blowing their horns to warn him to move away from the place as they made their way into the parking place.

Children at the two sites were observed either playing alone or in groups. In most cases, children played alone (see figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). At the Nharira vending site, I also observed Simbi playing alone on a heap of stones (see Figure 5.4). The boy was playing alone near his mother's stall, with nothing else to play with but climbing on the stones lying on the ground.

When peers were available, children sometimes played in pairs or groups. In some cases, children were observed playing side by side (parallel play). One day, I observed Kate and Prince playing side by side (see figure 5.5).

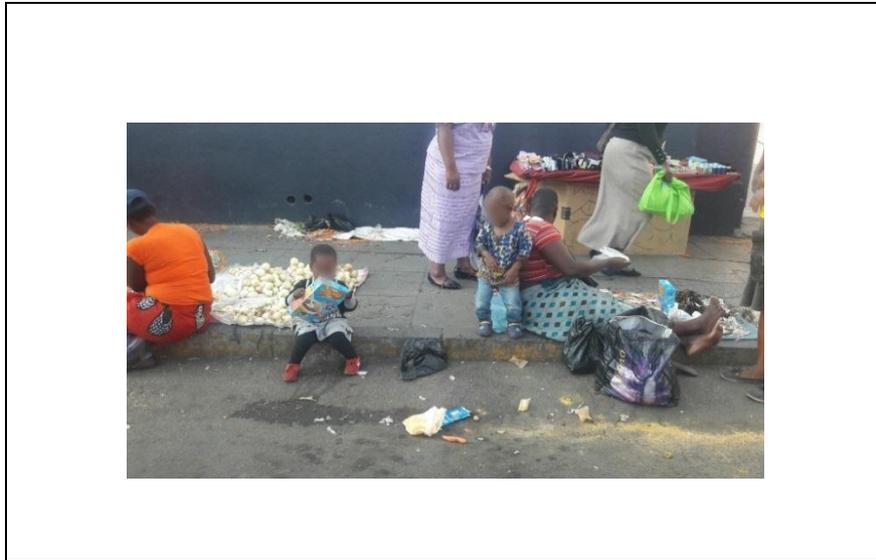


Figure 5.5: Kate and Prince playing side by side

Prince tried to get the box from Kate and they started fighting over the box and the parents had to intervene. Kate then looked at pictures on a cereal box while Prince watched. Kate was saying something about the pictures on the box, but did not allow Prince to get hold of it.

Sometimes children played together. On one occasion, I observed Tanya, Simbi and two other peers playing at an open space near Patricia's stall. I noted that the children at both vending sites had no toys to play with. They picked up materials to play with that were easily available at the vending sites. The four children were playing with stones and broken bottles they had picked up at the vending site. Two other children were playing with disposed card board boxes. Figure 5.6 portrays the four children playing with stones and broken bottles, while figure 5.7 shows two children playing with disposed card board boxes.

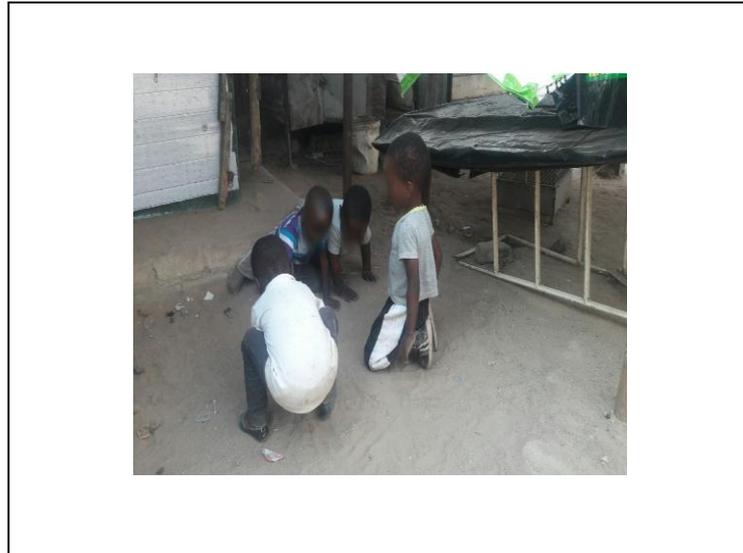


Figure 5.6: Four children playing with stones and broken bottles



Figure 5.7: Two children playing with disposed card board boxes

Due to the scarcity of play materials at vending sites, the children frequently fought over play materials, especially if there was only one item available. As stated earlier, Kate and Prince were observed fighting over an empty cereal box; on another occasion, I observed them fighting over a carrot that Kate had

picked up on the pavement at the Mvuma vending site. Figure 5.8 shows Kate and Prince fighting over a carrot.



Figure 5.8: Researcher watching Kate and Prince fighting over a carrot

To resolve the problem, Kate's mother had to take the carrot from her and threw it away.

5.4.2.2 Human traffic

A lot of pedestrians were observed, particularly in the mornings as people disembarked from different forms of transport at the main terminus and rushed to their different workplaces. Sometimes children were knocked down by pedestrians as they played on the pavement. At one point, I saw how Lovejoy was shoved aside by a pedestrian walking down the street. The child defencelessly fell onto the edge of the road. I was the first one to come to her rescue. I asked her where she was coming from. As she was crying, she led me to one of the stalls where her mother was busy attending to customers. Many people were also evident towards the end of the day as people made their way to the main terminus to board buses and taxis that ferried them to their respective homes (see figure 4.1). Sometimes young babies were observed crawling on the pavement (see figure 5.9).

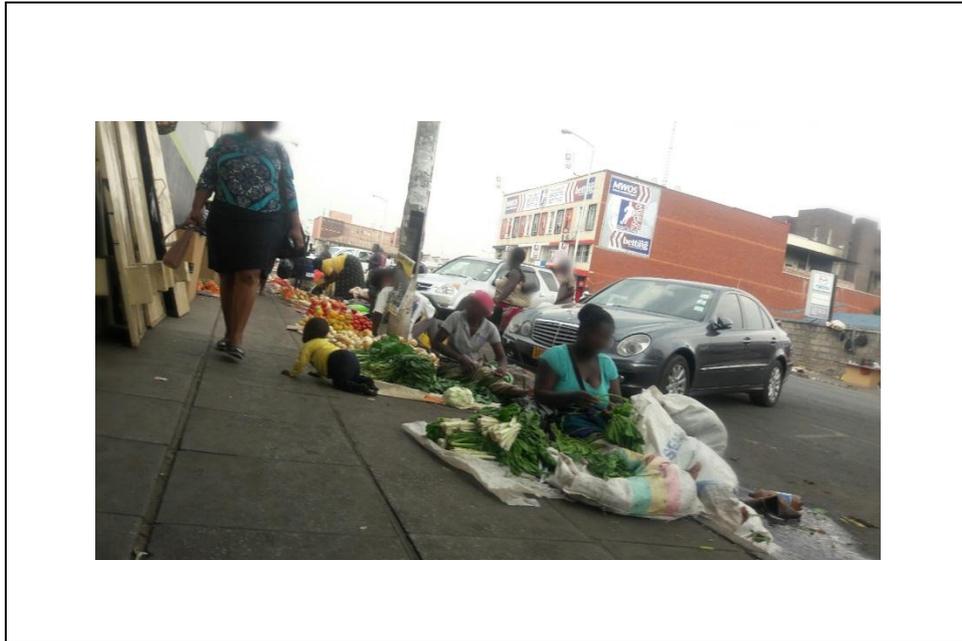


Figure 5.9: A child crawling on the pavement

As the child crawled, he obstructed many pedestrians who walked on the pavement. Children were often knocked down by pedestrians as they played in the pavement. On another day, I observed Lovejoy once again being knocked down; this time by a thief who was running away after stealing something in one of the nearby shops. The child lost one of her milk teeth and incurred several bruises on the knees. The child cried bitterly and was later taken to a clinic.

At one point, I observed Prince playing along the pavement and being shoved out of the way by a female passer-by. The child screamed uncontrollably as he rolled to the edge of the road further exposing him to the oncoming vehicles. I was concerned, however, about the fact that even some female pedestrians could not sympathise with the challenges fellow women and their children from disadvantaged backgrounds were exposed to. What shocked me further, was that the mother was too busy to witness how her child had been shoved out of the way. She only became aware of it when one of the concerned pedestrians was shouting, calling the mother of the child to come and attend to the crying baby.

5.4.2.3 Vehicle traffic

Observations also revealed a lot of vehicle traffic in the vicinity of both vending sites. At the Mvuma vending site, the vendors' stalls were mounted at the edge of the pavement near the parking area, which was hardly two metres away from the street (see figure 5.10).

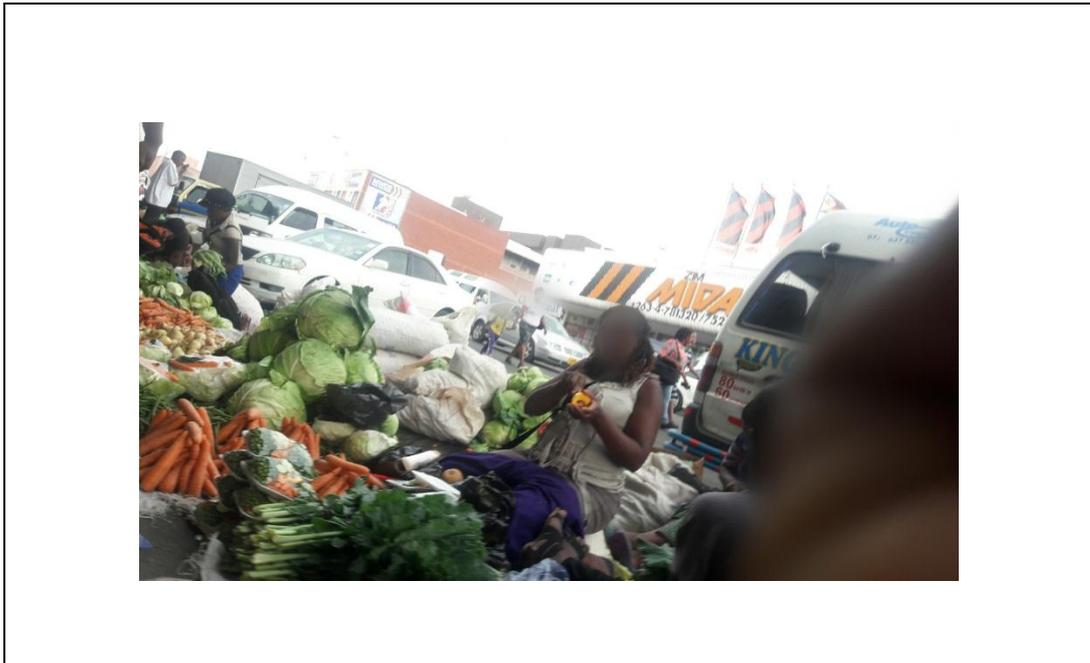


Figure 5.10: Vehicle traffic at the Mvuma vending site

Due to the proximity of the vending stalls to the street, children were observed moving in and out of the parking area. On several times I noted Kate and Prince chasing each other between and in front of parked cars. Motorists often blew their horns when they were making their way into the parking area. At the Nharira vending site, there is a busy road that leads to the main market place in Harare. In most cases, taxis drove past the vending area at a very high speed, which put the children at high risk of being run over (see figure 5.11).\



Figure 5.11: Vehicle traffic at the Nharira vending site

At one point, I observed taxi drivers at the Nharira vending site shouting at each other, accusing each other of reckless driving. The argument attracted a lot of people who were passing by. I was later shocked to realise that at the midst of the argument, Simbarashe was also watching it. When the fight broke out, the boy was saved by a concerned male pedestrian who quickly whisked him away and asked for the whereabouts of the mother.

5.4.2.4 Ensuring safety

As the children were exposed to risks of being knocked down by pedestrians and being run over by cars, the parents made an effort to ensure their safety. Most of the vendors made sure their children stayed close to their vending stalls (see figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). The children were hardly allowed to move away from the vending stalls and sometimes they were forced to play on top of their mothers' wares (see figure 5.3).

Most of the vendors also ensured the safety of their children by instructing them to sit by the shop wall where there was less human traffic. They would be given play materials easily available at the vending site, such as vegetable waste. Figure 5.12 shows Prince playing alone by the shop wall.

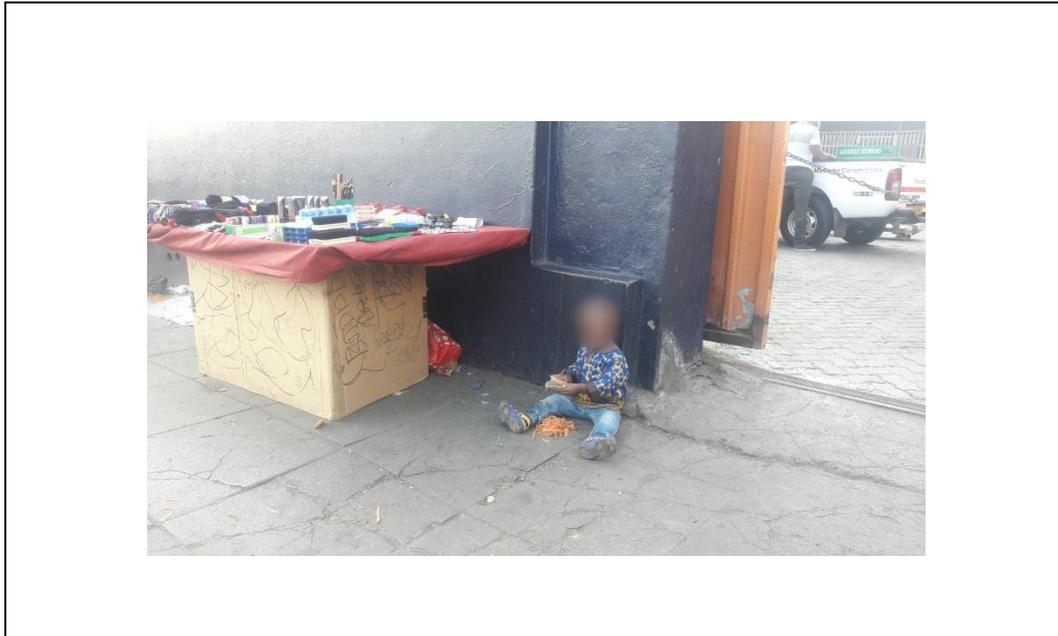


Figure 5.12: Prince playing alone by the shop wall

The boy was playing alone with vegetable waste provided by the parent. However, observations revealed that the children would not stay there for long. They continually sought proximity with their mothers either to request for physiological needs or to ensure their safety by moving back to the stalls.

At times, parents instructed their children to sit on the door steps of shops where there was also not much human traffic. Resultantly, they obstructed customers who wanted to enter or exit the shops. Sometimes customers were observed passing by as a way to avoid knocking the children down. On several occasions I noted shop owners shouting at the children and chasing them away from the door steps, claiming that they were chasing away customers. In such cases they would run back to their mothers' stalls, crying.

Some parents ensured safety of their children by keeping a close eye on them as they moved up and down the pavement and parking area. They would call them back if they went beyond their eyes' reach. However, because of their busy schedules, they sometimes forgot about the children's whereabouts and were often alarmed when motorists blew their horns to drive the children away from the streets or parking area.

As vendors brought their children as early as six a.m., most of the young children would need time to sleep. On several occasions, I noted that children were often made to sleep at their mother's stall or by the shop wall where there was less human traffic. On one occasion, I noted Kate telling her mother that she wanted to sleep. The mother did not respond immediately but when she later noticed that the child was dosing off, she took some cloths and a towel and prepared a place by the shop wall for the child to sleep (see figure 5.13).



Figure 5.13: Kate sleeping by the shop wall

However, sometimes pedestrians bumped into the sleeping children as they passed without noticing them and they were also often wakened by the noise of people and vehicles moving up and down the streets. On another day, Kate was almost run over by a municipal truck after the mother fled arrest and left her sleeping at the vending stall. She realised that the council truck was reversing directly where the child was sleeping. She shouted for help and another vendor managed to save the child. As much as the vendors tried to ensure their children's safety, they also exposed them to other risks.

5.4.2.5 Cleanliness of the vending environment

This aspect focused on the general appearance of vending sites as well as that of the mothers. The two vending sites were observed to be polluted with litter, particularly vegetable waste. Vendors shelled peas, peeled carrots, removed cabbage outer leaves and onion stems and threw the waste at the edge of the pavement. Several bags with vendors' stuff were also observed lying near the pavement around the vendors' stalls (see figure 4.1). Children were observed moving with bare feet on top of the litter. Some of this waste is so slippery that as some children stepped, they slipped and fell. I observed Prince running, stepping on carrots peels, slipping and falling on the pavement. Figure 5.14 shows some of the litter at the Mvuma vending site.

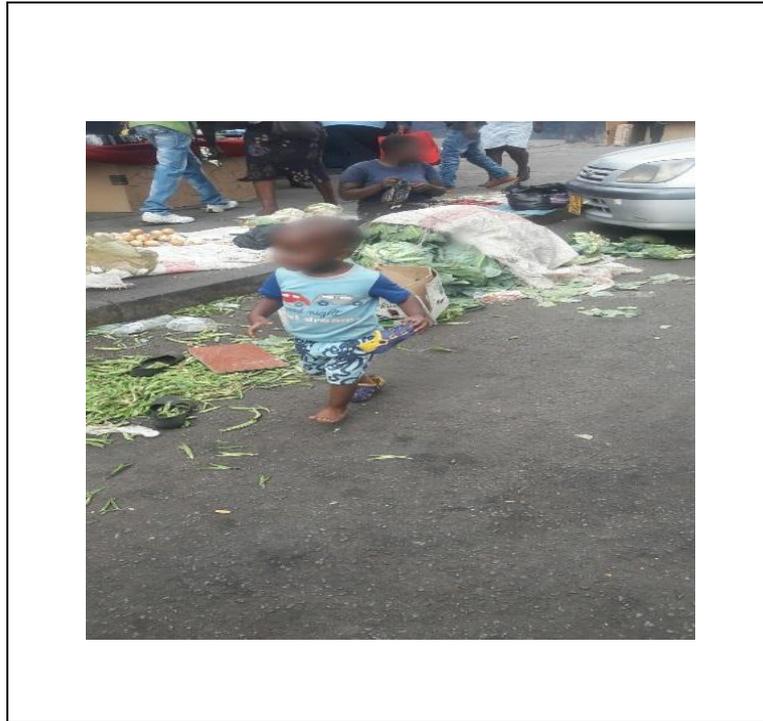


Figure 5.14: Litter at the Mvuma vending site

The Mvuma vending site was also polluted with empty food containers. After eating food, the vendors would throw the empty containers away at the edge of the pavement, attracting flies and rodents. The site had also become littered with cardboard boxes making it difficult for pedestrians to navigate during peak hours. I also noted that there was a water burst at the site and water was flowing alongside the edge of the pavement where most of the vendors rest their feet (see figure 4.1). Most of the children were observed playing in the water, which might have been contaminated. Since the burst pipe took long to be repaired, this became a breeding ground for mosquitoes, which endangered the lives of the vendors and their children.

Smoke from exhaust pipes of the cars moving past the vending areas also polluted the area. At some occasions there was smoke from tear gas that was discharged during skirmishes between vendors and the municipal police.

In most cases, the parents and their children were shabbily dressed. They often wore the same clothes for several days. The mothers often put Zambian

cloths on top of their dresses to protect them from the dirt from the pavements as they often sat on the bare dusty pavements. From these observations, it can be concluded that the street environments exposed the children to health hazards.

5.4.2.6 Food provision

In this section, I will discuss the nature of food the children are fed while in the streets and how often they were fed. As the children were taken to the vending sites very early in the morning, I observed most of the children being fed on porridge brought from home. The porridge would be served cold as it was prepared very early in the morning and there were no facilities for warming the porridge. In the afternoon, while the majority of the children were fed again on porridge and leftover food from home, only a few were fed on food that was sold by mobile food vendors. Food was always taken in the open space. Figure 5.15 shows Lovejoy taking rice and chicken bought from mobile food vendors, while figure 5.16 shows Kate eating food brought from home.



Figure 5.15 Lovejoy taking food bought from mobile food vendors

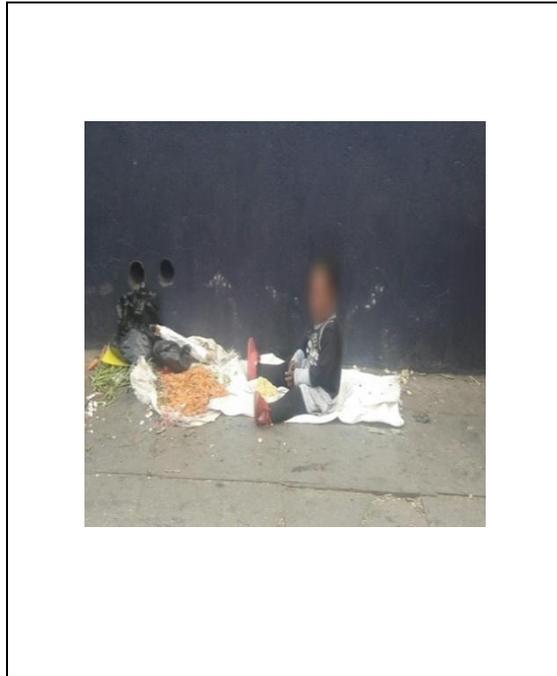


Figure 5.16: Kate eating food brought from home

Some vendors fed their children on buns or bread and drink as this food was affordable and easily available in nearby shops. Some children were given coins to buy *maheu* (traditional drink), freezits and zapsnacks from a nearby food outlet shop. Some of this food is junk food as it has very little nutritional value if any.

In most cases, the children were fed twice a day with in-between snacks of potato chips, freezits, zapsnacks, *maheu* and popcorn. Due to the busy schedules of vendors there were no fixed routines for feeding children. Most often, the children were fed on demand. If a child indicated that he or she was hungry, the child was either given food, which was kept by the mother at her stall or given some coins to buy junk food from nearby shops. I observed that Kate was always requesting food from her mother and the mother would give her coins to buy *maheu*.

Children sometimes requested food when they saw someone eating. One day Prince noted Agnella eating some bread and then requested bread from his

mother who had to ask her colleague (Agnella) to give the boy just a small piece in order to maintain the peace.

The children had some diversity in their diets, though the frequency and quantities consumed were generally low. The food was also not necessarily hygienic as the conditions of preparing such food sold by mobile vendors were not known. Taking food in the open also exposed the children to health hazards.

5.4.2.7 Toilet facilities

At each of the vending sites there was only one public toilet. The toilets produced an unbearable odour and were visibly filthy due to the high volume of people in the CBD who used it regularly. As a result of the conditions of toilets, some parents were observed to be regularly assisting their children who wanted to use the toilets. They would assist them to sit on the toilet seat without touching neither the seat nor the walls, which had lots of smears of human waste. One day at the Mvuma vending site Lovejoy was taken to a public toilet by her mother, and I followed them as if I also wanted to use the toilet. The mother made her sit on the toilet seat and held her by the hands so that she would not touch the seat or the walls which had human waste smears. Generally, the toilet facilities available are not meant for young children. The hygienic conditions also left a lot to be desired. This, therefore, suggests that public toilet facilities and inadequate sanitation facilities in street environments pose a health hazard to both vendors and their children.

5.4.2.8 What made the child happy?

At times, the children at both vending sites were observed to be in a jovial mood. They exhibited this mood particularly when they were sitting by their mothers' stalls. They seemed to be enjoying their mothers' presence. On one occasion I observed Lovejoy enjoying helping her mother wash and grade tomatoes at her mother's stall. As children were instructed to sit by the shop wall or the shop door steps where there was less human traffic, in most

cases, when they were allowed to come back to the stalls near their mothers, they showed much pleasure and they would enjoy sitting on their mothers' laps, which suggests that the children enjoyed being close to their mothers.

Playing with peers at vending sites also proved to be a source of joy. I observed Prince and Kate laughing as they chased each other in the parking area. At the Nharira vending site, I also observed Simbi, Tanya, Nokuthula and other children playing happily together (see figure 5.6). Figure 5.7 depicts Simbi and Tanya enjoying kicking card board boxes disposed of by vendors at the vending site.

Meal times were other times the children showed their happiness. On several occasions I noted the children enjoying taking their food, which was either brought from home or bought in the streets. One day, I observed Nokuthula demanding coins from her mother to buy *maheu*. When the mother gave her the money she went to buy the drink, singing in a jovial mood, obviously very impressed with herself for being able to buy her own drinks.

5.4.2.9 What made the child sad?

As the Mvuma vending site was not designated for vending, vendors spend most of their time running away from municipal policemen and the children suffer in the process. I watched one incident where municipal policemen pounced down on the vendors at this site, and the vendors took their wares and ran away, leaving the children sitting on the pavement, crying bitterly. They went on hiding for more than an hour while the children were crying. Kate's mother could not carry all the wares as she was taken by surprise. Some of her wares were taken by the municipal police. Kate was observing the police and it made the child cry even more as she watched her mother's wares being confiscated. Kate was later taken and soothed by one of the shop owners. On a similar occasion, some passers-by tried to soothe Lovejoy who was exhibiting temper tantrums after the mother had run away to hide from the police. This made her cry even more, so they had to leave her alone. On the same occasion, Prince was knocked down by one of the vendors who

was running away from the municipal police and sustained some bruises on the knees.

On another occasion, I witnessed a similar scene where the municipal police truck arrived at the scene and police officers started to round up the vendors. When Mary spotted one of the police officers charging for her wares, she grabbed her wares and ran away, leaving Lovejoy stranded. The officers came up to her and took some of her wares, and when Lovejoy saw her mother running away, she started following her. The mother was thrown into the truck, and she started crying and shouting that her child was heading towards a busy road, but they ignored her and drove off. Another vendor rushed to save the child and stayed with her. Lovejoy's mother did not return that day, so the other vendor took the child to her home.

One day Kate was almost run over by a municipal truck after the mother had left her sleeping at the vending site, fleeing arrest. She realised that the Harare council truck was reversing directly to where the child was sleeping. She shouted for help and another vendor managed to save Kate. On the same occasion, when Prince's mother ran away, the municipal police officers took the child and held him ransom, knowing that the mother would return. She did not return until they had surrendered the child to a man who was selling airtime nearby. Incidents such as these made the children of the street vendors sad during their stay at the vending sites.

Most of the young children, irrespective of their age, wore diapers during their stay at the vending sites. Even those who could use the toilet on their own, were also forced by their mothers to put on diapers. It seemed as if the children disliked the diapers as they often insisted on using the toilet while they wore the diapers. However, the mothers forced them to wear diapers because they did not want to be disturbed when customers kept them busy particularly at peak hours at the end of the day. This made some children feel uncomfortable and sad.

5.4.2.10 Children's interactions with their mothers

Several children were observed to initiate interactions with their mothers, but the mothers would not respond promptly since they wanted to pay more attention to the prospective buyers at their stalls. I observed Nokuthula telling her mother that she was hungry, but the mother ignored her as she was busy attending to the customers. The child insisted until she burst into tears. Simbi once indicated that he wanted to go to the toilet, but the mother ignored him till he messed himself and the mother slapped him. Figure 5.17 shows Kate asking her mother to pass her a carrot, but the mother was not responding.



Figure 5.17: Kate asking her mother to give her a carrot

I also noted that sometimes the mothers did not respond promptly to their children's requests to sleep. Sometimes when the children indicated that they wanted to sleep, the mothers would take long to respond and the children would end up sleeping anywhere on the busy pavement. When the mother noticed that the child was sleeping on the pavement, she would take the child to a safer place near the shop walls to sleep.

The children also interacted with their mothers when they wanted to use the toilet. At the Nharira vending site, I observed Tanya asking her mother to take her to the toilet, but the mother told her to urinate in the diaper. The little girl

insisted on going to the toilet until she burst into tears. The mother attended to her later when the customers had gone.

For those children who used diapers, it was noted that the parents did not frequently change these diapers due to their busy schedules. They would change it when a bad smell came from the diaper. On one occasion I heard Simbi asking his mother to remove the diaper because he had spoiled it and he was no longer comfortable with it. The mother took long to respond and the boy started crying. The mother shouted at him, accusing him of crying unnecessarily. She threatened him, indicating that she would not buy him his favourite drink at the end of the day.

Those children who did not use diapers, were made to dispose their human waste on newspapers, which the mothers would later dispose of in the public toilets. On one occasion Kate told her mother that she wanted to urinate and the mother instructed her to urinate in the drain near their stall. The child sought assistance from the mother to remove her pants since she had on tight clothes, but the mother was too busy to attend to her. Kate later spoiled her pants. Her mother beat her, and she cried bitterly.

5.4.3 Observation data interpretation

In this section, I will discuss the themes and categories that have emerged from the observation data.

Table 5.3: Themes and categories from observation data

Themes	Categories
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street environment
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traffic
Health and nutrition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cleanliness of environment

Themes	Categories
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The availability of sanitary facilities suitable for young children
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The availability of adequate food provisions
Emotional development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interaction between mother and child
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sadness
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Happiness
Cognitive development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-availability of appropriate play areas
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-availability of play materials

5.4.3.1 Theme 1: Safety

The first theme focuses on the safety of children in street environments. The following categories emerged:

- Street environment
- Human traffic
- Vehicle traffic

My analysis of the observation findings reveals that young children growing up on streets are always exposed to danger, which is a serious cause for concern. Through spending so much of their time on the streets, street vendors' children are exposed to a number of safety risks (see section 2.5.2.3). Chief among them is injury due to the children's interaction with dangerous objects, due to human and vehicle traffic, particularly during peak

hours each day, or due to skirmishes between vendors and the municipal police. As I observed how participants carried out their vending business in the streets of Harare, I discovered that human traffic is one of the dangers young children are exposed to as they try to occupy themselves alongside their vending parents. As the children play on pavements, I discovered that the majority of pedestrians are less considerate to the children's desire to create playfields along the pavements. All these point to the fact that children who grow up on the streets are exposed to serious human danger that needs urgent redress.

Just as young children struggle to play on street pavements, vehicle traffic has also been identified as one of the major challenges threatening the development of children who spend most of their early childhood time accompanying their mothers to urban streets. Children are prone to injuries incurred due to knocks by vehicle traffic as it was previously noted that street vendors struggle to balance their attention between attending to customers and supervising the safety of their children. The problem of vehicle traffic is not a peculiar challenge to children alone but a problem affecting even the generality of people who move up and down the streets. WHO and UNICEF (2008) (in section 2.5.2.3) warn that physical characteristics make children especially susceptible to injury as their body size increases the risk of accidents in road traffic. This challenge is serious, particularly during peak hours in the morning and later in the day.

All these observation experiences are just like the "tip of the iceberg" of real challenges young children experience as they spend the greater part of their early childhood in streets. Through spending much of their time on the streets, the children are exposed to environments that are inherently dangerous (see section 2.5.2.3). Regardless of socio-cultural, religious, economic and political environment aspects, all humans around the world have the right to safety (see section 2.5.2.3). The absence of human safety threatens, among other things, freedom of movement and association, emotional and cognitive development of learners as well as creating unnecessary anxiety among

people (see section 2.5.2.3). It is imperative that parents (the microsystem), regardless of cultural ethnicity, religiosity and economic viability, should strive to expose their children to environmental conditions that provide necessary opportunities for the development of the comprehensive human growth. In other words, this entails the development of human products who may become responsible citizens of Zimbabwe. Bronfenbrenner (1979) says the microsystem has a direct impact on the child's developmental outcomes because of the child's proximity to the objects and the persons in his environment (see section 3.2.1).

It is a difficult situation for any mother not to be able to protect her child from the dangers they are exposed to in street environments. The UNCRC (1989), Article 19, states that children should be protected from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment (see section 2.3.2.1). In that regard, Article 18 (see section 2.3.2.3) stresses that parents have joint primary responsibility for raising the child and the state shall support them in this. In support, the constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) (see section 2.3.2.3) states that young children have the right to protection from unsafe environments and further, protection from all kinds of abuse. This implies that parents (microsystem) are obliged to protect their children from any possible dangers threatening their children's lives, in this case by raising their children in safe environments. In the same regard, Maslow's hierarchy of needs (in Huit, 2008) (section 2.5.2.3) indicates safety and security needs as fundamental towards human achievement. It is therefore my argument that the motivation to perform in anything possible for living human beings is necessitated by the presence of a conducive environment.

According to Gabarino (1992), the child who is not adequately nurtured may have developmental problems (see section 3.2.1). These problems, which are disadvantaging children early in their childhood may persist and even worsen as the child progresses through school unless timeous intervention is done at home and at school (microsystem) (Berns, 2010) (see section 3.2.1). It is, therefore, evident that children growing up in urban streets are struggling to

acquire acceptable qualities of human dignity and cognitive and emotional well-being. The main essence of my concern regarding the dangers of allowing children to grow up in street environments revolves around the need to protect children from being nurtured into, directly or indirectly, unnecessary hooliganism as a result of spending the greater part of their early childhood development phase in urban street environments as they continuously observe uncultured individuals, such as touts, thieves and prostitutes.

5.4.3.2 Theme 2: Health and nutrition

The second theme illustrates health and nutrition as prerequisites to child growth, cognitive and emotional development. The following categories emanated:

- Cleanliness of the play environment
- The availability of sanitary facilities suitable for young children
- The availability of adequate food provisions

Observations revealed that street environments expose children to health hazards. Large heaps of garbage and littering around vending sites (see figure 5.14) attract insects and pests, which might transmit diseases to vendors and their children as children are also likely to pick and eat food from garbage and contract diseases. Bryan *et al.* (1997) also observed the accumulation of large heaps of garbage around street food vending sites in Zambia, which harboured insects and animal pests (see section 2.5.2.2). Insufficient waste removal and sanitation services also result in unhygienic market conditions and undermine vendors' sales as well as their health and that of their children and customers (see section 2.5.2.2).

As explained earlier, the hygienic condition of toilet facilities available for children of street vendors left a lot to be desired. Public sanitation facilities are not only limited but also uncondusive for child use. The absence of clean ablution facilities within these vending proximities is also not only a health hazard to vendors and their children but a real hygienic threat to the well-being of all city dwellers (see section 2.5.2.2). Due to the filthy state of toilets

available around vending sites, most of the parents have to assist their children when they want to relieve themselves. This, therefore, undermines their acquired abilities of toileting, hence affecting their emotional development. Erikson (in section 3.3.2) asserts that when children are overly controlled or not given the opportunity to assert themselves, they may feel inadequate in their ability to survive and then become overly dependent upon others, lack self-esteem and feel a sense of shame or doubt in their own abilities.

Observations also revealed that smoke from exhaust pipes of cars that move past the vending areas also pollute the place. On some occasions there is smoke from tear gas that is discharged during skirmishes between vendors and the municipal police. As a result, the children inhale this smoke, which exposes them to respiratory diseases. This finding is supported by a Mexican study (Chowdhury *et al.*, 2017) (in section 2.5.2.2), which reported that respiratory and gastro-intestinal problems were the main health problems that arose from street environments (see section 2.5.2.2).

Talukder, Alam, Islam, Paul, Islam and Akther (2015) (in section 2.5.2.2) assert that life in the streets has adverse outcomes on children's health, particularly young children below ten years as children who are younger than ten years have a higher risk of experiencing health problems because their young age increases their vulnerability (see section 2.5.2.3). As indicated previously, young children have a right to basic healthcare. The right of infants and young children to basic healthcare (including environmental health services such as access to water and sanitation), especially during the early childhood years, is expressly protected by many international and national instruments, including the UNCRC, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:26) (see section 2.5.2.2).

According to the WHO charter on the provision of adequate sanitation for all, failure to provide appropriate sanitary facilities for citizens is a direct breach of

its protocols towards the protection of humankind from diseases (WHO, 2015) (see section 2.5.2.2). It is not surprising, therefore, to realise that young children growing up under such unhealthy environmental conditions normally do not match their fellow counterparts who are protected and have conducive learning and living conditions. Thus, it is common knowledge that when sick, performance for any living creature is minimal. When children are sick, they normally do not play, thereby missing the developmental benefits of play. When linked to child development, young children growing up under restricted, filthy and dangerous play environments would perform poorer, compared with their counterparts in standardised life styles and with academic exposure (see section 2.5.2.2). Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994:579) state that ecological situations and happenings originating outside the home are likely to be the most influential and pervasive disrupters of family processes affecting human development throughout the life course (see section 3.2.1).

Findings from my observation revealed that street vendors expose their children to inadequate dietary provisions. Some participants prepared porridge and leftover food from home that their children were expected to eat the whole day. Only on selected occasions do few vending parents buy *sadza* and stew from fellow food vendors. By and large, it is possible to assume that young children growing up at vending sites with their parents are, to a greater extent, exposed to unbalanced dietary food provisions. It is my argument, therefore, that the quality of food eaten by children growing up in streets remains a cause for concern. By implication, children suffer, not only from retarded or delayed growth but they also remain emotionally challenged as the majority of the identified children are always angry (see section 2.5.2.1).

The strategic document of the WHO (1989) (see section 2.5.2.1) on the provision of standardised food handouts also emphasises the importance of nutrition as the pillarstone for health development. Poorly fed children suffer from restricted growth and at times, it affects both their cognitive and emotional development (WHO, 1989) (in section 2.5.2). Because of limited

financial resources for the majority of poor people in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular, relatively cheap food that is junk in nature is the only readily available option for poor people (see section 2.5.2.1). Events at home, according to Bronfenbrenner, can affect the child's progress and development (see section 3.2.1)

Woodward (2009) (in section 2.5.2.1) indicates that adequate food provisions are critical for human growth. This position is supported by Juke (2006) who advises that exposing children to inadequate dietary provisions leads to malnutrition which has serious consequences for their physical, psychological, cognitive and emotional development (see section 2.5.2.1). I, therefore, posit that it is critical then to investigate the type of food poor performers eat at home because the study carried out by Juke in 2006 (see section 2.5.2.1) revealed that insufficient nutrition can result in impaired school readiness in terms of intellectual development. While undernutrition leads to stunted growth and deficiency diseases such as rickets, scurvy, kwashiorkor and anemia, overnutrition causes, among others, health problems, heart challenges and diabetes (see section 2.5.2.1).

Based on the arguments stated above, it is not an overstatement that nutritious food is key to overall human development (see section 2.5.2.1). It is a vital factor to children's health, physical and emotional well-being, and cognitive development (see section 2.5.2.1). I posit, therefore, that neglecting the physiological needs of young children is detrimental to their cognitive development. Woodward (2009) (in section 2.4.4.1) argues further that by providing basic physiological needs for children, there are fewer chances for deformed emotions during early childhood. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see section 2.4.4.3) maintains that individual performance is possible once physiological needs are satisfied.

It was evident that the vendors' children take their food in the open. There is reason to believe that taking food in the open exposes children to health hazards. The environments under which street foods are prepared and

consumed predispose children to recontamination and cross-contamination from environmental pollutions, such as airborne chemicals in dust, exhaust discharges from moving vehicles, offensive smells from accumulated waste and effluent from insects and rodents (see section 2.5.2.1). Several studies on hygienic practices of street food vending have confirmed that most street food vendors have knowledge of hygienic practices, but concluded that the majority of them do not put the knowledge into practice (see section 2.5.2.1). Street food vendors have been reported to exhibit good personal care, but were negligent to compliance with adequate hygiene practices at the preparation and vending sites (see section 2.5.2.1). Although the majority of street vendors acknowledged their understanding of the importance of hygiene in public places, such as illegal vending sites, the analysis of my observation data refutes such claims.

According to WHO (1989) (in section 2.5.2.1), food handlers play an important role in ensuring food safety throughout the food production chain. In particular, food vendors who have poor handling practices or disregard hygienic practices may increase the risk of pathogens coming into contact with food (see section 2.5.2.1). These pathogens in some cases can survive and multiply to numbers sufficient to cause illness in consumers (see section 2.5.2.1.). Several studies conducted to assess street foods in several countries concur that street foods are positive vectors of food-borne illnesses (see section 2.5.2.1.)

5.4.3.3 Theme 3: Emotional development

The third theme expounds emotional development as being critical towards human development, particularly during the early childhood phase. The following categories arose:

- Interaction between mother and child
- Sadness
- Happiness

From the analysis of my observation data, there is evidence to believe that vending parents struggle to balance attendance to customers vis-à-vis their children. This observation contradicts claims by the majority of the participants that they are always watchful of their children's play. Due to divided attention between vending activities and their children, in most cases, the vendors did not promptly respond to their children's needs. The majority of vending parents could not afford to give their children what they need, materially, as well as emotional availability. Time and again the parents collected cash, and yet they (parents) refused to buy some proper food for their children. Children often exhibited emotional distress through throwing temper tantrums, constant fights with parents, as well as crying uncontrollably when parents delayed attention or did not attend to their needs.

On the one hand, I was surprised that in some instances, the vendors struggled to provide food for their children during their vending expeditions in streets; on the other hand, children had to react angrily in order to force the parents to meet the demand for their right to food. Some of them even turn violent in order to force their parents to buy them food they prefer. I observed aggression in these children, as they become frustrated and angry when their needs were not met. The deduction can therefore be made that street environments nurture young children into terrible violent behaviour patterns as they grow up, and they can generally become emotionally disfigured, mainly because of unsatisfied needs. This violent behaviour has a negative effect on their emotional development (see section 3.3.1).

When care is harsh or inconsistent, unpredictable or unreliable, the child may develop a sense of mistrust and may not have confidence in the world around him or her. When parental care seems to be unresponsive and detached to their children's needs, it sometimes attracts hostilities or complete dejectedness by the confused children (Erikson, 1963, in section 3.3.2). Boundless (2016) (in section 3.3.1) further argue that children who are not well nurtured may face a more difficult time with emotional regulation compared to those who are well nurtured. Rejecting also gives rise to

insecure attachments (see section 3.3.2). Young children who experience insecure attachments display fear, distrust, anxiety or distress and are at risk of long-term adverse effects on brain development, including developmental delays, cognitive impairments, conduct problems, psychopathology and relationship challenges (see section 3.3.2). Cheah and Rubin (2003) advise that responsiveness to children's signals contribute to the development of emotion regulation. This is also in line with Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory that stipulates that unsatisfied human needs lead to poor performance in educational pursuits (see section 2.5.2.1).

Observation data also revealed that vendors and their children have to endure endless cat-and-mouse battles with the municipal police, who appear determined to bring order to the streets. Children were often left alone at vending sites as their mothers were either taken by the municipal police or ran away to hide. There was also the risk of injury to the children by the police who often caused stampedes as vendors fled arrest. This was one of the major causes of children's sadness in vending sites. Children yelled, cried and felt sad during such skirmishes. It is true that sometimes vendors do not take care of their little ones and often expose them to danger while they struggle to survive. Cheah and Rubin (2003) (in section 3.3.1) remark that adults can support children's development of emotion regulation by reducing exposure to unnecessary stress and chaotic settings. Due to the negative experiences they encounter, children who spend much of their time in street environments may have more difficulty with emotional regulation.

Evidence shows that when the children were instructed to stay at the shop wall or entrances to ensure safety, they would not stay there for long. Sometimes the shop owners chased them away from shop entrances. When this happened, they would always angrily try to seek proximity with their parents who, in turn, sometimes denied them the chance to come close to the vending stall. The children responded angrily to this by crying, exhibiting tantrums and sometimes scolding the parents. All these actions have negative effects on their emotional development (see section 3.3.1)

Fighting over play objects with peers was observed to be the order of the day. The children cried a lot when such arguments arose and this also brought moments of sadness during their daily experiences. The way adults intervened to such arguments also left a lot to be desired as they would hit the children or throw away the play object they had been fighting over, causing more emotional damage (see section 3.3.2).

Generally, the children did not show much happiness in the street environment as they were often restricted from unnecessary movements. According to Davies and Duckett (2016), too much protection and restriction to exploration and learning, or inhibiting the child in participating in normal interaction can be associated with emotional abuse (Davies & Duckett, 2016:50). Some light moments were, however, evident when they were allowed to come near vending stalls and sit on their mothers' laps. Participating in mounting the vending stalls also brought them joy. Playing with peers at the vending sites also proved to be a source of joy. Meal times were also times when the children showed their happiness. Buying food items from nearby shops also boosted their self-esteem.

5.4.3.4 Theme 4: Cognitive development

The fourth theme expounds the state of cognitive development opportunities of young children who spend much of their early childhood time accompanying their vending mothers in urban streets. The following categories arose:

- Non-availability of appropriate play areas
- Non-availability of play materials

These categories focus on play limitations of young children who spend most of their early childhood experiences around their vending parents in some selected streets in Harare. The observation findings indicate that one of the greatest challenges young children face as they grow up in urban street environments is the absence of adequate and appropriate play areas. Generally, the children were always confined to the vending stalls with very

limited or no space for playing. The importance of play in early years cannot be underestimated as it is a vital and critical part of all children's development. Restricting children to vending stalls denies children the opportunities to engage in play and enjoy the many developmental benefits of play (Bailey 2006) (in section 3.3.6). Children gain a lot of knowledge through their play. All aspects of development and learning are related in play – particularly the affective and cognitive domains (Bodrova & Leong, 2005; Kostelnik *et al.*, 2011) (see section 3.3.6). Cognitively, they learn to reason, recall and solve problems (see section 3.3.6). They gain an understanding of different concepts, such as colour, size, shape and texture through play (see section 3.3.5).

Piaget (1962) (in section 3.3.5) asserts that children have all the cognitive mechanisms to acquire knowledge on their own, and the contact with their surroundings enables them to do so. He believed children cannot acquire knowledge unless they are regularly interacting with their surroundings, making errors and then learning from them. In view of this, he described the child as a lone scientist, making his or her own sense of the world, understanding and acting accordingly to conceptual categories or schemas that are developed in interaction with the environment (see section 3.3.5). The understanding of relations among ideas, objects and events is created by the active processes of assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration (Woolfolk, 2004) (in section 3.3.5).

Non-availability of play materials in street environments was a major cause for concern. Children picked up materials that were easily available at the vending sites, including broken bottles, which are dangerous to their physical and emotional being. The findings suggest that in street environments, children do not have access to meaningful play materials or toys. According to research, one of the most powerful aspects linked to cognitive development during infancy and the preschool years is the accessibility to play materials (Goldstein, 2011) (in section 3.3.5.1). Play materials are very significant for many developmental aspects, such as cognitive, social, emotional and

physical and language development (Bruce *et al.*, 2010) (see section 3.3.5.1). It has been established through a number of studies, that access to a variety of materials and toys is related to children's cognitive development (Bradley, 1985) (see section 3.3.6.1). The exposure of young children to toys is linked to the child's IQ at three years of age (Driscoll, 2009) (see section 3.3.5). Access to a variety of toys was found to enable children to reach higher levels of intellectual achievement, regardless of the children's sex, race or social class (Bradley, 1985; Elardo, 1975) (see section 3.3.5.1). Research indicates that access to play materials meant for social play increases social interaction of disabled children in an inclusive setting (Driscoll, 2009) (see section 3.3.5.1).

As the children were mostly restricted to vending stalls, the chances of playing with peers were also very slim. Children need time to play with others. As they play with others, they learn how others behave and to mingle well with others (Minnet, 2014:196). Vygotsky (1978) (see section 3.3.5) perceives play as social interaction and believes that children learn about the self through interaction with others. As they play with others, children also learn how to be part of a group and acquire skills of sharing and working within groups (Anderson-McNamee, 2010, in section 3.3.5). Kostelnik, Soderman and Whiren (2011) (in section 3.3.5) concur that as children play together, they explore social relationships, discovering points of view in contrast to their own, working out compromises and negotiating differences, for instance when two children want the same toy.

According to research, there is evidence that play makes humans adaptive and is central in supporting intellectual, emotional and social abilities. It therefore suggests that children who are restricted to play for whatever reason are deprived in their holistic development (Whitebread, 2010) (see section 3.3.5). Research also indicates that children who are severely deprived of play show a wide range of severe cognitive and emotional deficits, including deficient growth and functioning in a number of key brain regions (Chugani *et al.*, 2001) (see section 3.3.5). According to Bruce, Meggit and Greiner (2010)

(in section 3.3.5), research also shows that children, especially boys, who do not play, are more likely to bring personal tragedy on themselves and social tragedy on their communities, such as killing someone through persistent drunk driving as they have not learned to see how others might feel or what the consequence of their actions would be for other people (Bruce, Meggit & Grenier, 2010:359) (see section 3.3.5).

5.5 PARENT INTERVIEW AND CHILD INTERACTION DATA

Interviews with six street vendors in the selected vending sites in Harare were conducted to collect information regarding how street environments affected young children’s development. An interview guide (see appendix 7) with prompts used to engage the vendors in telling their stories of their experiences with young children on the street was used. Interactions with children of the six street vendors were also made to ascertain the cognitive and emotional competencies they had, given that they spend much of their time in the streets with their vending mothers. An interaction guide (see appendix 9) with prompts to engage the children to demonstrate their cognitive and emotional competencies was also used. However, one child, for unknown reasons, could not respond to the questions. Since the parents and children are interlinked, I merged some of the relevant data. Responses were audio-recorded after I had announced that the views collected were to be treated with the strictest confidentiality and would be used solely for the purpose of carrying out this study. I followed an interview guide (see appendix 7). Below are questions and responses presented in the manner they were asked. Immediately after that, the data are analysed.

5.5.1 Data analysis: Parent interview and child interaction

5.5.1.1 Question 1: Why are you here on street pavements?

Mary	It is because of poverty. Both my husband and I are unemployed and this is the reason why we are (selling our wares) in the streets.
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Agneta	I am trying to earn a living through selling a wide range of fruits and vegetables.
Patricia	I am here to earn a living through selling wares because I am not formally employed.
Edith	I am trying to make ends meet, setting up something to do in order to earn a little cash.
Olivia	I am trying to raise money for family upkeep.
Winnet	There is no employment. I am trying to earn a living. I have bills to pay, rent, and food for my children.

When asked to explain why they are spending most of their time on the pavements, all of the participants concurred that poverty drove them to venture into vending. Further to that, they indicated that there was no employment, and yet, they needed financial resources for family upkeep. Since the majority of participants were not gainfully employed, they could not afford to secure accommodation for descent living. Resultantly, they were tenants who were expected to pay rent for accommodation on a monthly basis. All proceedings from their vending projects were channelled towards daily family sustenance.

5.5.1.2 Question 2: For how long have you been here?

Mary	I started in 2013, no 2014 [three years].
Agneta	I think it has been a year and half.
Patricia	It has been two years now.
Edith	I have been coming here for a year now.
Olivia	One and half years.

Winnet	I have been doing this [vending business] for a year now.
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When asked how long they have been vending, all of the participants indicated that they had been selling wares in streets for between one and three years. For those who had been vending for three years, this meant that they started vending around 2013 to 2014. This is the time when Zimbabwe had just conducted the 2013 harmonised elections and the majority of the people whose income was below the poverty datum line felt the economic pressure and decided to engage in informal activities, such as vending.

5.5.1.3 Question 3: How often do you come here?

Mary	Almost every day.
Agneta	We come here from Monday to Sunday.
Patricia	I come here for six days and I go to church on Sunday, but sometimes I come on Sundays when I do not feel like going to church.
Edith	We come here every day.
Olivia	I come here six times per week.
Winnet	I come here every day.

When asked how often the participants throng the Harare streets vending, the majority indicated that they worked every day except a few who cited that they work six days in a week. When further probed why they come every day without resting, they decried the need to maximise cash inflows to cover their daily living expenses. This might be an indication that the majority of vendors operate on what is called a “hand-to-mouth” life style. Those who work six days per week unanimously agreed that they go to church the seventh day of the week, probably to seek God’s intervention into their daily challenges.

5.5.1.4 Question 4: What time do you normally come and leave this place?

Mary	Usually I arrive here at around and leave around six p.m. aaah around eight p.m.
Agneta	I start normally past seven in the morning and leave past ten, or even eleven p.m. It's not always...it differs according how busy it is.
Patricia	I arrive at six a.m. and I leave around five p.m.
Edith	We usually come here after six a.m. and leave around six or seven p.m.
Olivia	We normally come here after seven a.m. and leave for home around 5:30, or just before six o'clock we should be gone.
Winnet	We normally arrive at this place before eight in the morning and leave around seven at night.

When asked what time the participants spend in the streets vending, all of them concurred that they come in the morning around six to seven a.m. and go home around eight p.m. This means that they spent an average of twelve hours on street pavements, with their children enduring almost 80 hours per week in the streets.

5.5.1.5 Question 5: Why do you bring your child with you here?

Mary	There is no one to look after her at home. I used to leave the baby at home, but now the lady who looked after her is complaining. If you leave her with people next door, they talk too much, so it is better to come to work with the child.
Agneta	There is no-one to look after her at home. I can't afford to pay a maid. Some charge \$60, but some understand, they charge \$50.

Patricia	There is no-one to look after him at home so I bring him to work. I realised that I can't afford to pay a maid.
Edith	She has no-one to look after her at home. I can't afford a maid.
Olivia	We bring them here because there is no-one who can take care of them at home.
Winnet	There is no-one to babysit her at home. I can't afford to pay a maid.

When asked to provide reasons for bringing their children to the streets, all of the participants indicated that they had no-one to take care of the child while they were vending as they could not afford to engage babysitters to look after their children. When further probed, one of the participants indicated that she was uncomfortable to leave her child with next-door neighbours because sometimes "they talk too much". The cause of talk could be centred on provision of food, since it is against the majority of African cultural belief systems to eat without sharing with whoever is present, let alone a small child. Those left with the child will be exposed to serious pressure to frustrate the owner of the child to find alternative solutions of baby-minding their children. Otherwise it is unbearable for the next-door neighbour to overstretch their food budgetary provisions in order to cater for children whose parents spend abnormal vending hours in streets.

5.5.1.6 Question 6: For how long have you been bringing him/her here?

Mary	It has been three years now.
Agneta	I have been bringing her here since she was very little.
Patricia	I have been bringing her since birth, three years ago.
Edith	It has been six months now.
Olivia	More than a year now.

Winnet	It has been a year with him now.
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As indicated in the previous question regarding the cause for bringing children to vending sites, all of the participants confirmed that they have been bringing their children almost the same duration of their vending period. The major reason for this is that the proceeds from the vending expeditions are grossly insufficient to cover critical family requirements, such as baby minding, accommodation and food provisions.

5.5.1.7 Question 7: Is this place safe for your child? If not, what makes it unsafe for children?

Mary	It's not safe at all. It is dangerous for the child. She plays with dangerous objects and is always exposed to dirty water.
Agneta	It's not safe at all particularly the issue of pedestrians who can, at times, mindlessly knock down young children playing along the pavement.
Patricia	It's not safe all. The child risks getting run over by cars. Sometimes mechanics test their vehicles on this road. My nephew got injured here around two months ago. They were playing by the tables on Sunday. The owner of the table was not there as she does not come to work on Sundays. The child climbed onto the table and the table is slightly high. You know how children enjoy climbing up and down. One child pushed the boy and he fell down and broke his arm. No-one knows what really transpired. All we heard is one lady yelling that we should collect the child since he had been hurt. The boy's mother had to abandon everything so that she could rush to the hospital in Chitungwiza. They found the arm with bones broken severely. The bones could be seen. He got a plaster and some stitches. He had the plaster for a long time. This place is not safe for children. After getting that cast, he was transferred to Harare

	Central Hospital and he had a support inserted in his arm. Until now he has the support.
Edith	It's not safe at all because there is a busy road nearby. Also, diseases, the child risks getting infected...sometimes she eats anything that she picks up as she plays.
Olivia	It's not safe at all. Should there be diseases outbreak, children get contaminated easily. Again, there is a busy road here. Several cars pass by. Some drivers have a problem of over speeding; some are generally careless so it's very easy to have children run over as they play.
Winnet	It's not safe all because a lot of things can happen. He can be run over because they normally play along pavements.

When solicited for their perceptions regarding children's safety during vending sessions, all of the participants identified a plethora of challenges they believe have a terrible impact on their young children. Chief among them are exposure to dangerous objects, dirty water, burst sewer pipes, unsympathetic pedestrians, fast-moving vehicles as well as the possibility of picking up and eating dirty or rotten food. All these are pointers to hazards that young children are exposed to during their accompanying their ever-busy vending mothers.

Instead of thinking "rationally" not to continue with illegal vending at undesignated sites, vendors still sacrifice their young children, exposing them to danger almost every hour of their lives in the streets. Although it sounds illogical to keep put at places that pose danger to children, I think vendors have, at least based on the degree of poverty bedeviling their survival, no option but to continue sacrificing their offspring by perpetually exposing them to life-threatening environments in order to raise enough funds for survival. There is reason, therefore, to believe that poverty is the most dangerous multiple problem releaser.

5.5.1.8 Question 8: How do you make sure your child is safe in this environment?

Mary	I ask her to sit on those benches over there, but she doesn't want to be far away from me.
Agneta	I try by all means to keep her closer to me, ensuring that she doesn't get into the road.
Patricia	I insist that he sits down. I prepare a bed for him in the afternoon so that he can rest in the shade.
Edith	I keep a close eye on her and I regularly check her mouth for objects that she picks up. She must play wherever I am, but as a child that is difficult because she wants to play with the other children.
Olivia	To ensure that your child is safe, you have to keep a close eye on her.
Winnet	I tell him to stick to the wall as he plays. It is safer there since I can keep a close eye on him. I tell him to sit down or he can play with his friend, thereby restricting too much movement.

As a precautionary to hazardous challenges young children are exposed to in the streets, the participants were asked to indicate how they ensure safety for their children. The majority of the participants cited measures they think could promote children's safety as they concentrate on their vending activities. Chief among the safety precautions they cited were keeping a very close eye to where the children are playing, requesting them to sit at specific restricted places, such as benches at shop entrances, sitting by the shop wall, preparing a sleeping place and instructing them to sleep even if they feel not to, regularly checking their mouths to see if they are not chewing dirty items or rotten fruits as well as allocating them to play with specific friends.

All of these precautionary measures are less effective to ensure maximum protection from harm. For instance, the request to allocate children to play at specified restricted places with other peers does not guarantee child safety because these are children who can be attracted to stimuli towards danger that only adults can avoid. For example, playing with dangerous objects – all children can end up fighting for these dangerous objects as they wrestle for possession. Regarding keeping a close eye on them, the majority of the participants indicated that they had the potential to watch their children for close protection without specifying how they could balance their attendance to customers with minding children in busy markets along urban street pavements.

5.5.1.9 Question 9: What does your child eat during the time you are on the street?

Mary	We have breakfast at home and in the afternoon, I buy her some <i>sadza</i> . I can buy her some snacks, for example freezits, popcorns biscuits and zap naks.
Agneta	I buy <i>sadza</i> from other vendors who pass by.
Patricia	I wake up very early in the morning around five a.m. to prepare porridge. I pack it in the lunch box and soon after displaying my wares around six, I give him his porridge. I feed him around seven o'clock. He eats in the morning, afternoon and at night.
Edith	She eats <i>sadza</i> that I normally buy from other vendors and drinks <i>maheu</i> .
Olivia	I bring porridge in the morning; after porridge we buy some tea from nearby canteens. They take three meals and some fruits. I prepare fresh food which I pack in food warmers to ensure that the children eat it while it is hot.
Winnet	I buy him rice that is supplied by other vendors. I feed him with

	three meals per day.
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When asked to indicate the type of food young children eat during their time in the streets, all of the participants cited *sadza (pap)*, porridge and rice as the only major food handouts readily available. This contradicts observations I made as I noted most of the children being fed on junk food, such as freezits, zap naks, popcorn and rejects of fruits from their wares. When asked to give reasons for the provision of such an unbalanced diet, all of the participants indicated that they were financially incapacitated to provide descent meals for family consumption.

5.5.1.10 Question 10: Where do you seek medical attention when you/your child fall sick?

Mary	We go to the clinic.
Agneta	I have to return home so that I can take her to the local clinic because I can't get help here. At the clinic I only pay for medication and not the consultation fee.
Patricia	I am fortunate that my child has never fallen sick while I am here. Should that happen, I will pack up and take him to the clinic as soon as possible. This clinic is in Overspill which is relatively close to where I stay.
Edith	I will go to the clinic in Hopley where children are treated for free.
Olivia	There is a clinic in Hopley where young children do not pay. They get medical treatment for free.
Winnet	I will take him home because I am not familiar with this place. Then, I will take him to a clinic in Overspill.

Regarding medical attention in the event that children fall sick, most of the participants indicated that they go back home where they can easily access free medical services. This indicates that in the streets there are no free medical services they can rely on. Considering the distance they have to travel back to their homes, if a child needs urgent medical attention, this means that the child could die before being attended to. None of the participants ever indicated that they had any prepaid medical aid plan for their families. This again, points to the fact that poverty exposes humans coming from disadvantaged backgrounds to perennial life challenges.

5.5.1.11 Question 11: Are you very busy during the day and do you get time to play/talk with your child?

Mary	I get busy around this time (around five p.m.). We play right here. She sometimes asks me what I am doing, she tells me stories.
Agneta	Not really [busy]? We do play, but for a limited time. Just a limited session on my lap, I can't really say its proper play.
Patricia	No, we rarely get busy. Business is sometimes very low. Yes, I will be sitting and playing with my child. I play with them and he will be imitating my actions, counting and playing with other things while we sit in the shade.
Edith	Not really, business is slow these days. Yes, we play a game called <i>nhodo</i> . She throws the stone up and leaves it to fall because she doesn't understand the game. We also play the ball as well and another game called <i>ruree ruree</i> .
Olivia	We get busy in the morning. It gets quite in the afternoon. It will get busy later in the day. Yes, we play a counting game whereby she repeats numbers after me. I then ask her to count on her own. We sing, if she doesn't sing well I don't buy her the zap naks she likes.
Winnet	Yes, sometimes we get extremely busy. Yes, we get time to play

	sometimes. We just play a touch game or I can sing a song and he sings after me.
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When asked if vendors were always busy in their vending expeditions, participants gave different opinions, probably because they operate on different sites. On the one hand, the first group of three participants collectively indicated that they were less busy because they will only interact with customers more frequently towards the end of each day. This, most likely happens when people are coming from their various workplaces going home. It follows that this same group of vendors is found on the so-called “designated” vending sites that is found in the peripheries of the CBD area where there are limited potential customers, thus, they were always less busy as compared to their fellow vending counterparts who operate illegally on street pavements of the CBD.

When further probed to indicate other challenges they face as vendors in Harare, all of the participants concur that the cash crisis has not spared them in any way. Some even cited that in general, their sales had been reduced by a considerable degree due to the fact that most of their customers complain that they have no hard cash although in their bank accounts figures indicate that they have money. However, the other group of vendors who operate in undesignated places in the CBD indicated that they were always busy. This could be due to the fact that CBD streets are lucrative in terms of business.

When asked to indicate whether the participants provide opportunities for child play at vending sites, again the participants gave different opinions, probably because they operate at different vending sites. The group that indicated that they were less busy also reported that they had time to play with their children teaching them simple mathematical problems, indigenous games such as *nhodo* as well as having opportunities to monitor the movement of their children closely as precautionary measures to possible danger against the well-being of their children in the streets. On the other hand, the participants from undesignated places of the CBD, who are always

playing a hide-and-seek game with the municipality police, argued that they were extremely busy; hence they had no adequate time to play with their children. They confessed that they played with their children, but for a very limited time only. This indicates that in general, vending sites do not have much play provisions. When further probed to indicate what form of play they usually embark on, the majority of the participants added that sometimes they engage in storytelling, singing and touch games and deliberately teaching their children general mathematical knowledge through counting imitations, leaving the rest of early childhood curriculum packages to chance.

5.5.1.12 Question 12: Who else plays with your child and what objects do they play with?

Mary	She plays with another child, but she is not here today. They play with empty bottles and containers. Today she has requested me to make a ball for her but I didn't have time to do that. I have been too busy with my tomatoes but I always try to do what she asks.
Agneta	She plays with Prince and Junior, just the three of them. They simply play with items which we throw away such as bottles and kaylites – rubbish materials we throw away.
Patricia	Yes, he has friends around the market place. They play with mud, they pick up empty bottle and old boxes.
Edith	She plays with Tafadzwa, another child from that table who comes here sometimes. They play with tins, dolls and containers.
Olivia	She plays with Noku, Simbi and Tafadzwa. They play with empty containers; they use soil for cooking when they play together. They look for the containers by themselves and whenever they decide to play, they gather around and play wherever they are.
Winnet	Yes, he plays with those children over there. They chase each other and play with objects lying around, for example, carrots and

	<p>whatever they pick around the market. We don't buy them toys because they are sometimes very careless. You buy a toy today and tomorrow its lost or it is left lying idle exposing it to streets kids who are never hesitant to pick it up.</p>
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When asked who their children play with, all of the participants indicated that they play with peers at their vending sites. When further probed to indicate what they play with most, the vendors reported that they played with items people threw away, which include empty bottles of drinks or *maheu*, empty boxes, empty food *kaylites*, vegetable waste and tins. This was also evident in the observation I made. I noted children kicking around cardboard boxes (see figure 5.7) and some playing with vegetable waste (see figure 5.12). When asked to explain if their children had sufficient play resource materials along the street pavements, all of the participants indicated that the greatest challenge was the absence of play materials in the form of toys. Some participants indicated that their children requested them to make play materials such as balls or dolls but sometimes they were too busy with their merchandise, so they did not have time to attend to their needs.

Although some of the vendors were aware of the need to purchase play resource materials for their children, the majority of these parents argued that they did not provide these because of two major reasons. One, proceeds from their vending activities are extremely limited to include play resource materials on the list of important requirements to cater for their families' livelihoods. Two, the vending parents accused their children of being negligent and grossly irresponsible. They unanimously indicated that their children were carefree up to an extent that they lose all play items within a day's purchase. Once these play resource materials are purchased, they claimed, children lose them almost instantly. Therefore, it was their argument that it was of no use to buy toys one day only to have them declared missing the next day. Both reasons cited were less convincing because they did not improve learner plight of their children in any way.

5.5.1.13 Question 13: How does your child relate with others?

Mary	Yes, they play well, she is not a problem. They do not fight and no-one cries because they rarely fight.
Agneta	Yes, they play along very well. Their happiness shows me that all is well. At times they fight for toys. Once they fight, I beat them all and they leave the toys and later on start playing nicely again.
Patricia	I can tell that all is well among them as they play peacefully in the shade. Sometimes they fight over toys and containers. At one point they fought using sticks and I stopped them.
Edith	Yes, they get along very well. If they don't make each other cry, it means all is well. But at times they fight over toys. Once that happens, I just take my child and console her or tell the whole group to play nicely without fighting.
Olivia	Yes, they play along very well. If there is peace, then I know they are getting along very well. But if there are squabbles and a lot of crying going on, then it means the opposite. Naturally as kids they annoy each other time and again. They fight, especially when there is one toy and they all want it. Some of the fights get intense, such that they require parental intervention. You either share it or you throw it away to settle the dispute.
Winnet	Yes, he plays along very well because no child cries as they play, they co-operate with each other. But at times they fight over toys. You see those bottles lying around? Should someone snatch it from him, they start fighting. As a control measure, as parents we settle the dispute by just throwing away the object they will be fighting for.

When asked to comment on how their children related to one another throughout the day at their respective vending sites, the majority of

participants indicated that they played along very well. However, other participants added that at times children fought particularly over play materials. This was also evident in the observations I made. I noted two children fighting over the possession of a carrot (play material) (see figure 5.8). Regardless of sex differences, it is natural that age mates sometimes fight one another. They play around and befriend one another, provided the environment allows them to do so. Young children accompanying their parents to vending sites are no exception. In order to resolve the disagreement, some participants indicated that they would beat both children and throw away the toy they would be fighting over. It is interesting to note that some of these parents are unaware that beating children is outlawed and is a form of child abuse. From the above submissions, it is clear that, though acting out of ignorance, the majority of street vendors are committing crimes without any idea that what they are doing is wrong.

5.5.1.14 Question 14: What makes your child happy/sad/angry as they spend most of their time on street pavements?

Mary	The fact that she is with me here makes her happy because I buy her goodies. Right now, she has been asking me to buy her some rice on our way home, but I don't have the money. She is now very angry as she has been throwing tantrums. She has been crying since. I have given her 10c with the hope that she understands and stops crying. Instead she has indicated that it's not enough and she wanted two coins.
Agneta	She gets angry when I can't buy what she wants. Honestly speaking, I don't want to lie, there is nothing that makes her happy here in the streets.
Patricia	There is nothing that makes my child happy here. He gets angry when I fail to buy him goodies that pass by. He says, "mummy look at the doughnuts ...sweets... or snacks...". If I try to explain that I don't have money, he ends up crying. Sometimes he cries after a thorough

	beating because he is naughty.
Edith	Playing with friends and getting some goodies makes her happy. But if things don't go her way, she becomes angry. Again, she gets angry when her toys are taken away. At one point she was wounded as she was playing with other children. I am not sure how it really happened. She only showed me the wound and she was very angry.
Olivia	I think she enjoys playing with her friend a lot. Without friends, I think she will refuse to come along with me to the market place. On several occasions as I observed them playing, I realised that they were very happy. She shows signs of unhappiness once I fail to provide money to buy snacks. She requests "may I have 10c to buy snacks?" If I tell her that there is no money for snacks she throws a tantrum... Again, if she wants something, she expects you to leave whatever you will be doing to attend to her. If you don't pay attention, she becomes very angry and she cries.
Winnet	My child gets angry if I fail to provide for his demands. Sometimes I fail to notice the cause of the anger. I just see him putting on an angry face.

When asked to elaborate what makes their children happy or sad during their vending expeditions, all of the participants seemed to concur that the greatest source of their children's sadness is non-provision of goodies. These short-tempered children were reported to cry uncontrollably and sometimes turn violent. Some of them threw tantrums violently as they engaged in fist fights with their parents. Two participants clearly indicated that there was nothing that pleased their children as they spend most of their time on streets. However, some parents reported that children were sometimes happy when showered with goodies. One of them hinted that the fact that the child is playing along her side was the only source of happiness the child was deriving from being in the streets daily.

5.5.1.15 Question 15: Does your child attend day care? If yes, where? If no, why?

Mary	No, she doesn't, but I am planning to send her to crèche soon. There is a lady who promised to offer my child a place, but I am failing to raise the fees. It costs \$1 per day because things are tough these days. I am struggling here, but I will see what to do.
Agneta	No, she doesn't attend day care because of financial problems. I don't have money to pay school fees. I also need money for rent and I can't have it both ways and balance the two [paying fees and rent].
Patricia	He is not going to crèche because of financial problems, but we are planning to send him to ECD next year.
Edith	Noku doesn't go to crèche. We have no money, and the crèche is very expensive. They are charging \$32 per month. Of course, I am aware that government primary schools are generally less expensive, but the problem is distance. They are far away from where we live.
Olivia	She doesn't go to crèche because we cannot afford it.
Winnet	No, he doesn't go to crèche because I have no money for that. He will go only when there is money.

When asked whether the street vendors' children were attending preschool, all of the participants indicated that they did not. When probed to elaborate the reason(s) why they were not attending preschool, all of the participants cited limited financial provisions as the major cause. One of them further indicated that she was aware that public schools are generally less expensive than private ones. Still, her child was failing to attend because such schools are very far away from where they live. The other participant further highlighted that her son would go to school only when their financial income

has improved. By implication, should this family for the coming two decades fail to secure reliable and improved financial inflow, their child would grow into adulthood without going to school.

5.5.1.16 Question 16: What has your child mastered?

Mary	<p>She can name some objects. She can identify snacks, cooking oil and sometimes she comments that I am nicely dressed. She notices new clothes. The other day she asked her father where he bought his pair of trousers although she says it in baby language. She asked him where he bought the clothes. When I bought this, she asked me about it and went on to say that it is beautiful. She can identify her body parts (head, eyes, ears, mouth, hands, legs, shoulders, knees and toes). She can recognise herself in a mirror. She says, "Mum, look at Love." She is able to explain what she is doing, such as "I am playing". At the market she helps me with washing tomatoes. Yesterday she helped me to put tomatoes in a bucket leaving all the damaged ones out. She got it right, and she sorted all the tomatoes properly on her own. She is able to dress herself, especially wearing a skirt and panties. Regarding storytelling, she talks about abuse by my neighbour. She also reports all people who beat her in my absence. Regarding object permanence, she can't find something hidden. One day I found her attempting to cook. She took the primus stove, removed all threads and filled it with mud and mealie meal. I have no idea what she was thinking.</p>
Agneta	<p>She can name the goods I sell here (carrots, onions and tomatoes). She can also name body parts (head, eyes, ears, mouth, hands, legs, shoulders, knees and toes). She knows kitchen utensils. She knows the people she lives with at home, even the vendors she sees on the street. She can identify them by name.</p>
Patricia	<p>He can take off his underwear when using the toilet. He can urinate</p>

	<p>by himself and dress up properly. He can also eat by himself without assistance. Because he is unfamiliar with this place, I assist him. At home he uses his pot unassisted. He knows me, his father and other people at home. I can send him to collect a spoon as I cook, he does that. I ask him to collect mealie meal to prepare <i>sadza</i>; he rushes to collect the bucket in which we store the mealie meal. Sometimes I ask him to go and buy things nearby. He knows the head because sometimes he plays with soil and puts it on his head. When I tell him to remove the soil from his head he rubs it off. He also responds to orders such as “wash your hands”. He can tell what he is doing. For example, when he plays house, I ask him what he is doing and he says, “I am playing”, although he says that in baby language. He talks about cars and combis (commuter omnibuses). He sings after us in church.</p> <p>He sings as he plays with his friends. If I hide something in his presence, he is able to search for it and find it. When he sees his face in the mirror, he quickly says, “Simbi”.</p>
Edith	<p>She imitates musicians. She can feed herself, she can put on some shoes and use the toilet. I let her use her potty because we have a pit latrine. She sits without assistance and can take off her panties. She can scrub her feet with a stone. She can wear skirts on her own. She can identify people she lives with. She can say their names. She can name food. She can identify a car, combi and a bus. She can say, “This is a TV, a cup, a pot.” She can identify her body parts (head, eyes, ears, mouth, hands, legs, shoulders, knees and toes). She can match similar colours. She can recognise an image in a mirror. She says, “That’s Noku.” If I ask her what she is doing when she is sweeping the floor, she says, “I am sweeping the house” or “I am shining the floor”. She can sing. She sings church songs. She talks about everything that happens when I am not around. She tells me what people were doing during my absence. She was just here informing me that she did some washing. She</p>

	told me something about money. She said, "Mama, whose money was there. Is it yours?" I said, "It isn't mine", and she pointed at someone who took the money.
Olivia	<p>She can fetch things for me when I ask her to. I ask her to go and buy something and she is able to do so. She buys the exact thing. She can feed herself. She dresses on her own, but sometimes I help her. She can put on shoes, but she puts them on the wrong feet. I have to remind her to wear them properly. She knows all the people she lives with. She knows them all, grandfather, grandmother and many others. She can name all fruits. She can even name all these things that's for sale (towels, shoes and slippers) and many others. She can identify body parts (head, eyes, ears, mouth, hands, legs, shoulders, knees and toes). She can identify herself in a mirror. She says, "Look at Tanya."</p> <p>She can say what she is doing. If she is playing with mud, and I ask her what she is doing, she says, "I am cooking porridge, Mama, or <i>sadza</i>." She can sing. She sings children's songs like "Baby Jesus", but sometimes she minces the words. She tells me stories, "Mama, this and that." If they go somewhere, she tells me, "We went to this place with aunty." She explains everything. She looks for a hidden object until she finds it.</p>
Winnet	<p>He dances to the radio. He can dress himself. He can't do much. He knows all the people he lives with. Even the vendors around this place. He knows policemen; he calls out, "Look at the policeman." He is afraid of the policemen. If he gets mischievous and you threaten him using the police, he quickly says sorry in baby language. He can sing, but I fail to understand his songs. He tells me stories. He reports on thing that has happened, for example, "Granny said that I will go to school on Sunday." He can explain what he is doing. He sometime says, "I am playing house" or "I am cooking <i>sadza</i>", but it is not yet clear. He can tell about a fight with</p>

	a friend or just report that someone has taken his toy away.
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When asked to comment on what their children have mastered , the majority of participants indicated that their children were able to identify familiar objects such as goods sold at vending sites (vegetables, fruits, towels, shoes, buckets, dishes, wooden spoons, cooking sticks, etc.) and familiar snacks (zap naks, freezits, popcorn, *maheu*, etc.). This could be due to the fact that children see these objects on a day-to-day basis as they are sold by their mothers and as they are often given coins to buy snacks when they are hungry. The parents also indicated that their children could also identify kitchen utensils, such as pots, cups and plates, and provisions used for cooking such as mealie meal, cooking oil, salt, and so forth. The participants also reported that they usually sent their children to collect utensils and provisions they use as they prepare their meals and the children were able to identify and bring the items requested. In addition, they also send them to buy items from nearby shops or other vendors, and they are able to do that. Others were reported to participate in the arrangement of the fruit and vegetable merchandise at the vending site because they watch their parents do it every day.

The participants indicated that the children can identify familiar people at home and at the vending sites. This could be due to the fact that they spend long hours in the streets as most vendors do not frequently change vending sites especially those in designated sites.

All vendors reported that their children could identify their body parts (head, eyes, ears, mouth, hands, legs, shoulders, knees, toes, etc.). One parent explained that this could be due to the fact that when the children get their heads or hands dirty with soil or anything, they instruct them to wipe their heads or hands. In addition, they always instructed them to wash their hands before taking food as they usually use their hands for eating. They also ask them to wipe foodstuff from their mouths and mucus from their noses; hence their knowledge on body parts.

Parents also reported that children could narrate events that happen during the parents' absence, such as abuse by substitute caregivers. One parent reported that her child told her about money that was taken by another vendor from her stall when she had visited the toilet. They also reported that although their children talk in baby language, they were able to explain what they would be doing during pretend play such as, "I am sweeping the house" or "I am polishing the floor".

Regarding self-help skills, most of the vendors reported that their children could feed themselves. This was also evident in observations I made (see figure 5.15). The children fed themselves at their mothers' stalls or by the shop wall (see figure 5.16) where there was less human traffic. The parents also indicated that most of the children could dress and undress themselves though they faced challenges in identifying, for example, the correct shoe for the right or left foot. This could be due to the fact that the mothers had tight schedules, which did not give them time to assist their children to do those tasks; hence the children had no choice but to do it on their own. The parents also reported that their children could use toilets independently at home but due to the horrible state of toilets in the streets they were forced to assist them.

The parents also reported that their children could sing songs as they sometimes sang along with their parents during church services. One participant reported that during play, the children also sang some songs even though they minced the words. One participant reported that her child could also dance to music.

Most of the parents concurred that their children could recognise their faces in a mirror. However, one parent indicated that she had never attended to that; hence she was not sure whether her child could recognise her face in a mirror. This indicates that some parents were not aware of cognitive activities they could engage their children in, such as recognising themselves in mirrors.

5.5.1.17 Question 17: What competencies does your child lack?

Mary	She can't find a hidden object. She can't identify colours yet. I am not sure whether she can match colours, but I don't think she has cognitive problems and I am certain that she will do well in school.
Agneta	However, she cannot wear a pair of trousers by herself. She needs assistance when visiting the toilet. She cannot identify colours. Again, she is unable to count numbers. She is also unable to find hidden objects. She cannot state where she lives.
Patricia	He does not know where he lives. He simply says he lives at home. He lacks knowledge about colours. I don't think he can match colours. To be honest, I haven't paid attention to that.
Edith	She can't identify colours; she does not know them but she can match objects of the same colour. She can count, but she skips some numbers. She struggles; she goes straight to four after one. She cant wear tommy shoes on her own but if you ask her to get it right she can manage. She cannot say where she lives.
Olivia	She cannot tell where she lives. She can't bath herself. Colours are a problem for her. She can't match colours. I haven't practised that with her, to be honest. She just says things are similar even if they are different. She needs help with counting. She can't count properly yet. She tries to, but mixes up the numbers. She can't order the numbers properly. She can't narrate what has transpired during my absence.
Winnet	He does not recognise colours. He is not able to match objects of the same colour. He only counts after me when he wants to. If he is not interested, he refuses to do so. If he counts after me, he counts properly from one to five but on his own he manages to count from one to three.

With regard to competencies children lack, most of the parents reported that their children could not identify colours. Though some of the parents indicated that their children could match similar colours, the majority reported that their children were not able to match objects of the same colour. This was evident in the interactions I made with the children. None of the children could identify a single colour. Though two children attempted to match pegs of the same colour, the majority failed to do so.

The parents also reported that although their children knew some of the names of numbers up to ten, they could not count (rote counting) in a chronological order; they could not order numbers up to five properly. This was also evident in the interactions I made with the children. None of them could not count up to five in the correct order.

Most of the parents also reported that their children could not identify where they live. During my interactions with the children, none of them could state where they live. Most of them indicated that they stayed at home or at their house. In addition to what the parents reported on competencies their children lacked, none of children could tell their correct ages, with one not being able to tell her correct sex. Given what these children could do, it was noted that these children were still unable to master some of the very basic concepts that commensurate their chronological ages. This could be due to the fact that the vendors, considering their educational background, do not have much knowledge of concepts they need to teach their children before they attend day care, or they do not have adequate time to teach their children due to their busy schedules or probably because these children were generally excluded from home and school environments appropriate to nurture them into responsible adults.

5.5.1.18 Question 18: Share with me your feelings about bringing your child to the streets

Mary	I am worried always because she is coming along with me every
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	<p>day to the market because she refuses to stay behind, talking about abuse. I am deeply troubled. It is painful. The other day I was talking about the issue and I was wondering what I should do so that my daughter can go to a crèche. She is better off at a crèche where she gains knowledge, rather than spending the day here. No development takes place here. I hope business goes well for me so that I can afford to pay the \$1 instalment, which will make it easier for me.</p>
Agneta	<p>It is very painful, but there is nothing I can do.</p>
Patricia	<p>Yes, sometimes the issue stresses me because... I wish my child could go to a crèche because it is dangerous here with cars passing by. It is also not proper for a child to be raised in a market place; he should be in school, playing with others.</p>
Edith	<p>I am worried about my child's safety considering that there is a dangerous road here. It is my wish that I had some money to send her to crèche.</p>
Olivia	<p>Staying here with my child bothers me because of the dangerous road and the child is not safe. She may get hit by a car. The roads are very busy. We fear children's deaths. There are pesticides on sale here; children just pick up the containers and they may drink poisonous liquids. It really bothers me and I wish for a better place where the children can be safe for us to put them there.</p>
Winnet	<p>It is painful, but there is nothing I can do. It affects me a lot, but I am helpless.</p>

Most of the participants reported that they were very worried about bringing their children to streets. They cited streets to be dangerous environments for raising children as they expose them to several risks, such as road accidents, being knocked down by passers-by and taking poisonous substances as they

play. They also feared the death of their children while they were vending on the streets.

5.5.1.19 Question 19: What do you think should be done in order to assist you and your children who spend most of their early childhood in the streets?

Mary	I am not sure and I am clueless about necessary intervention strategies, but if there is some help that we can get, it would be highly appreciated.
Agneta	I would like the government to create employment so that I can afford to send our children to crèche. If I had sensible employment, I would be able to pay a maid who would be looking after her at home instead of coming along with her daily to the market place. I wish crèches were for free. That is my wish, but who would like to look after someone else's child for free considering that these children are difficult to look after? She needs diapers when she gets sleepy. She needs to have a bed made for her. Who can do that for free?
Patricia	I would like the government to provide us with school fees for less privileged children so that like any other children in the country, they have equal opportunities for educational development.
Edith	I don't think anything should be done except to remove us from this market place because we are the ones at fault working near the road.
Olivia	I wish I could send them to crèche if I had money, so that they can get educated like other children do. That's what I want. If crèches were for free, we would bath our children and send them there.
Winnet	The government should create employment for us.

When asked to give personal opinions regarding what could be done to stop them from bringing children to the streets, it was disturbing to note that two participants (Mary and Edith) were so naïve that they had no idea about intervention strategies that could be employed to curb the practice of bringing children to vending sites. However, the majority of participants concurred that employment creation was critical towards stabilisation of their living standards. They reiterated that the government should create employment for them. Failure to create employment for them meant that they would continue vending and bring their children to the vending sites. All of the participants were also of the view that the government should make access to preschools free, particularly for those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds.

5.5.2 Parent interview and child interaction data interpretation

In this section, I will discuss themes and categories that have emerged from parent interview, child interaction and social worker interview data.

Table 5.4: Themes and categories from parent interview and child interaction data

Theme	Categories
Unemployment/poverty	Lack of resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decent accommodation • Hiring maids • Insufficient dietary provisions • No access to ECD centres • Lack of play materials • Lack of pre-paid medical aid Human suffering
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical harm • Health hazards
Cognitive development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited provision for play

Theme	Categories
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited play materials and play mates
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited cognitive competencies
Socio-emotional development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Child-mother relationship
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Child-peer relationship
Intervention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employment creation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide free education to ECD all children
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduce drop-in centres

5.5.2.1 Theme 1: Unemployment or poverty

Theme 1 discusses the lack of employment as the major driving force for people to engage in vending. The findings reveal that, due to unemployment, many families are living below the poverty datum line (see section 2.3.1.3.ix) and are incapacitated to provide basic necessities for their children. A series of events has contributed to the deterioration of the Zimbabwe economy. Chief among them are the implementation of ESAP, payment of unbudgeted war veterans' gratuities, involvement in the unbudgeted army involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the land reform programme, repression of opposition activities, operation Murambatsvina (Restore order/clean up trash) and the economic hyperinflation in the country (see section 2.3.1.3). Decisions made at the parents' workplaces (exosystem) affect a child's life (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) (in section 3.2.1). For example, some parents were laid off from their work and this had a negative impact on the child as the parents were unable to meet the basic needs of the child. Many parents who could not afford basic family commodities and services, engaged in street vending, bringing their young children to vending sites in the streets because they could not afford to hire maids to look after their children.

Due to poverty, street vendors cannot afford to secure descent accommodation and sufficient dietary provisions for their children. According to Abebe and Quaiocoe (2014:112) (see section 2.5) poverty is a multiple-problem releaser. Everything is limited. The provision of food, accommodation and almost everything that an average human person needs is always unsatisfactorily supplied. Engle and Black (2007:1) (see section 2.5.1) further view poverty as typically based on insufficient income measures, coupled with limited food expenditure and generally a small allowance in every human requirement. Wood (2003:707) (see section 2.5.1) further concurs that poverty is financial issue that disables the provision of basic family commodities and services and child needs, such as sufficient food, descent clothing and housing. Thus, I argue that any government that takes time to address the unemployment problems in its territories is equally supporting the demise of human development of its citizens.

From the analysis of the parent interview data, it has become evident that due to poverty, children who spend most of their early childhood accompanying their vending parents have serious limitations towards educational development. Because their parents are generally poor, they rely on empty bottles, stones, sticks, mud and rejected fruit and vegetable merchandise as replacements for toys and other play materials to aid their learning process in urban streets. Bruce *et al.* (2010) indicate that play materials are extremely important for young children's socio-emotional, cognitive, physical and language development (see section 3.3.5.1). Various studies allude that access to a variety of play materials improves children's cognitive development (Bradley, 1985) (in section 3.3.5.1).

I posit, therefore, that failing to provide an enabling learning environment by allowing children to play with disused empty bottles and rejected fruit and vegetable merchandise is not only dangerous to their health but also deflates the children's self-esteem and keep them bored throughout the day. Failure to provide learning resources for their children does more harm, instead of solving the problem. This is because, in the end, it is still their children who

remain disadvantaged and fail to achieve academically; hence this denies them future employment prospects and favourable living conditions. Should this scenario continue, the cycle of poverty shall continue unabated, affecting many families and social groups in the society, and poverty will become a culture. The underprivileged groups will remain holed up in circles of poverty until parents are educated to improve the early childhood development of their children at their respective vending sites.

The findings also indicated that street vendors cannot afford to hire maids to babysit their children while they are vending, pay fees for their children to access early childhood development centres and secure pre-paid medical aid. A lack of income, according to Maponga and Musa (2016) (in section 2.5), also disables people to get the goods and services to fulfil their basic needs and improve their standard of living. Coulombe and Wodon (2007:71) and Hossain and Zeitlyn (2010:3) (see section 2.5) conclude that poverty is complex, multidimensional, interwoven and can be measured and understood in different ways. So, expecting children of street vendors to academically perform and succeed at school work later in their education career could be an exaggerated expectation. Should these children from underprivileged communities remain growing up out of contemporary schooling, it is not surprising that in the next three decades, Zimbabwe would be struggling to find manpower for job opportunities as simple as drivers, shop attendants, cooks or gardeners because the majority of the potential work force by then would have missed foundational education opportunities during early childhood because of poverty.

The findings also reveal that poverty exposes people to human suffering as the majority of Zimbabweans are forced to toil up and down urban streets in search of descent livelihoods through vending. It exposes young children to unjustifiably long hours of physical, emotional and psychological torture (see section 2.5.1). In a single day, they spend long hours on street pavements with children enduring almost 80 hours per week in the streets. This, in my view, is equal to human torture and is done at the expense of their

development, which is supposed to take place at designated early childhood development centres in surrounding communities (see section 2.5.1).

The State of Victoria (2010) (in section 2.4.4) says that the importance of the early years is now well known throughout the whole world. What takes place during the early years is of vital importance for every child's development as these years form the basis of intellect, personality, social behaviour and the ability to learn and nurture oneself as an adult (World Bank and United Nations Population Division, WHO, 2011). Ford (2013:1) (in section 2.4.4) furthermore indicates that the early years are crucial for the development of a secure emotional attachment and skills that help children to succeed in life, while Minnet (2010) posits that during the early years, the child develops physically, emotionally, socially and intellectually at a fast speed and that this holistic development, when taking place in a conducive environment, is the foundation of a healthy, secure and balanced person. Due to circumstances beyond their control, vending parents are poor; hence their children are denied learning opportunities. It is not surprising to realise that continued living in poverty promotes the development of perennial cycles of poverty (see section 2.5).

5.5.2.2 Theme 2: Safety

The findings from the parent interview data indicate that by spending much of their time on the streets, the children of street vendors are exposed to environments that are inherently dangerous (Tasson, 2006) (in section 2.5.2.3). Poverty also has an impact on the child's right to be safe (see section 2.5.2.3). As stated earlier, the safety of children in street environments is particularly threatened and undermined by injuries. Children are prone to injuries incurred by dangerous objects and being knocked over by unsympathetic pedestrians and fast-moving vehicles (Achmad, 2012:9) (in section 2.5.2.3). Physical characteristics, according to WHO and UNICEF (2008), make children especially susceptible to injury. For example, children's body size increases the risk of being injured in road traffic accidents. Where accidents occur, according to Tassoni (2006:89) (in section 2.5.2.3), children's

development may be affected as, for example, a head injury can cause cognitive delay. Injury is also a major cause of disability, with a long-lasting impact on all areas of a child's life, health, education, family and future livelihood (WHO & UNICEF, 2008) (in section 2.4.4). Over and above, a sick child will not play, resulting in missing the developmental benefits of play (Bruce & Meggit, 2006).

The interview findings also reveal that the safety of children in street environments is also particularly threatened by health hazards. These include dirty water, dirty toilet facilities, burst sewer pipes, as well as the possibility of picking up and eating dirty or rotten food. All these are pointers to health hazards that young children are exposed to when they accompany their ever-busy vending mothers. Talukder, Alam, Islam, Paul, Islam and Akther (2015:243) (in section 2.5.2.2) state that street life has an adverse influence on the health of children living on the street, mainly young children below ten years, as they have a greater risk of experiencing health problems because their young age increases their vulnerability. Mukherjee (2014:65) (in section 2.5.2.2) adds that continuous physical and mental strain and living in settings that are not protected against health hazards make street children highly prone to infectious diseases. Polluted drinking water and a lack of sanitation services, according to WHO (2015:75), are two environmental factors that can make street environments unsafe for human beings, especially children.

The findings reveal that children are further exposed to limited monitoring efficiency by their parents. Those are the children who, at times, are shoved aside by unsympathetic pedestrians as well as careless motorists who blow horns to scare them away. Young children are not capable of assessing danger. Therefore, caregivers play an essential part in assisting children under their care to be cautious (WHO, 2007:16). Their role to supervise is mainly useful to ensure the safety of children in complex environments such as streets (WHO, 2007:16) (in section 2.5.2.3).

Talukder *et al.* (2015:243) (in section 2.5.2.2) reiterate that children on the streets are deprived of their rights to health, nutrition and safe drinking water. The right to a safe environment is one of the fundamental rights of children, and parents and caregivers have an obligation to protect children from accidents and physical and emotional trauma (Woodward 2009:166) (in section 2.5.2.2). Access to basic preventative and curative medical care for young children prevents health threats to development (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:26). The right to basic healthcare, particularly during the early years, is protected by many international and national instruments, including the UNCRC (1989), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) and the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe (2013) (National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, 2015:26) (in section 2.5.2.2). A right to healthcare, safe drinking water and a clean and safe environment is one of the fundamental rights of children, as stated by the UNCRC (1989).

Environments that street vendors' children grow up in expose them to a plethora of challenges that have terrible effects on the young children's development (see section 2.5.2). It is my suggestion that continuing bringing children to street environments is, therefore, a form of negligence. This kind of neglect leads to improper child development initiatives and socio-emotional and intellectual growth opportunities (see section 2.5.2.2). It is my suggestion, therefore, that such situations need government intervention. For example, the Department of Social Welfare should take full responsibility.

5.5.2.3 Theme 3: Cognitive development

From the analysis of the interview data, there is evidence that street environments have inadequate play provision for early childhood learning opportunities. Due to their busy schedules, street vendors do not engage in meaningful play with their children. Play is a critical ingredient of child development (see section 3.3.6). Bruce (2006:180) (in section 3.3.5) asserts that opportunities for play are essential for all of us, but paramount for young children in their discovery of their world. Thus, the importance of play in early

years cannot be underestimated as it is a vital and critical part of all young children's development (Bailey, 2006) (in section 3.3.5). Kostelnik *et al.* (2011:44) and Bodrova and Leong (2005) concur that all aspects of development are enhanced through children's play activities; particularly the affective and cognitive domains.

According to Piaget (1962), play is not only an enjoyable and spontaneous activity but also contributes significantly to children's cognitive development. The same point is furthered by Bailey (2006) and Smith and Pelligrini (2013) (in section 3.3.5), indicating that children acquire critical thinking abilities through informal interaction with peers as they remain occupied in play adventures. These authors also concur that play is important for brain development as children learn to think, remember and solve problems. In this regard, Piaget (1962) (in section 3.3.3) opines that children have cognitive mechanisms to acquire their own knowledge, and the interactions they make in their surroundings enable them to do so. He believes that children cannot learn unless they are regularly interacting with their surroundings, making errors and correcting them.

In the same view, Anderson-McNamee (2010:3) (in section 3.3.5) elaborates that children gain a lot of knowledge through their play as they acquire an understanding of different concepts such as colour, shape, size and texture through play, and this helps them learn relationships as they, for instance, try to put a square object in a round opening or a large object in a small space. The knowledge of relationships among ideas, objects and events, according to Piaget (1963) (in section 3.3.5), is constructed by the active processes of assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration. Play becomes the vehicle to propel the taking in of new knowledge to fit in with previously developed understanding.

Given the abundant nature of the research evidence that play in humans is adaptive and is fundamental in supporting a whole range of intellectual, emotional and social abilities, as indicated earlier, it seems self-evident that

children who, for whatever reason, play very little or not at all will be disadvantaged in their development (Whitebread, 2010:28). All children have specific rights that are set out by the UNCRC (Article 31), which focuses on children's need for leisure, play and culture and states that the child has a right to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to their age (Kidsrights, 2012) (see section 3.3.5). The Charter of Children's Rights (1989) also states that every child in the world has the right to play.

The many studies of the severely deprived children discovered in Romanian orphanages, as stated earlier, reported a range of severe cognitive and emotional deficits, including abnormal repetitive or brief play behaviours, together with deficient growth and functioning in a number of key brain regions (Chugani *et al.*, 2001; Whitebread, 2010:28) (see section 3.3.5). As stated earlier, research also shows that children, especially boys, who do not play, are more likely to bring personal tragedy onto themselves and social tragedy to their communities, such as killing someone through persistent drunk driving as they have not learned to see how others might feel or what the consequence of their actions would be for other people (Bruce, Meggit & Grenier, 2010:359) (in section 3.3.6).

The findings also indicate that children of street vendors sometimes play alone when peers are not available. When children play together, they learn to mix easily with others and learn how others behave (Minnet, 2014:196) (in section 3.3.5). Therefore, children need opportunities to play with other children. Playing with other children also helps to learn how to be part of a group as they learn skills of sharing and working within groups (Anderson-McNamee, 2010:3). Kostelnik, Soderman and Whiren (2011:44) concur that as children play together, they explore social relationships, discovering points of view in contrast to their own, working out compromises and negotiating differences, for instance, when two children want the same toy.

According to Bruce (2003) (see section 3.3.5), Vygotsky placed much emphasis on the support of other capable peers as having a significant impact

on the development of cognition. Vygotsky (1978) (in section 3.3.5) perceives play as social interaction and believes that children learn about the self through interaction with others (Verenikina *et al.*, 2003). To Vygotsky, cognitive development does not take place in isolation, but through socially acceptable contexts as presented by play. Scaffolding, which is central to the development of cognition, can only take place when children play with peers. Vygotsky (1978) (in section 3.3.5) argues that play is an essential part of both language development and children's understanding of the world. Children are scaffolded by more capable peers when they face problems in language (Vygotsky, 1978). When children are involved in different types of play, there sometimes is some form of dialogue that takes place, thereby improving their language or vocabulary. Through play, children therefore become more competent in their language use.

The findings also revealed that children of street vendors have limited play materials. As children play, they need play materials. The absence of play materials has a detrimental effect on their educational development (see section 3.3.5.1). According to research, one of the most powerful factors related to cognitive development during infancy and the preschool years is the availability of play materials (Bruce *et al.* 2010). Play materials, according to Bruce *et al.* (2010) (see section 3.3.5.1), are extremely important for multiple developmental perspectives, such as cognitive, socio-emotional and physical and language development.

Bradley (1985) (see section 3.3.5.1) asserts that research confirmed that access to a variety of materials and toys is linked to children's cognitive development (Bradley, 1985). Children who have access to a variety of toys were found to have greater levels of intellectual achievement, irrespective of the children's sex, race or social class (Bradley, 1985; Elardo, 1975). In another study, exposure to toys or play materials meant for social play in an inclusive setting improved the social interactions of disabled children (Driscoll, 2009).

The findings from parents' interviews and child interactions also revealed that children of street vendors have limited cognitive competences. From the analysis of my interview data and the interaction I had with the children, it seems these children are still unable to master some of the very basic cognitive concepts that commensurate their chronological ages. For example, most of the parents reported that their children could not identify and differentiate colours, could not count in the correct order up to 5, would sometimes put on shoes the wrong way around and were unable to use the toilet and bath unassisted. This was also evident in the interaction I had with the children. The majority of these children could not identify and match colours, count in the correct order from one to five or tell their correct ages, with some even failing to identify their sex.

The Informed Parents – Successful Children Project (2008) (in section 3.3.4.1), states that three- to four-year-olds can sort and classify objects by colour, shape, sizes, and so forth. Smith, Cowie and Blades (2015) (see section 3.3.4.1) concur that at three to four years old, children are able to match two or three primary colours. NELDS (2009) (in section 3.3.4.1) also says three- to four-year-olds can count by rote up to 20 and begin to count objects in one-one correspondence up to five. They also recognise and name simple shapes, use measuring utensils and classify and match objects (NELDS, 2009). This, therefore, suggests that children of street vendors are still far from acquiring basic concepts they are expected to have at their age. Because most street vendors' children do not attend preschool, it is possible to assume that they miss out school readiness activities they are expected to acquire before and during the foundation phase of academic learning. Thus, it is not exaggerating to believe that even when they finally get opportunities to go to school, they would not match their counterparts who have grown up in enabling environments where real and state-of-the-art play resource materials have been available during their preschool years. Cognitively, such learners coming from advantaged communities will usually resemble outstanding mastery of concepts such as colours, shapes, matching and counting. Hence, there is reason to believe that children growing up in streets in the company of

their vending parents are disadvantaged almost in every sphere of human development including educational development.

5.5.2.4 Theme 4: Emotional development

From my analysis of the interview data, it is possible to assume that street vendors' children spend the greater part of their early childhood angry. The greatest source of the children's sadness was non-provision of goodies or snacks. Short-tempered children were reported to cry uncontrollably and sometimes turned violent. Some of them threw tantrums as they engaged in fist fights with their parents. When their basic needs were not met, the children, at times, acted out inappropriate behaviour, such as throwing tantrums when parents might have failed to buy goodies for them. Inappropriate human behaviour seems to occur once the child senses danger threats to the very basic of their survival.

What makes the situation more delicate for the young children growing up at vending sites, is the fact that the children see their parents receiving cash daily, but they seem to be reluctant to buy them goodies. While they witness them collecting money from daily sales and at the same time claim that there is no money, it makes children very angry and very abusive. Considering their ages, the young children fail to understand that although their parents have money, it is not enough to pay for everything that their families need. The National Scientific Council on Developing Child (2004) (see section 3.3.1) propounds that poor emotion regulation can impair children's thinking, thereby compromising their judgement and decision making. Boundless (2016) (see section 3.3.1) argues that children who are more negatively focused tend to have more difficulty with regulation than those who are focused on the positive aspects of life. Thompson and Goodwin (2005) (see section 3.3.1) also state that healthy socio-emotional development for young children unfolds in an interpersonal context, that is, positive ongoing relationships with familiar, nurturing adults.

It was evident that children of street vendors do not have many opportunities to play. When children are denied opportunities to play, they lose the therapeutic benefits of play (see section 3.3.5). Play is therapeutic in the sense that it helps children who are in emotional pain, such as children of street vendors, to gain control over their lives (Bruce, Meggit & Grenier, 2010) (see section 3.3.5). It allows children to express negative emotions that pertain to situations over which they have no control in their day-to-day life. These situations may include traumatic experiences and conflict they encounter, such as harassment by the municipal police. After witnessing a raid by municipal policemen, children can play-act the scene, taking on the roles of the policemen who confiscate their mothers' wares. It helps children to manage their feelings and cope with distressing events that occur in their lives.

Added to this, Anderson-McNamee (2010:3) (see section 3.3.5) confirms that play enables children to express their perspectives, experiences and, at times, frustrations. Minnet (2014: 197) indicates that play reduces stress and fear among children. Over and above, play is of prime importance in that it is a safety valve capable of ridding the individual of distressing emotions. This is the catharsis effect of play, which makes it right, proper and inevitable (Frost *et al.*, 2008). Therefore, denying children to play have detrimental effects on their emotional development.

Some participants clearly indicated that there was nothing that pleased their children as they spend most of their time in streets. Their presence in the streets actually makes them sad. The children were also reported to fight over play materials, which also brought moments of sadness during their time in the streets. Strategies used by parents to resolve children's conflict situations also left a lot to be desired (throwing away toys children would be fighting over or beating the children) and also brought sadness. This manner of caregiving threatens the child's emotional development (see section 3.3.2.1). Snowman and McCown (2012) (see section 3.3.2.1) assert that children whose care is

not adequate, unpredictable or undesirable, approach the world with fear and doubt.

Children are critical members of any country as a community whose rights needs maximum protection (UNICEF, 2013). They have the same rights, regardless of sociocultural standing or religious persuasion. According to the UNCRC (1989), the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) as well as the Children's Act (2001), children are important future leaders of any country, and they need to be protected from abuse.

5.5.2.5 Theme 5: Intervention

The majority of participants concurred that employment creation was critical towards stabilisation of their living standards. They all wished they had resources to send their children to preschools where educational development could take place. They stated that the government should create employment for them. Failure to create employment for them meant that they would continue vending and bringing along their children to the streets. All of the participants were also of the view that the government should make access to preschools free, particularly for those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds. According to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008), the government has the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) programme through which tuition fee, levy and examination fee assistance is provided to vulnerable children. These funds can also be made available to pre-schoolers from disadvantaged families, such as those of street vendors. The government, according to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (2008), also assists vulnerable families with basic living costs through programmes such as the Public Works Fund – Cash Transfers to Vulnerable Groups, the Public Assistance Fund, Drought Relief and the Assisted Medical Treatment Order (see section 2.3.2.4.ii). If street vendors' families could be allowed to benefit from these funds, their livelihood can improve.

5.6 SOCIAL WORKER INTERVIEW DATA

An interview with a social worker from the Department of Social Welfare was conducted to collect information regarding street vendors' experiences with young children in street environments. An interview guide (see appendix 8) with prompts used to engage the social worker to narrate her experiences with street vendors with young children on the streets was followed. My interaction with the social worker revealed some interesting variations regarding young children's experiences in urban streets. In this section, I will present the social worker analysed data with verbatim responses on key issues raised.

5.6.1 Data analysis: Social worker data

When asked to briefly explain her job description, the social worker indicated that their role is to protect young children, regardless of race, sociocultural, religious or political persuasion. She pointed out that it was the mandate of the ministry to protect children from all kinds of abuse as she reported,

My job description actually goes along with administering the Children's Act, Chapter 5.06 and our co-mandate as a ministry is the care and protection of children. The Act actually protects all these children.

When asked how often she moves around the city, particularly around areas where vending is rampant, the social worker indicated that she was fully aware of all vending activities taking place around the city. She further pointed out that the majority of street vendors greet her by name. She said:

Actually, every morning I walk, I pass through the CBD to my office. That gives me much time to actually interact with all the street persons who are there. If I had time, if it wasn't raining, I would just give you a snapshot to get into the street and you hear them call me by name, "Mai Ngoni, how are you?"

Being identified by name alone is an indication that, to some extent, the majority of street vendors are aware of the existence of the Office of Social Work and its constitutional mandate to protect children.

When asked what she thinks could be the reason(s) for engaging in vending activities in some selected street environments in Harare, the social worker reported:

Let me actually hastily say, the reason that is propelling people to vend into the CBD, there is the notion that CBD streets are lucrative in terms of business. Passers-by whenever they see things like bananas, apples, like whatever they would want to grab them in the streets.

However, she was quick to indicate that the city by-laws are not properly implemented and that was the main reason why there were a lot of vendors in the CBD. She further suggested that by-laws should actually be implemented to move vendors away from the CBD streets to properly designated vending areas.

When probed to reveal what could be the driving force into vending, the social worker was quick to accuse poverty as the major motivating factor towards vending in the majority of cities and towns in Zimbabwe. She reported: *When you look at this we are also working with poverty. We are a stricken province in terms of poverty.* The social worker also indicated that the CBD is seriously infested with vendors because they think that is where they can find customers with cash to buy their wares. They assume that those walking in the CBD are coming from work and, therefore, must have some money to spend. They think like this, I suspect, because there is a high unemployment rate in Zimbabwe.

When asked to identify the root cause of poverty among the majority of Zimbabwean citizens, the social worker quickly indicated that the lack of employment was one of the greatest challenges the country was facing that

needed urgent redress. She indicated that a lack of industry and sensible economic development in the country was the real reason behind poverty. She reported:

The drive to poverty if I can look from all our spheres of life, we don't have a vibrant industry to absorb these people and you look at it this vending is actually labour underutilisation. If industry was viable, these people would be absorbed into industry, not necessarily looking at the skills and whatever because we would say at a given point where there is industry, yes, they will take the professionals, but they will also take these other people who are not professionals to be doing other things in the industry.

Because there is limited vibrancy in industrial activities in Zimbabwe, it is not surprising that the majority of citizens in the country are unable to find employment. Therefore, they fail to work for their respective families. There is, therefore, a need to resuscitate the industry in order to turn around the Zimbabwean economy

When asked whether she was aware of the presence of young children in the streets, accompanying their vending mothers, the social worker answered in affirmative and said:

This is quite prevalent. This is the mother who is a breadwinner in the household. The father might be there, but is not occupied. Now who to leave this small baby with at home; there is no-one. So they are forced to come with the babies into the street.

She further indicated that the majority of vending mothers, who sometimes double as beggars, use their children to draw sympathy from pedestrians and motorists.

When asked what could be the reason why the majority of street vendors do not seek the services of domestic workers so they could leave their children at home and have free opportunities to attend to customers, the social worker

was quick to point out the multiple effects of poverty. She cited with concern that the majority of vendors do not have money to hire maids or enough food provisions for their families, let alone a surplus for domestic workers. She reported:

We talked about poverty being the major factor. Where there is poverty, you cannot talk of hiring a maid because yourself you cannot even afford something to eat. Can you have something that you can give to the maid? You are doubling the poverty otherwise. They can't.

This indicates that street vendors have convincing reasons for bringing their children to vending sites.

When further probed to indicate what these children eat during their stay at vending sites, the social worker indicated that the mothers bring leftover food from home. She said: *They come with their left over food tied in a plastic. That leftover food will just be given to the child in an open space.* She further pointed out that when the food is finished, the child is likely to pick up food thrown away by passers-by. She reported: *When it's finished, the child is likely to pick up something that has been thrown in the street by passers-by, contaminated, not contaminated, the mother is not concerned. She went on to say:*

Most of the times children of street vendors scavenge food from dustbins. If you look at it closely, the mother is busy concentrating on passers-by so that the bananas, the apples can be bought, but this is a toddler. You know children, they can be anywhere, they will search the bins to see what they can eat.

This indicates that street vendors' children receive seriously inadequate nutrition, and this also confirms that street vending families are living in abject poverty that needs urgent address.

When asked to identify water sources that street vendors draw their drinking water from, the social worker indicated that it was common knowledge that the Harare metropolitan has no clean water for public consumption as she said:

Harare, our metropolitan, has a problem of drinking water. Our water is not safe. You can talk to anyone who is vending there; they would say there is nowhere here you can get safe water because this is a big issue that has affected the whole city.

As a result of this, she further pointed out, street vendors were likely to drink water from unprotected sources in the streets because there is nowhere they can get clean water in Harare. She reiterated that the CBD could not provide clean water for drinking for its inhabitants. This, therefore, suggests that vendors rely on drawing water from unprotected sources to wash their fruit and vegetable merchandise. During outbreaks of water-borne diseases, such as cholera and typhoid, it is possible that such diseases are spread this way, thereby tremendously and dangerously threatening multitudes of livelihoods. Since I have lived and worked in Harare for more than two decades, the allegation that the city of Harare has serious sewer reticulation and water purification problems is true.

When asked to give her opinion regarding the provision of adequate ablution facilities across the city, the social worker quickly pointed out that the issue of public toilets in Harare is a serious health challenge. She further indicated that apart from being scarce, the few available are always locked. She reported:

Public toilets in the metropolitan city of Harare are a major issue. Look at the places where they are vending; as we walk out there, there is one toilet where people are forced to pay. Sometimes it's locked; sometimes it's there, but it's unclean. Toilets can be there, there is one there, but it's overused. If you look at the times that the toilet is cleaned, it's an issue of concern. And what do they do? They have nowhere to go.

When further probed to explain why the toilets are locked, she further indicated that, in general, there is no sufficient water supply to clean them. In the end, most people walking up and down the streets struggle to find appropriate facilities to relieve themselves. When asked to evaluate if the available ablution resource facilities are appropriate for use by young children, she indicated that they were not. She further added that even for adults, they are still very unhealthy for use because they are always dirty with human waste. She said:

They are not at all suitable for young children. Why? Because even for me they are not suitable, so there is no way at one point I would feel pressed and would want to use those toilets. So, I don't think it can be a good place for children to go to.

These responses indicate that the state of the toilet facilities in the CBD may expose street vendors and their young children to serious health hazards.

Regarding street vendors' access to medical aid facilities, the social worker indicated that despite the existence of full 24-hour medical services and several state-of-the-art hospitals across the city of Harare, the majority of vendors cannot afford to pay medical fees. She reported:

We have 24-hour medical services that are there, which are not affordable for these street vendors. They can't, because they [the hospitals] are so expensive. In the event that the child suffers from diarrhoea, an emergency situation, they cannot go there to seek services because they are inhibitive in terms of fees. Parirenyatwa is another referral hospital where at entry you need to pay for the card and they cannot afford it.

She further indicated that in the event that the vendors or their children fall sick, the majority of them choose to use cheaper hospitals near their homes because clinics in high-density suburbs are generally less expensive than the majority of well-resourced, state-of-the-art hospitals located in the CBD. However, she pointed at the existence of the Assistance Medical Treatment

Order that the government has put in place to assist poor people with access to medical attention at no cost. This is, however, only applicable to those who are aware of such a medical aid facility. The majority of street vendors were found not to be aware of the existence of this facility.

When asked to comment on adequacy of play space for street vendors' children, the social worker was quick to indicate that there were no kindergartens in the CBD; hence street vendors' children are then, naturally, forced to play around their mothers' stalls, which are less conducive for early childhood learning. As a result, they end up interacting with adults or even play in the streets, where they risk being run over by vehicles. She reported:

There are no playgrounds for the children and it affects the development of this particular child who is confined into an adult area, not their area. They will just be playing roaming around where the mother is vending, sometimes even trying to encroach into the street where vehicles will be buzzing, which is dangerous again.

When asked to comment on the availability of play resource materials, she indicated that street vendors' children rely on waste objects they pick out from the garbage. She further indicated how these children are further exposed to health hazards when they try to find play objects. She cited an example where street vendors lost three children through eating contaminated food they scavenged from dustbins. She had this to say:

Dangerous things. Sometimes they pick things from the garbage and the first thing they do is actually to put that thing into the mouth. I think if my memory serves me very well, it's four years down the line now, we lost three children in the streets who actually picked something from the dustbin. It was leftover food, and it was contaminated. The children ate, they shared it and they all died.

The social worker narrated how they tried to save their lives by rushing them to Parirenyatwa Hospital, but it was to no avail. She reported: *Honestly, we rushed them to Harare Central Hospital, but it was too late, the children died.*

She also cited another example where young children pick up used condoms and play with them as balloons. She indicated:

Sometimes there are immoral activities that happen in the CBD where people indulge in sexual acts, use condoms and dispose them all over, and these children will pick them up and blow them like balloons.

She was concerned because it is equally a health hazard considering how careless sex workers operating within the CBD are. They do not mind disposing of used sex objects such as condoms and yet they are exposing young innocent children to serious health hazards.

When asked if street vendors' children have friends to play with as they spend the greater part of their early childhood in the streets, the social worker indicated that young children befriend any person around, further exposing them to abuse should they hang around uncultured people. She further indicated that familiarising with strangers is detrimental to the well-being of children who are growing up. She reported:

Like now we have street vendors, street people. Those people, they will study the situation, and they now know the children of these vendors, and they will take advantage because the child will also get used to a person they see every day. Each morning she is on the street, the mother is busy, so they will be playing with these people who can be dangerous. You never know where the play will end.

When asked if street vendors' children have friends of their age group, the social worker was quick to indicate the reason why the three children of street vendors died after eating contaminated food from the dustbin – the

contaminated food was found by one child, but because there were friends around, they quickly shared it and they all died.

When asked to indicate the ways street life affects the children's cognitive development, the social worker was quick to point out that the environment for the child's cognitive development is very critical as she mentioned the issue of limited space for play. Because of this limited space, she reported that children are always confined to their mothers' stalls and this results in children being adapted to adult life, which is not in tandem with their cognitive development. She reported:

Looking at free space for the child's cognitive development to take place, that one is blocked. It's not there. We are taking the child into the wrong place. The child, instead of learning childish things that are in line with their age or growth, are now being forced to adapt to an adult life situation, which is not in tandem with their cognitive development.

When further probed to testify how children's emotional development was affected, the social worker exclaimed that it was terribly affected as some of these children were reported to be doing things that are at variance with their ages. She further alluded that when children are forced to be in a place that is not in tandem with their age and forced to behave in a certain way, their emotional development is adversely affected. She further cited an example of how a child who stays with a commercial sex worker may be affected emotionally as they always watch what will be taking place in this environment. She reported:

A good example, you take a child who stays with a commercial sex worker, boyfriends come in, go out, whatever they do, the child is watching. You'll see that child also adapting to touching private parts of others because that's what the child is used to. You take that child to preschool, she'll be busy stripping others of their pants because she wants to imitate what she is used to see.

Regarding safety, the social worker strongly disputed the view that young children are safe in urban streets. She said:

They are not. You can't bring up a child in the streets. No matter what, come hell, come thunder. Thus, it's a no-go area for a child. It's not safe for these children. This place is a dangerous place for young children. There are a lot of dangerous things that can happen to children, so I condemn totally the upbringing of a child in street environments. I condemn it.

When further probed to explain why she thought it was not safe to bring young children to the streets, she further indicated that street environments are dangerous because the environment is open to all different kinds of people, such as thieves, prostitutes, murders, hooligans and traffickers. So, to think these types of uncultured people as appropriate personalities the children are exposed to for the greater part of their early childhood development is not only detrimental to their growth, but also an insult to the essence of humanity, regardless of racial inclination.

When probed further to specify types of risks young children are exposed to during their time in streets, the social worker indicated sexual abuse, human trafficking, eating contaminated foods and physical harm caused by vehicles since young children will be playing along street pavements. She reported:

One, they can be sexually abused while the mother is busy vending. Secondly, they can be poisoned in terms of contaminated food that they can eat. Thirdly, because traffickers are planning right, day and night, they know children at risk. These are children at risk, they can be trafficked – the mother can be lured or maybe given something and the child can be taken away. So those are the dangers our children are exposed to.

When asked to give her views regarding how street vendors try to ensure safety of their children in streets, the social worker quickly pointed out that there was no way they could ensure safety since street vendors are always battling with the municipal police. Young children are always exposed to life-

threatening conditions because in most cases, the mothers leave their children unattended when they are running away to evade arrests. Should they decide to take along their babies on their backs, it is possible that they could fall down as well. She said:

They can't try to ensure safety as long as they don't have baby minders or security for their children for accountability in case anything happens. There is no safety there. If you remember when the police were in force, they were... chasing each other and the person at risk of getting in danger is the child. The mother can run, but sometimes there is likelihood of the baby holder to get lose, the child falls down and can be run over. In the event the policeman wants to beat the mother, he can miss the head of the mother and hit the head of the child. So, there is no security because the place where they are exposing the children is wrong... and as much as this woman can try to secure safety of the child, she is actually exposing the child to risks.

When the social worker was asked whether these children attend day care or kindergarten she had this to say: *These are children who are supposed to be in kindergarten, but they are not there.* When asked to explain why these children were not able to access early childhood education centres, she indicated that the areas these vendors come from, such as Hopley and Epworth, were haphazardly planned settlements that had no areas dedicated for day care. When the children are brought to the streets by their mothers, they also do not have access because these streets do not have such facilities. She also pointed out that children of street vendors are being deprived of their right to attend kindergarten. She further mentioned that even those children already enrolled in primary and secondary school, whose mothers are vendors, sometimes struggle to concentrate on their school work as they would remembering and thinking about the vending activities. She had this to say:

We are depriving these children of their right to kindergarten. Even in schooling, there are some who are now typical vendors; they are not

concentrating in school. Once school finishes, they are into the streets with uniforms. So, is this the rightful thing we are doing? As a result, these children may perform poorly at school.

When asked to briefly explain the role of their organisation regarding young children who are spending most of their time on the streets, the social worker indicated that their key role is to take action in care of children and to protect them, regardless of race, sociocultural, religious or political persuasion. She pointed out that it is the mandate of the ministry to protect children from all kinds of abuse by administering the Children's Act where section 14 warrants them to remove these children from the street to places of safety.

She further pointed out that if the section is administered, the mother is charged with negligence of bringing the child to the streets and exposing the child to a plethora of risks in the streets. The state takes temporary measures to remove this child from the mother until she reforms. She had this to report:

We have Section 14 authority that warrants us to remove those children from the street to places of safety. If you want to provoke the mother, remove the child from her and you can see how angry that mother can be. It's a way of trying to tell the mother, "You are not supposed to be in the streets with this child. If you continue coming here, you've proved that you're not a good mother, you can't care for the child, this child is now a state's child." And we'll write a Probation Officer's Report to Court to say this mother is negligent and is not able to look after the child, is exposing the child to risks in the streets, so the state has taken temporary measures to remove this child from this particular mother until she reforms, until she desists getting into places like this at this particular time.

When the social worker was asked to suggest intervention strategies that can be used to solve the problem of bringing young children to the streets, she quickly pointed out that it was a multi-task that needed a multi-sectoral approach since street vending is an economical issue. She said: *One, this is a multi-task. It needs multi-sectorial approach. In fact, holistic, where we are*

looking at the city authority, the city fathers. Secondly, it's an economical issue. She pointed out that our by-laws in the country are so relaxed in the sense that no-one was enforcing them effectively, as she indicated: Our by-laws are so relaxed to the extent that we have by-laws that prohibit that but no-one is enforcing them. They are there; let them be enforced.

She also suggested putting in place policies that look at appropriate areas where children should be raised, considering how other countries are handling the issue. She reported:

We have able-bodied people who want to vend for their families because honestly the push factor is they want survival strategies, but they are having survival strategies in the wrong place. Why can't we have policies that will look at this issue to say which areas children should be raised in?

She also suggested that the government of Zimbabwe should take a leaf from other countries to see how they are dealing with such issues, as she reported:

Let's learn lessons from the region, internationally, on how street vendors are raising their children because Zimbabwe is part of the global village. Whatever is good for the children elsewhere, let us also copy that and we will bring in and have by-laws that are very prohibitive for any woman with a child to be seen vending in the street.

When further probed on what should be done for children of street vendors to access ECE centres, the social worker suggested the need for teamwork between the Department of Social Welfare and Education to establish early childhood education centres in the CBD closer to the vending sites where children can go while the mothers do their vending and collect the children at the end of the day. She reported: *This can be done by the Departments of Social Welfare and Education. We do teamwork. If we have places where we can see proper ECDs in the CBD, closer then we actually do our assessment, remove those children.*

She also pointed out that there was provision for BEAM in their ministry to assist children from disadvantaged families to access education. She indicated.

There is a provision in our ministry for BEAM; if these people are really poor, then they should benefit from the BEAM coffers in the ministry. We take their children to an ECE centre. Let the mother do the vending while the child is at the ECE. When they finish, they collect their child and they go home. I think there are ECEs that can keep children up to four p.m.

However, the provision of BEAM does not cater for children in the pre-primary phase; therefore, there is a need for the government to consider availing funds to cover children in this phase.

5.5.3 Social worker data interpretation

In this section, I will discuss themes and categories that have emerged from the data collected from the social worker.

Table 5.5: Themes and categories from social worker data

Theme	Categories
Unemployment/poverty	Lack of resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hiring maids • Insufficient dietary provisions • No access to ECD centres • Lack of play materials • Lack of health services and prepaid medical aid
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical harm
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health hazard

Cognitive development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited provision for play
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited play materials and play mates
Intervention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment creation • Availing free education to ECD for all children • Introducing drop-in centres

5.5.3.1 Theme 1: Unemployment/poverty

According to the findings, unemployment has emerged to be the major driving force for many people to venture into vending. Due to the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe, the majority of Zimbabweans could not afford decent jobs, hence the motivation to trade in anything in order to survive (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011:4) (see section 2.3.1.3.). As indicated earlier on, due to unemployment, many families are living below the poverty datum line. Many families such as street vendors' are incapacitated to provide basic necessities for their children. The majority of vending mothers bring children along because they cannot afford to hire the services of domestic workers to look after their children. It is not realistic to expect vending mothers to hire domestic employees, since they are struggling to feed their own families, let alone having additional people to overstretch their already limited funds. What makes the situation worse is that some of these street vendors walk along streets using young children to beg for help. The use of young children, I suspect, is to draw sympathy from potential buyers coming from their respective workplaces. Such a development is a clear indication of the dire need for urgent redress because the majority of Zimbabweans are living in abject poverty.

According to the Report of the Executive Director of the Commission on Children (2014), there is a high cost of poverty for children as poor children are more likely to lack descent accommodation, sufficient food, health and

sanitation services and overall good health. Being exposed to these multiple challenges may have far-reaching consequences (Evans & Kim, 2012). The reason for poverty being so stressful to children is because of the settings they live in (Evans & Kim, 2012). Evans and Ki (2012) further warn that poverty is so powerful that it can alter developmental avenues for cognitive, socio-emotional and physical health outcomes. As a result, when children from poor families start formal schooling, the majority lag behind academically, socially and physically, compared to their counterparts from affluent families (see section 2.5.1). One implication of the ecological context of childhood poverty is that disadvantaged children not only face a greater confluence of cumulative risk factors but do so across multiple domains of risk (see section 3.2.1).

In some instances, vending mothers bring food leftovers tied in plastics to feed their children during the day. Added to this, and as a matter of concern, the majority of vendors' children scavenge from dustbins. This is also a sign of poverty. Physical and psychosocial settings are more likely to be inadequate across the environments directly experienced by the child (e.g. home, streets, childcare, school and neighbourhood) (see section 3.2.1). Moreover, these settings are often embedded in relatively more impoverished contexts inhabited by other important adults and peers in the child's life. For example, street vendors are more likely to work in unhealthy settings that are also stressful (see section 3.2.1). Thus, disadvantaged children, such as the children of street vendors, experience more suboptimal environmental conditions and do so in a wider array of developmentally salient contexts (Evans & Kim, 2012).

5.5.3.2 Theme 2: Safety

The second theme focuses on the safety of children as they spend most of their early childhood development phase accompanying their vending mothers to the urban streets of Harare. Children are in the streets not by their own choice. As stated earlier, poverty is the driving force for people to engage in street vending and taking along their children in order to balance looking after

their children and their vending activities. The findings indicate that young children are surviving under serious life-threatening conditions, such as vehicle and human traffic, sexual abuse, human trafficking, consuming contaminated food and playing with dangerous objects, to mention only a few. In addition, as mentioned earlier, children can get hurt during skirmishes between the vendors and the municipal police, who appear determined to bring order in the streets. Where accidents occur, the children's development may be affected. For example, a head injury can cause cognitive delay (see section 2.5.2.3). All these are pointers to the fact that the children of street vendors are exposed to environments that are inherently dangerous, an issue needs urgent redress (see section 2.5.2.3). Therefore, poverty also has an impact on the child's right to safety (see section 5.5.1.2).

In addition, street vendors' children are not safe as they are exposed to a plethora of health hazards since they spend the whole day in streets. The findings indicate that the water crisis is one of the major health hazards the Harare metropolitan city is facing. The majority of buildings in Harare go for several days without clean water. This, therefore, incites vendors into using any kind of water facility available. Street vendors and their young children are likely to drink water from unprotected sources in the streets because there is nowhere one can get safe water in Harare. Some of the street vendors, according to the findings, drink water from non-sanitised water sources which could be a serious health hazard given the recent outbreak of cholera and typhoid in some sections of the Harare suburban environments. Since the problem of water purity is an area of major concern to the generality of residents in Harare, it is not surprising that continued vending activities in the CBD is a dangerous time bomb that can wipe out several lives if allowed to continue unabated. A right to healthcare, safe drinking water and a clean environment is one of the fundamental rights of children, as stated by the UNCRC (see section 2.5.2.2). According to Maslow (in Huit, 2008), once a person's physiological needs are relatively satisfied, their safety needs take precedence and dominate behaviour. Health and well-being constitute safety needs for a human being (Huit, 2008).

The findings also reveal that the majority of vendors' children scavenge from dustbins and the first thing they do, is to put things they find into their mouths. As a result, three children died after eating contaminated leftover food. Because young children struggle to understand the dangers associated with eating contaminated food, it is possible to assume that street vendors' children are always exposed to serious health hazards. This needs urgent redress. The findings also indicate that there are people in the streets who indulge in sexual acts and dispose condoms all over, and the children of street vendors sometimes pick them up and blow them up like balloons. All these are pointers that life on the street continues to have unfavourable effect on the health of children living on the streets, particularly young children below ten years of age (see section 2.4.4.3). The Children's Act 5, 06, Section 14 warrants the removal of children and young persons such as the children of street vendors from the street to places of safety (see section 2.3.2).

Related to this health challenge is the problem of inadequate ablution facilities for public usage. The only toilets available, according to the findings, are pay-toilets that are generally locked and protected. It is common knowledge, however, that the majority of vendors cannot afford paying for toilet use when they are struggling just to get food. Toilets that are always open for public usage are usually very far away from vending areas. Not only are they far away, but they are also heavily congested and completely unsafe for child use. In the end, vendors end up relieving themselves at blurred street corners and environments. The absence of clean ablution facilities is not only a health hazard to vendors and their children, but a real hygienic threat to the health and well-being of all the city dwellers (see section 2.5.2.2). Failure to provide appropriate sanitary facilities for citizens is a direct breach of protocols towards the protection of humankind from diseases (see section 2.5.2.2). According to the ecological theory, environmental conditions originating outside the family are likely to be the most powerful and pervasive disrupters of family processes affecting human development throughout the life course (see section 3.2.1).

Another serious health concern affecting street vendors and their children is exposure to medical aid schemes. The findings reveal that medical facilities in the CBD are not affordable to the majority of vendors as they are living in abject poverty. They are generally also unable to provide medical cover for their respective families. This is the case, notwithstanding the availability of affordable government-funded medical aid organisations, the majority of street vendors operating in the majority of urban streets in Harare still cannot manage to visit these. There is, however, the Assisted Medical Treatment Order facility that is extended to underprivileged members of the Zimbabwean community to have access to free medical attention in public hospitals in the country. This is, however, only applicable to those with knowledge on the existence of this medical aid scheme available to them. There is, therefore, a need for the government to have awareness campaigns to ensure that vulnerable families, such as families of street vendors, are made aware of the existence of the Assisted Medical Treatment Order (see section 2.2.2.4.ii) so that they can also benefit from these funds to improve their livelihoods as a lack of access to health facilities violates the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013), which clearly states that every child has a right to healthcare services (see section 2.2.2.2).

5.5.3.3 Theme 3: Cognitive and emotional development

The findings indicate that children of street vendors have limited provision for play due to their continued confinement to their mothers' stalls, and this results in children being adapted to adult life, which is not in tandem with their cognitive development. Early childhood development normally occurs through play. Thus, the absence of play areas undermines learner educational development. As indicated earlier (in section 5.5.1.3) play is a critical ingredient of child educational development as opportunities for play are of paramount for young children in their discoveries of their world. All aspects of development are enhanced through children's play activities, particularly the affective and cognitive domains (see section 3.3.5). As stated earlier, Piaget (1962) (in section 3.3.5) asserts that play not only is enjoyable but also contributes significantly to children's cognitive development. He believes that

children cannot learn unless they are constantly interacting with their environment, making mistakes and then learning from these (see section 5.5.1.3). Children acquire an understanding of different concepts such as colour, size, shape and texture through play, and this helps them to learn relationships as they, for instance, try to put a square object in a round opening or a large object in a small space (see section 3.3.3).

The findings also indicate that children's emotional development is terribly affected as some of these children were reported to be doing things that are at variance with their ages. The children are being forced to be in a place that is not in tandem with their ages. As a result, their emotional development is adversely affected (see section 3.3.1). When children are denied opportunities to play, they lose the therapeutic benefits of play (see section 3.3.5). As stated earlier, play allows children to express negative emotions that pertain to situations over which they have no control in their day-to-day life (see section 3.3.5). Therefore, denying children to play, has detrimental effects on their emotional development (see section 3.3.5).

5.5.3.4 Theme 4: Intervention

The findings reveal that a multi-sectoral approach to intervention is ideal since street vending is an economical issue. There is a need for teamwork between the Departments of Social Welfare and Education and city councils to establish ECD centres in the CBD closer to the vending sites where children can go while their mothers do their vending and collect the children at the end of the day. The findings also indicate that our by-laws in the country are relaxed in the sense that no-one is effectively enforcing them. So there is an urgent need for enforcing these laws. The findings also reveal that putting in place policies that look at appropriate areas where children should be raised, considering how other countries are handling the issue, is another way of intervention.

5.4 SYNTHESIS

In this section, I give a synthesis of the themes that have emerged from the different data sets so as to consolidate the findings of this study. The following themes were recurring:

- Unemployment/poverty
- Safety
- Health and nutrition
- Cognitive development
- Emotional development
- Intervention

5.6.1 Unemployment/poverty

From the analysis of the information gathered, it is clear that unemployment, which translates into poverty, is the major driving force for many people to engage in street vending. The general economic crisis in Zimbabwe that has been influenced by the collapse of industrial activity in the country resulted in high levels of unemployment among the generality of Zimbabweans. Despite the fact that the majority of the vending participants confirmed that they are less educated, one cannot lose sight of the fact that industries also need general hand labourers, such as gardeners. Such occupations do not require much professional skills and qualifications. Should Zimbabwe have vibrant industrial activity, it would be reasonable to believe that the majority of vendors could have been offered opportunities to secure such employment to fend for their families. The general absence of employment in the country has given rise to a lot of illegal vending as well. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), decisions made in macrosystems and implemented in exosystems (parents' workplaces) may influence a child's life indirectly (see section 3.2.1). For example, some parents were laid off from their work because of ESAP, and this had a negative impact on the child as the parents were unable to meet the basic needs of the child. Many parents who could not afford basic necessities of life, such as food and shelter, engaged in street vending,

bringing their young children to vending sites in the streets because they could not afford to hire maids to look after their children.

Poverty, thus, is the root cause of all human suffering because the affected individuals have overwhelming challenges to access health facilities, financial and material resources to access education for their children, opportunities to secure adequate food provisions, clothing and the general familial upkeep. Because the majority of vending parents are operating on very limited budgetary provisions, they are unable to send their children to day-care centres. Neither can they afford to pay domestic workers to look after their children while they are vending. Therefore, it is against this background that I am convinced that poverty is a multiple problem releaser that requires a multi-faceted approach to solve as research has consistently found negative associations between poverty during childhood and academic outcomes (see section 2.5.1.1).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) states that the family invariably becomes the medium through which economic hardship permeates the child's life and shapes the course of subsequent educational development (see section 3.2.1). Different organisations, whether governmental or non-governmental, the private sector, charity organisations, the business community or interested privileged individuals, should come up with plans to assist in dicing the wide spread of poverty as this might have adverse effects both on the economic and socio-political divides of our country.

5.6.2 Safety

From the data gathered, it has become evident that child safety in urban streets is difficult to guarantee. The majority of street vendors are facing serious challenges regarding the general upkeep of their children. So, bringing them to their vending sites is not an option, but the only way to balance taking care of their children as well as fending for the family – along the process exposing their children to unsafe environmental conditions. As I

sieved through my observation and interview data, I discovered that these young children are not safe at all, particularly during peak hours of their vending expeditions. Physical harm is not the only danger that street vendors' children are exposed to during their time playing around the vending stalls of their parents. They are also exposed to several health challenges, thus compromising their safety as long as they spend much of their time playing around in public places. Because they are exposed mainly to fruit and vegetables their parents are selling, it is not surprising that they may end up eating half-rotten fruits. As the social worker indicated, at times the vendors' children scavenge from dustbins. She testified that at one point the deaths of three young children were recorded, and it was established that they had eaten contaminated food they had scavenged from dustbins. From the above submissions, it is clear that as long as young children spend most of their time in streets, they are exposed to life-threatening dangers, which might not be the case should they have been allowed to grow up under the guidance of trained personnel at day-care centres or in their home environments.

Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994:579) state that the conditions of environments and events that are outside the family (micro-settings) are likely to be the most powerful and pervasive disrupters of family processes affecting development throughout life (see section 3.2.1). Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see section 2.4.4.3) indicates safety and security needs as fundamental towards human achievement. Many children under the age of five are not achieving their developmental potential because of multiple adversities marked by, among others, the lack of safe environments (see section 2.5.2.3).

5.6.3 Health and nutrition

It has been noted with concern that the majority of street vendors are struggling to provide adequate and well-balanced dietary provisions for their respective families. Apart from spending the greater part of their early childhood in street environments, the majority of young children survive on porridge that is daily prepared early in the morning and brought to vending sites as packed lunches for the children. Despite trying to appear as if the

food is adequate and well balanced, this position is seriously undermined by the evidence that the majority of street vendors' children scavenge from dustbins. The children would not scavenge waste materials if they had enough food both at home and during their time in the streets.

As a matter of concern, I posit that failure to provide adequate food for children does not only initiate children to starve but also promotes inadequacy in the physical development of children. According to the submissions of the social worker, scavenging from dustbins and other waste materials within the vending vicinities is a clear indication that poor people are exposed to a plethora of challenges that require multiple ways of controlling the wide spread of human suffering in Zimbabwe. From the above statements it is clear that street vendors' children are exposed to inadequate food and dietary provisions, which also has the possibility to undermine their cognitive development later in their academic experiences.

Apart for being exposed to limited food resource materials, street vendors' children are subjected to health challenges as well. Chief among them are playing with dangerous objects that may cause harm as they play, exposure to dirty and contaminated waste materials, dirty or untreated water and exposure to the temptation to eat contaminated food scavenged from dustbins. According to the social worker, street children are further exposed to serious health hazards emanating from the high rate of immoral behaviour or prostitution in a selected group of women and men. There is evidence indicating that street vendors' children are exposed to a plethora of health and nutritional challenges that need urgent redress. Poor health and nutrition in this critical period, as stated earlier, can lead to irreversible stunting and developmental delays, resultant poor cognitive development and, ultimately, lower educational and labour market performance (see section 2.5.2.1).

5.6.4 Cognitive development

The findings also revealed that the children of street vendors have limited cognitive competences. From the analysis I made, it seems that these children are still unable to master some of the very basic cognitive concepts that commensurate their chronological ages. For example, the majority of these children could not identify and match colours, count in the correct order from one to five or tell their correct ages, with some even failing to identify their sex (which children much younger than them can do well). Indications from both the observation and the interview data are that the majority of street vendors' children are also exposed to serious limitations with regard to cognitive development. Play, for instance, is a critical avenue through which young children develop intellectual skills that are helpful later in their academic life experience. Piaget (1962) (in section 3.3.3) opines that children have all the cognitive mechanisms to learn on their own, and the interaction with their environment allows them to do so. He believes a child cannot learn unless they are constantly interacting with their environment, making mistakes and then learning from them.

Because of poverty, the majority of street vendors cannot afford to provide play resource materials for their children. These parents may not be able to afford to buy toys when, in fact, they are at pains to provide enough food for their respective families. The absence of play resources, such as dolls and toys, is an indication that, to some extent, street vendors' children are exposed to limited learning experiences because of their prolonged periods playing around their mothers' vending stalls. Added to this, the absence of well-defined play centres within the radius of vending communities in suburban environments has also been indicated as another impediment factor crippling intellectual development opportunities of young children who spend most of their early childhood in streets. It was evident that some parents surviving on vending do not value the importance of play as one of the avenues through which young children learn. Therefore, there is reason to believe that street environments are nowhere closer to creating opportunities for early childhood education among pre-primary learners during the early

childhood development phase as it has been established through a number of studies that access to play materials is related to children's cognitive development and children's IQ at three years of age.

5.6.5 Emotional development

The findings clearly indicate that young children's presence in the streets actually makes them sad. The children often exhibited emotional distress through throwing temper tantrums, constant fights with parents, as well as crying uncontrollably when parents delayed attending to their needs. They reacted angrily in order to force parents to meet their demands. Some of them even turned violent in order to force their parents to buy them food they prefer. The deduction can therefore be made that street environments nurture young children into violent behaviour patterns as they grow up, and they can generally become emotionally disfigured mainly because of unsatisfied needs.

The children also yelled, cried and felt sad during skirmishes between their mothers and the municipal police, and this brought about much distress during their stay in the streets. Fighting over play objects with peers was also noted to be the order of the day. The children cried a lot when such arguments arose, and this also brought moments of sadness during their daily experiences. The way adults intervened to such arguments also left a lot to be desired as they would hit the children or throw away the play object they would be fighting over, causing even more emotional damage.

It was evident that the children of street vendors do not have much opportunities to play and, as a result, they lose the therapeutic benefits of play, which might have helped them gain control over their lives and express negative emotions that pertain to situations over which they have no control in their day-to-day experiences. Thus, there is reason to suspect that these are only some of the signs of serious emotional challenges that have adverse effects on the ultimate well-being of the children later in their school and academic lives.

5.6.6 Intervention strategies

As indicated previously, I am suggesting that since poverty has been indicated as a multiple problem releaser, there is a need for wider consultation with various government departments (education, health and social welfare) and other stakeholders, such as local authorities, to come up with strategies to curb the wide spread of the scourge of poverty among selected underprivileged communities of the Zimbabwean community. For this reason, I am suggesting that the government of Zimbabwe should declare free primary education and maximise the establishment of early childhood learning facilities equipped with basic resource materials to cater for less privileged members of the Zimbabwean society.

Added to this, it is also important that local authorities provide land where the business community and charity organisations construct day-care centres where working parents, including vendors, can drop their children and pick them up late in the day, for at least all the working days in a week. The Department of Health is also expected to provide clean sanitary facilities, such as constructing more ablution facilities in all areas where there is a hive of business activities. Lastly, the Department of Social Welfare should provide all possible legal frameworks to take care of all children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds in an effort to create equal opportunities for all children, regardless of socio-economic, cultural, religious and political persuasion.

5.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study sought to find out what the impact of the urban community environment on young children's development is. In this chapter, data from observations of street vendors and their children, interviews with parents and social worker and interactions with children were analysed and interpreted. The data gave me insight into the life experiences of street vendors' children who spend much of their time on the streets with their vending mothers. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory was used as the main

framework that guided the study and enabled me to scrutinise the development of street vendors' children within interactive, multi-layered and changing environments (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), children are shaped not only by their personal attributes but also by the ever-widening environments in which they develop. This was quite evident in this study. Children are growing up in street environments, not because of their own choice but because of the environmental conditions and events originating outside the family, which are powerful and pervasive disrupters of family processes affecting human development throughout the life course (Bronfenbrenner (1979) (see section 3.2.1).

Policies laid down by the government (macrosystems) resulted in many people losing their jobs. In an effort by companies (exosystems) to implement the policies, many people were retrenched from their jobs and became incapacitated to provide basic necessities for their families. Because of unemployment, many people were living under the poverty datum line. Poverty then became the major driving force for many people to engage in street vending, resulting in their bringing young children to spend much of their childhood on the streets.

It has been evident that by spending much of their time on the streets, children are exposed to several health challenges, thus, compromising their safety as long as they spend much of their time playing in public places. The majority of street vendors are struggling to provide adequate and well-balanced dietary provisions for their children. Apart from being exposed to limited food resource materials, street vendors' children are also subjected to health challenges. Chief among them are playing with dangerous objects that may cause harm as they play, exposure to dirty and contaminated waste materials, dirty or untreated water and exposure to the temptation to eat contaminated food scavenged from dustbins. As far as their cognitive development is concerned, these children are unable to master some of the very basic cognitive concepts that commensurate their chronological ages.

Over and above this, the majority of street vendors' children are distressed most of the time they are playing around their mothers' vending stalls in urban streets.

Since poverty has been indicated as a multiple problem releaser, there is a need for wider consultation with various government departments (education, health and social welfare) and other stakeholders, such as local authorities, to come up with strategies to curb the wide spread of the scourge of poverty among underprivileged communities of the Zimbabwean community.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5, findings and analysis of the data I had gathered through observation and interviews were presented, as well as the subsequent interpretation of the study findings. Recurring themes that have emerged provided answers to questions about the impact of the urban street community on young children's development in relation to the research questions and the conceptual, contextual and theoretical framework.

This chapter summarises all the information gathered in the literature review and empirical investigation. The essence is to understand the impact of street environments on the cognitive and emotional development of street vendors' young children. Recommendations that have emerged from the findings and those for further research are also presented.

6.2 CHAPTER SUMMARIES

In this section, I present brief summaries of each of the five preceding chapters, highlighting areas of significance in my research study.

6.2.1 Chapter 1

In this chapter, I presented the background to the study, which pointed at the increasing numbers of young children at vending sites as a serious cause for concern. I also presented the rationale for the study, the problem statement and research questions and aims of the study, which guided my study. A brief review of literature related to street vending, which include, among others, factors leading to street vending in Zimbabwe, the nature of street vending and street life of children of street vendors, is presented. The ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner, the psychosocial theory of Erikson and the

cognitive theory of Piaget, which guided the study were also presented. Lastly, I presented a summary of the research methodology used in the study.

6.2.2 Chapter 2

In chapter 2, I presented the contextual and conceptual framework for the study. The contextual framework gave insight into historical events and factors that prevailed in Zimbabwe before and after independence that led to the proliferation of street vending, while the conceptual analysis of street vending facilitated an understanding of the nature of street vending in Harare and the life experiences of the children of street vendors. I also highlighted the importance of the early years as they are of crucial importance for every child's development (see section 2.4.4). The impact of poverty on young children's development was also highlighted. Lastly, I presented the importance of adequate nutrition, healthy living standards and safety for young children's well-being.

6.2.3 Chapter 3

In this chapter, I presented the theoretical framework that underpinned my study. My study was guided by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, Erikson's psychosocial theory and Piaget's cognitive theory. Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory provided me with the context for studying street vendors' children as the theory claims that the child is situated within the "nested context" in which human development occurs (see section 3.1). Erikson's theory focused on the quality of caregiving, particularly in relation to the demands posed by society as expected and acceptable behaviours from the child at a given stage. Piaget's cognitive theory provided a framework for exploring the cognitive developmental level of children of street vendors, highlighting the various characteristics of children in the sensorimotor and preoperational stages and throwing light on what should be expected for children at each level of their growth and development. Lastly, the importance of play was also highlighted as it is an essential and critical part of all children's development (see section 3.3.5).

6.2.4 Chapter 4

The chapter focused on the research design and methodology that was used to explore the impact of street life on young children's development. As part of the research design, I explained the interpretive paradigm that guided my study, the qualitative research approach and the case study design. I further gave a motivation on why a phenomenological approach was appropriate for my study. The research methods section constituted sampling, the research site, the participants, data collection methods, data analysis, the role of the researcher and trustworthiness. Lastly, issues of ethical considerations, which include informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, were highlighted.

6.2.5 Chapter 5

In this chapter, I presented the analysis of the data I had gathered through observation and interviews. I also presented the findings and the subsequent interpretation. Emerging recurring themes, which cut across the four participant categories, provided answers on the impact of the urban street community on young children's development. These were unemployment/poverty, nutrition, health and safety, cognitive and emotional development and, lastly, intervention strategies that can be employed to mitigate challenges that children of street vendors experience in their development. Lastly, a synthesis of the key findings was presented in relation to the main research question and sub-questions and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (see section 3.2), which provides the broad theoretical framework underpinning this study.

6.3 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

This section gives a summary of the literature findings from chapter 2 and 3, as well as the empirical findings from chapter 5.

6.3.1 Summary of literature findings

Unemployment and poverty are the driving force for many people to engage in street vending (see sections 5.5.2.1 and 5.5.3.1). Due to the economic downturn, many people started to live below the poverty datum line, which is the major characteristic of street vendor life (see section 1.5.3). The most basic understanding of child poverty is a lack of income for the families or households of children (see section 2.5.1). A lack of income prevents people from acquiring the goods and services to fulfil basic needs and improve their standard of living (see section 2.5.1). Literature reveals that poverty is complex, multidimensional, interwoven and can be measured in different ways. Poverty is still prevalent in most families in Zimbabwe. Children of street vendors are a vulnerable group as they live in harsh economic conditions with a high incidence of poverty (see section 2.5.1). Due to poverty, many parents who could not afford basic necessities of life, such as food and shelter, engaged in street vending, bringing their young children to vending sites in the streets because they could not afford to hire maids to look after their children.

Poverty has adverse effects on children's development (see section 2.5.1.1). Children who grow up in poverty experience "double jeopardy" (see section 2.5.1.1). They are not only exposed to risks in their families and communities, including inadequate nutrition and diseases, but they also experience more serious consequences to risks than their counterparts from high-income families (see section 2.5.1.1). Poverty is the main cause of stress to children and families and affects their successful adjustment to developmental tasks as children raised in poor families are at risk of academic and social problems as well (see section 2.5.1.1).

In terms of the theoretical framework, my study was guided by the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner, the psychosocial theory of Erikson and the cognitive theory of Piaget. The ecological theory of Bronfenbrenner provided a context for studying the development of street vendors' children as the child is situated within the "nested contexts" in which human development occur (see

section 3.2.1). Developmental outcomes of children are consequences of the influences of various ecological settings surrounding the child as human development is inseparable from the environmental contexts in which the individual develops (see 3.2.1). Bronfenbrenner (1979) postulates that the family invariably becomes the medium through which economic hardship permeates the child's life and shapes the course of subsequent development (see 3.2.1). For example, the economy meltdown as well as the stringent policies of ESAP saw many people (retrenched workers from both public and private sectors) moving into the uncontrolled informal, poverty-driven sector, and for that matter, street vending, in urban centres in the country. Due to poverty, they could not afford to hire maids to look after their children, resulting in their bringing their young children to vending sites.

Erikson's theory centred around the quality of the interaction between the child and the caregivers, which determines the outcome of the child's personality, particularly in relation to the demands posed by the society as expected and acceptable behaviours from the child at a given age and stage. If children are raised in non-conducive environments, care may be harsh, inconsistent, unpredictable and unreliable. The children might then develop a sense of mistrust and will not have confidence in the world around them or in their abilities to influence events (see section 3.3.2). In addition, if children are often criticised, overly controlled or denied the opportunity to assert themselves, they may feel incapable and may then become overly dependent upon adults, lack self-esteem and feel a sense of shame or doubt in their capabilities (see section 3.3.2).

Piaget's theory provided insight into understanding the impact of street environments on the cognitive development of children of street vendors. Piaget believes that the child's need for interaction with the physical environment is pertinent for the processes of assimilation, accommodation and adaptation. Street environments may not be conducive for children to make explorations as much as they would want to and, as a result, delay development of critical achievements at this stage

Highlights of the importance of the early years were provided. The World Bank and United Nation Population Division, WHO (2011) (in section 2.4.2) highlights that what takes place during the early years is of vital importance for every child's development, as early years form the basis of personality, social behaviour and capacity to learn and nurture oneself as an adult. Ford (2013) (in section 2.4.2) furthermore indicates that the early years are crucial for the development of a secure emotional attachment and skills that help children to succeed in life. UNICEF (2013) posits that a good foundation in early years makes a difference through adulthood and even gives the next generation a better start. Feeney, Christensen and Moravcik (2010) (in section 1.1) aptly remark that the experiences and circumstances which children, in their first year three years of life are exposed to, have a determining impact on their development. Hence, the circumstances of children who grow up on the street are very concerning as this may have a negative impact on their development.

Several consequences of exposing young children to street life have been highlighted. These include aggressive and antisocial behaviour, conduct disorders, communication difficulties, adjustment problems, poor self-concept and low self-esteem (see section 1.5.3). Street environments also have detrimental effects on children's nutrition, health and safety (see sections 2.5.2.1, 2.5.2.2 and 2.5.2.3). Even though some street children usually get enough to eat, they do not have a nutrient-rich diet and this leads to malnutrition. Vendors often feed their children on junk food as it is the food that is easily available, relatively cheap and attractively packaged and promoted, and all children are particularly attracted to these foods of little nutritional value (see section 2.5.2.1). This can lead to undernutrition, which leads to stunted growth and deficiency diseases, such as rickets, scurvy, kwashiorkor and anaemia. Hakim and Rahman (2015) (in section 2.5.2.1) confirm that the greater bulk of children who live in street environments have been found to be underweight gainers due to consumption of scanty nutritious food. Nutritional status is a key factor of children's health, physical and emotional well-being and cognitive development.

Life in the streets also has an adverse effect on the health of children living on the streets, especially young children below ten years as they have a higher risk of experiencing health challenges because their young age increases their vulnerability (see section 2.5.2.2). Regular physical and mental stress and living in environments not protected against health hazards make children living in the streets highly prone to illnesses. Polluted drinking water and a lack of sanitation services are also two environmental factors that can make street environments unsafe for human beings especially young children (see section 2.5.2.2). The poor living conditions of streets make children highly vulnerable to illnesses (see section 2.5.2.2).

By spending much of their time on the streets, children are exposed to environments that are inherently dangerous as safety of children is particularly threatened and undermined by injuries due to being knocked over by both human and vehicle traffic (see section 2.5.5.3). Where accidents occur, according to section 2.5.5.3, children's development may be affected as for example, a head injury can cause cognitive delay. Over and above this, a sick child will not play, resulting in missing the developmental benefits of play (see section 2.5.5.3). Research shows that many children under the age of five are not reaching their developmental potential because of multiple adversities, marked by inadequate nutrition, poor health and unsafe environments (see section 2.5.5.3).

6.3.2 Key empirical findings

All of the participant vendors were female persons, whose ages ranged between 20 and 39 years. Out of the six participants, three were married and three single. Five participants had at least two children, while the sixth had only one. All of the participants lived in densely populated areas around Harare, with low-income earners. Regarding educational achievement, all of the participants had very poor educational backgrounds, which did not enable them to secure professional jobs. Each of the participants had a three-year-old child at the vending site who did not attend day care in their respective communities. Four of these children were girls, while two were boys.

The empirical findings indicate a lack of employment, which resulted in poverty as the major driving force for people to engage in street vending. Due to poverty, street vendors cannot secure decent accommodation, cannot afford sending their children to day-care centres in their community and cannot afford to hire maids to look after their children while they are vending. Therefore, bringing their children to their vending sites is not an option, but the only way to balance taking care of their children while vending for the family, along the process exposing their children to unsafe environmental conditions and enduring long hours in street environments.

It has also become evident that child safety in urban streets is difficult to guarantee. The majority of street vendors face serious challenges regarding the general upkeep of their children. Young children are exposed to physical harm particularly during peak hours during their mothers' vending expeditions. There is also the risk of injury to the children by the municipal police who often cause stampedes as the vendors flee arrest. It is, therefore, clear that as long as young children spend most of their time on the streets, they are exposed to life-threatening dangers, which might not be the case should they have been allowed to grow up under the guidance of trained personnel at day-care centres or in their home environments.

It has been noted with concern that the majority of street vendors are struggling to provide adequate and well-balanced dietary provisions for their respective families. This position is seriously undermined by the evidence that the majority of street vendors' children scavenge from dustbins. Failure to provide adequate food for children does not only initiate children to starvation but also promotes rigidity in the physical development of children (see section 2.4.4). Scavenging from dustbins and other waste materials within the vending vicinities is a clear indication that poor people are exposed to a plethora of challenges that require multiple ways of controlling the wide spread of human suffering in Zimbabwe. It is clear that street vendors' children are exposed to inadequate food and dietary provisions, which also

has the possibility to undermine their cognitive development later in their academic experiences (see section 2.4.4.1).

Apart from being exposed to limited food resource materials, street vendors' children are subjected to health challenges as well. Chief among them are playing with dangerous objects that may cause harm as they play, exposure to dirty and contaminated waste materials, dirty or untreated water and exposure to the temptation to eat contaminated food scavenged from dustbins. This has resulted in three young children losing their lives. Street children are further exposed to serious health hazards (used condoms) emanating from immoral behaviour or prostitution by a selected group of women and men. From the above statements, there is evidence indicating that street vendors' children are exposed to a plethora of health and nutritional challenges that need urgent redress.

The majority of street vendors' children are also exposed to serious limitations with regard to cognitive development. It was evident that children of street vendors have limited cognitive competences as they are still unable to master some of the very basic cognitive concepts that commensurate their chronological ages (see section 3.3.4). Because of poverty, the majority of vendors cannot afford to provide play resource materials for their children. The absence of play resources is an indication that, to some extent, street vendors' children are exposed to limited learning experiences because of their prolonged periods of playing around their mothers' vending stalls. Added to this, the absence of well-defined play centres within the radius of vending communities in urban environments has also been indicated as an impediment factor, crippling intellectual development opportunities of young children who spend most of their early childhood in streets. Play, for instance, is a critical avenue through which young children develop intellectual skills that are helpful later in their academic life (see section 3.3.5). It was also evident that some parents surviving on vending do not value the importance of play as one of the avenues through which young children learn. Therefore, there is reason to believe that street environments are nowhere closer to

creating opportunities for cognitive development among elementary learners during the early childhood development phase. Research on severely disadvantaged children in orphanages reported that such children have severe cognitive and emotional deficits; including abnormal repetitive or brief play behaviours, together with deficient growth and functioning in a number of key brain regions (see section 3.3.5.1).

The findings also indicate that the majority of street vendors' children are distressed most of the time as they spend much of their time restricted to playing around their mothers' vending stalls. One of the most stressful moments is when parents delay responding or do not respond to children needs, and as a result, children turn violent once their needs have not been met. Another major cause for sadness in children of street vendors is the endless cat-and-mouse battle between street vendors and the municipal police, who appear determined to bring order in the streets. Children yell, cry and feel sad during such skirmishes, resulting in these situations having a negative impact on their emotional development (see section 3.3.5).

Due to a lack of play materials at vending sites, fighting over play objects with peers was observed to be the order of the day. Children cried a lot when such arguments arose, and this also brought moments of sadness during their daily experiences. The way adults intervened to such arguments also left a lot to be desired as they would hit the children or throw away the play object they would be fighting over, causing even more sadness in the children. Due to these negative experiences they encounter, children who spend much of their time in street environments may have more difficulty with emotional regulation (see section 3.3.5).

Thus, there is reason to suspect that these are only some of the signs of serious emotional challenges that have adverse effects in the ultimate well-being of the children later in their school and academic lives (see section 3.3.5). Research indicates that poor emotion regulation can impair children's thinking, thereby compromising their judgement and decision making (see

section 3.3.5). Research also indicates that children who are more negatively focused tend to have more difficulty with regulation than those who are focused on the positive aspects of life (see section 3.3.5).

The findings also indicate that employment creation was critical towards the stabilisation of street vendors' living standards. This could also capacitate them to acquire resources to send their children to preschools where development could take place. Failure to create employment for them meant that they would continue vending and bringing their children to the vending sites. Free access to preschools, particularly for those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds, was also cited as a measure to ameliorate their challenges.

6.4 RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

This section provides the research conclusions in relation to the research questions outlined in chapter 1 (see section 1.3.1). Before I answer the primary research question, I will start by addressing the sub-research questions. Sub-research question 3 will be addressed in the recommendation section.

The primary question read: What is the impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe?

The following are the sub-questions which were meant to address the primary question:

- What are the familial circumstances of Zimbabwean street vendors and their children?
- What challenges do Zimbabwean street vendors' young children face in their cognitive and emotional development?
- What intervention strategies can be put in place to mitigate the challenges that children of street vendors experience in their development?

6.4.1 Sub-question 1: What are the familial circumstances of street vendors and their children in Zimbabwe?

From the analysis of information gathered, it is clear that unemployment is the major driving force for many people to engage in street vending. The general economic crisis in Zimbabwe that was influenced by the collapse of industrial activity in the country resulted in high levels of unemployment among the generality of Zimbabweans. The general absence of employment in the country has given rise to a lot of illegal vending. Decisions made in macrosystems and implemented in exosystems (parents' workplaces) may influence a child's life indirectly (see section 3.2.1). For example, some parents were laid off from their work because of ESAP, and this had a negative impact on the child as the parents were unable to meet the basic needs of the child.

Poverty, thus, is the root cause of all human suffering because the affected individuals have overwhelming challenges to access health facilities, financial and material resources to access education for their children, opportunities to secure adequate food provisions, clothing and the general familial upkeep. Because the majority of vending parents are operating on very limited budgetary provisions, they are also unable to send their children to day-care centres. Neither can they afford to pay domestic workers to look after their children while they are vending.

Poverty presents a chronic stress for children, which may interfere with their development (see section 2.5.1.1) as poverty is also related to cognitive development (see section 2.5.1.1). Malnourished children, for example, are known to have slowed cognitive development. Studies have also found consistent negative associations between poverty during early childhood and academic outcomes (see section 2.5.1.1).

Due to poverty, vendors bring their young children to vending sites in the streets as a way of balancing taking care of their children while vending for the

family. Since some of the children (3) live with single mothers who do not have much support from the extended family, they are forced to take along their young children to the streets thereby, exposing them to unsafe environmental conditions. In addition, some participants cited possible abuse of their children if they leave them with next-door neighbours.

6.4.2 Sub-question 2: What challenges do Zimbabwean street vendors' young children face in their cognitive and emotional development?

From the analysis of my observation and interview data, it was evident that children of street vendors face a plethora of challenges with regard to their cognitive and emotional development.

6.4.2.1 Cognitive development

It was evident that the majority of street vendors' children are exposed to serious limitations with regard to cognitive development. They have limited provision for play due to their continued confinement to their mothers' stalls, and this results in children being adapted to adult life, which is not in tandem with their cognitive development. In other words, the absence of well-defined play centres within the radius of vending communities in urban environments is a major impediment factor crippling intellectual development opportunities of young children who spend most of their early childhood in streets (see section 3.3.5). It was also evident that some vending parents do not value the importance of play due to their busy schedules. Therefore, street environments are far from creating opportunities for cognitive development among elementary learners during the early childhood development phase.

In addition, due to poverty, children of street vendors have limited play resources. The absence of play resources is an indication that, to some extent, street vendors' children are exposed to limited learning experiences. Their absence has a detrimental effect on children's cognitive development (see section 3.3.5.1). As stated earlier, one of the most powerful factors

related to cognitive development during the preschool years is the availability of play materials (see section 3.3.5.1). In fact, play materials are extremely important in multi-developmental perspectives such as cognitive, socio-emotional and physical and language development. Over and above this, studies indicate that access to a variety of materials and toys is related to children's cognitive development (see section 3.3.5.1).

Due to poverty, most street vendors' children do not attend preschool. This also has a negative impact on their cognitive development as they miss basic school readiness cognitive concepts learned by their counterparts who have access to these resources. It was evident that children of street vendors have limited cognitive competences as they are still unable to master some of the very basic cognitive concepts that commensurate their chronological ages. This could be due to the lack of play resources and non-attendance of preschool (see section 3.3.5.1).

It was evident that, in most cases, children of street vendors play alone as they are always restricted to their mothers' vending stalls. As a result, they miss the benefits of social play. Vygotsky places much emphasis on the support of other capable peers as having a great impact on the development of cognition (see section 3.3.5). Scaffolding, which is central to the development of cognition, can only take place when children play with peers. Vygotsky argues that during play, children are scaffolded by more capable peers when they face problems in language (see section 3.3.5.1).

The many studies of the severely deprived children discovered in Romanian orphanages reported a range of severe cognitive and emotional deficits including abnormal repetitive or brief play behaviours, together with deficient growth and functioning in a number of key brain regions (see section 3.3.5.1). Therefore, there is reason to believe that street environments are nowhere closer to creating opportunities for cognitive development among elementary learners during the early childhood development phase.

6.4.2.2 Emotional development

It was also evident that the majority of street vendors' children are also exposed to serious limitations with regard to emotional development. As children were often restricted from unnecessary movements, they showed much sadness. If children are overly controlled and not given opportunity to assert themselves, they may feel inadequate in their ability to survive, and may be overly dependent upon others, lack self-esteem and feel a sense of shame and doubt in their own abilities (see section 3.3.2). Overprotection and limitation of exploration and learning or preventing the child from participating in normal interaction can be equated to emotional abuse (see section 3.3.2).

Fighting over play objects with peers was evident to be the order of the day. The children cried a lot when such arguments arose and this also brought moments of sadness during their daily experiences. This has detrimental effects on children's emotional development (see section 3.3.2).

In street environments, findings also indicated that young children are surviving under serious life-threatening conditions, such as vehicle and human traffic, sexual abuse, human trafficking and playing with dangerous objects. In addition, as mentioned earlier, children can get hurt during skirmishes between the vendors and the municipal police, thus bringing stressful moments to the children, which has a negative impact on their emotional development (see section 3.3.2).

It was evident that the street vendors had divided attention between vending activities and attending to the needs of their children, which also brought about stressful moments for children as they often showed emotional distress by exhibiting temper tantrums, yelling and crying. Children who are more negatively focused tend to have more difficulty with regulation than those who are focused on the positive aspects of life (see section 3.2.2). Responsiveness to children's signals contributes to the development of emotion regulation (see section 3.3.2).

Children of street vendors are also exposed to several health challenges, such as eating contaminated food as they sometimes scavenge from dustbins. They drink unclean water and use filthy toilet facilities, thus, compromising their safety. Safety and security are of paramount importance in the enhancement of emotional development. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see section 2.5.2.3) indicates safety and security needs as fundamental towards human achievement.

6.4.3 Primary research question: What is the impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe?

The research revealed that due to unemployment many people in Zimbabwe are living in abject poverty. Poverty is related to cognitive development (see section 2.5.1.1). Malnourished children, because of poverty, are known to have slowed down cognitive development (see section 2.5.1.1). Poverty is also related to children's social and emotional development as children in poverty have a greater risk of displaying behaviour and emotional problems, such as disobedience, impulsiveness and difficulty getting along with others (see section 2.5.2).

Due to their exposure to street environments, children of street vendors also face a plethora of challenges with regard to their cognitive and emotional development. Insufficient nutrition, for example, undermines brain development (see section 2.5.2.1). Polluted drinking water and a lack of sanitation services make children highly vulnerable to illnesses, and this has negative effects on children's development as sick children have little chance to engage in play; hence, they lose the cognitive and emotional benefits of play. Injuries also affect children's cognitive and emotional development as a head injury, for example, can cause cognitive delay (see section 2.5.2.3).

The limited provision of play areas and materials also undermines children's development as all aspects of development are enhanced through children's

play activities, particularly the affective and cognitive domains (see section 3.3.5).

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has shown that children of street vendors are spending much of their early childhood on the streets due to contextual factors that are both within and external to the child's environment (see section 3.2.1). Children of street vendors are faced with multi-faced challenges posed by street life, and these challenges require a multi-sectoral approach to mitigate them. The following recommendations, which emanated from the findings of this study, may help to address the challenges cited in both literature and empirical findings:

6.5.1 Recommendation 1

The government of Zimbabwe, as a signatory of most conventions and international instruments that guarantee fundamental human rights as well as the protection of children, should effectively implement legislation on children's rights that will guarantee protection of vulnerable and disadvantaged children, such as children of street vendors.

6.5.2 Recommendation 2

The government of Zimbabwe should declare free primary education, including early childhood education and maximise the establishment of early childhood learning facilities equipped with basic resource materials to cater for less privileged members of the Zimbabwean society, such as children of street vendors.

6.5.3 Recommendation 3

The government of Zimbabwe should avail funding for the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) programme to cover preschool education so that children of disadvantaged families, such as children of street vendors who

spend much of their childhood on the streets, have free access to preschools while their mothers are vending.

6.5.4 Recommendation 4

The government should have advocacy and awareness campaigns to ensure that vulnerable families, such as families of street vendors, are made aware of the existence of programmes such as the Public Works Fund – Cash Transfers to Vulnerable Groups, the Public Assistance Fund, Drought Relief, and the Assisted Medical Treatment Order (see section 2.2.2.4.ii) so that they may benefit from these funds to improve their livelihoods.

6.5.5 Recommendation 5

A specific fund for children of street vendors should be availed by the government to cushion their families from the scourge of poverty and enable them to source basic commodities and services, such as access to Early Childhood Education centres and health facilities as well as hiring domestic workers to look after their children while they are vending.

6.5.6 Recommendation 6

Collaboration among various ministries (education, health, social welfare, etc.) and other stakeholders, such as local authorities, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, charity organisations and the business community, should be established so that they could collectively come up with plans to assist in curbing the wide spread of poverty to improve the livelihoods of street vendors and their children as this might have adverse effects both on the economic and socio-political divides of our country.

6.5.7 Recommendation 7

The Department of Social Welfare should provide all possible legal frameworks to take care of all children coming from disadvantaged

background, such as children of street vendors, in an effort to create equal opportunities for all children, regardless of socio-economic, cultural, religious and political persuasion.

6.5.8 Recommendation 8

The Department of Social Welfare should consider models that target both parents and children such as two-generational models that explicitly focus on both low-income children and parents from the same household by combining parent and child interventions to interrupt the cycle of poverty and improve their livelihoods.

6.5.9 Recommendation 9

Collaboration between city councils and the Department of Social Welfare should be established to develop policies that support and protect every person in the city, especially people such as street vendors and their children who are contributing to the economy.

6.5.10 Recommendation 10

City councils should effectively enforce by-laws to remove street vendors who bring young children to vending sites where they face a plethora of challenges. They should also plan for legalised street vending in designated places where public street clinic outlets should be strategically placed and known to street vendors to enable street vendors to have easy access to medical services when they or their children fall sick. City councils should also increase public toilets or bathrooms and sources of drinking water in the streets, in line with international standards, so that street vendors and their children would not be exposed to health hazards. Added to this, it is also important that local authorities provide land where the business community and charity organisations could construct day-care centres where working parents, including street vendors, can drop off their children and pick them up late in the day for at least all the working days in a week.

6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While the findings of this study provided an important insight into how the development of young children of street vendors is affected by spending a large part of their early childhood on the streets, the following gaps, which point at several avenues for further research, have also been identified:

- The findings are only confined to the context used in this study and this may place limitations on the applicability of the findings to the whole of Zimbabwe. Further research may be done to take a wider cross-section of children of street vendors in several cities of Zimbabwe.
- There is a need for studies to compare the cognitive and emotional development of children raised in “normal” homes and those raised on the street to establish the extent to which street vendors’ children are affected by their exposure to street environment.
- Further research can be conducted to find ways of improving the current state of intervention and suggest more effective ways of intervention.
- This study focused only on three-year-olds. Further research should be carried out to broaden the knowledge base on how children of other age groups are also affected by the street vending phenomenon.

6.7 FINAL REMARKS

The production of this thesis is a great milestone in my life. The study is of paramount importance to me as a researcher, a mother and a grandmother. This study provided me with valuable insight into how street environments affect young children’s development. I was satisfied by the choice of my topic as well as the methodology I used. Of particular mention is the selection of my research sites and participants, which was appropriate as the participants enabled me to obtain data that were rich with the information I needed. It was interesting to listen to the stories of street vendors on their experiences with young children on the streets. Sometimes I felt sorry for them as they gave detailed accounts of why they were vending with young children and their experiences on the streets as some could divulge information that I thought

was quite confidential. In some instances, I could not help but show my sympathy as they revealed information that was quite disturbing, such as some indicating that they go to church to seek God's intervention into the challenges they were facing in their lives.

I also benefited a lot from the triangulation of data collection methods. The observations enabled me not only to observe what vendors and their children were doing but also what they said and how they interacted, which I did not obtain from the interviews. Observation was also appropriate for my study as it involved young children who have not yet developed camouflages to conceal themselves from the public as adults do. The triangulation of data sources was also beneficial as the social worker revealed some interesting variations regarding young children's experiences in the streets.

In spite of the growing awareness of the importance of the early years, globally and locally, it was quite disturbing to learn that a substantial population of young children in Zimbabwe are facing a plethora of challenges as they spend most of their early childhood in the streets with their vending mothers. Despite the fact that the government of Zimbabwe is a signatory of most conventions and international instruments that guarantee the protection of children, it was sad to note that some vulnerable children, such as children of street vendors, have not yet been taken on board.

It was encouraging to learn that there are funds and services available for vulnerable children. However, it is my fear that most of these vulnerable families are not aware of such funding and services. The Department of Social Welfare, therefore, has a key role to play in conduct awareness campaigns in areas where vulnerable families live so that they can access such funding and services and improve their livelihoods.

6.8 REFLECTION

From the analysis of the information gathered, it has become evident that by trying to balance caring for their children and fending for the families in the streets, street vendors are exposing their young children to a plethora of health, safety and nutritional challenges, which have a negative impact on their educational development. Inadequate food and dietary provisions, according to the literature, have the possibility to undermine children's cognitive development and, later, their educational development. In addition, poor health and nutrition in this critical period, as stated earlier, can lead to irreversible stunting and developmental delays, resulting in poor cognitive development and, ultimately, lower educational performance. It was also evident that children of street vendors are exposed to serious limitations with regard to cognitive development as they are still unable to master some of the very basic cognitive concepts that commensurate their chronological ages due to non-availability of learning resources, and this has undesirable educational outcomes later. Children of street vendors, as earlier noted, often exhibit emotional distress due to experiences they have in the streets. The deduction can, therefore, be made that street environments nurture young children into violent behaviour patterns, and they generally become emotionally disfigured, mainly because of unsatisfied needs. Thus, there is reason to suspect that these are signs of serious emotional challenges that have adverse effects on their educational development and their ultimate well-being. Therefore, there is reason to believe that street environments are nowhere closer to creating positive opportunities for early childhood education among pre-primary learners during the early childhood development phase.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LETTER TO HARARE CITY COUNCIL

The Director
Human Capital and Public Safety Department
Rowan Martin Building
P.O. Box 1680
Harare
Zimbabwe

30 September 2017

Dear Sir/Madam

REQUEST FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITHIN THE CITY OF HARARE

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education. I am conducting a research study, titled: "***The impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe***". The purpose of the study is, to explore and analyse how young children of street vendors develop cognitively and socio-emotionally in street environments.

The Central Business District (CBD) area has been purposefully selected because it is congested and dotted with street vendors' stalls. I plan to conduct interviews with six street vendors who have children who are three years old. I am writing to humbly request you to allow me to conduct interviews in this area.

The research is conducted according to the guidelines of the University of Pretoria's ethical committee with regards to issues of confidentiality and anonymity. I shall appreciate your assistance in conducting my research on this important topic. Your positive consideration and a written feedback confirmation

letter of the request will be highly appreciated. You can send the response through my physical or e-mail address.

Yours sincerely,

Martha Dozva

Signature

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

Republic of South Africa

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Dr M.G. Steyn

Signature

Supervisor

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Department of Early Childhood Education

Tel: +27 (0) 12 420-5289

Email: mg.steyn@up.ac.za

APPENDIX 2: PERMISSION LETTER FROM HARARE CITY COUNCIL



HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT
ROWAN MARTIN BUILDING, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
POST OFFICE BOX 1680
TELEPHONE 752979 / 753000

EMAIL: hrd@hararecity.co.zw
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR

30th October 2017

Department of Early Childhood Education
Faculty of Education
Groenkloof Campus
Pretoria
Republic of South Africa

Dear Martha Dozva

RE: AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH: MARTHA DOZVA

This letter serves as authority for Martha Dozva to undertake a research survey on the topic:
“THE IMPACT OF THE URBAN STREET COMMUNITY ON YOUNG CHILDREN’S DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE”.

The purpose of the study is to explore and analyse how young children of street vendors develop cognitively and socio-emotionally in street environments.

The City of Harare has no financial obligation and neither shall it render any further assistance in the conduct of the research. The researcher is however requested to avail a soft and hard copy of the research to the undersigned so that residents of Harare can benefit out of it. The research should not be used for any other purpose other than the study purpose specified.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and a vertical stroke, positioned above a horizontal line.

DR. C. CHINGOMBE
HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR

APPENDIX 3: LETTER TO DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

The Director
Department of Social Welfare
Compensation House
Corner 4th Street/Central Avenue
Causeway
Harare
Zimbabwe

19 September 2017

Dear Sir/Madam

REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM A SOCIAL WORKER

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria, in the Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education. I am conducting a research study, titled: "***The impact of the urban street community on young children's educational development in Zimbabwe***". The purpose of the study is, to explore and analyse how young children of street vendors develop cognitively and socio-emotionally in street environments.

My study will be conducted at the Harare Central Business District (CBD) area since it is congested and dotted with street vendors' stalls. I plan to conduct interviews with six street vendors. These will be selected on the basis that they have children who are in the 0-3 age range.

I am writing to request you to allow me to interview one social worker in your organisation. The social worker will help to provide professional input regarding development of children (three years) who are being raised in street environments. The social worker should be a person:

- who has worked in the organisation for at least two years;

- who has had personal social interactions with the street vendors or who is involved in follow up routines with street vendors with young children three years old; and
- who is willing to participate in the study.

The research is conducted under the auspices of the University of Pretoria's ethic committee and as researcher all participant will remain anonymous.

The findings of the study may help government, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders to have in-depth understating of the impact of streets on young children's development and to understand the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon.

Again, the study may enable government, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders initiate, network and collaborate to explore various opportunities and advocacy drives aimed at alleviating this growing phenomenon.

Furthermore, researchers and stakeholders may have insight in the area of study for further research. Information garnered may continue to enrich the body of knowledge in a way to finding solutions to this phenomenon.

I trust that you will review my request favourably as to enable me to conduct my research in an ethical manner. I shall greatly appreciate your written response with the details of a suitable social worker. You can send the response through my e-mail address.

Yours sincerely, Martha

Martha Dozva

Signature

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

Republic of South Africa

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APPENDIX 4: PERMISSION LETTER FROM DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Official communications
should
Not be addressed to
individuals

Telephone: Harare 790871-6
Telegraphic Address: 'WELMIN'
Fax: 796080/

SW 12/5

22 January 2018

Martha Dozva
8755 Unit K
Chitungwiza
Harare



ZIMBABWE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
Compensation House
Cnr 4th Street/Central Avenue
P.O. Box CY 429
Causeway
Harare



→ Dear Martha Dozva

RE: PERMISSION FOR MARTHA DOZVA TO CONDUCT AN ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON "THE IMPACT OF THE URBAN STREET COMMUNITY ON YOUNG CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT"

Permission is hereby granted for you to carry out your research study on the topic concerning 'The impact of the urban street community on young children's development' in response to your letter dated 19 September 2017. You are requested to seek guidance from the Provincial Social Welfare Officer for Harare Province on which officer to interview.

Please take note that the permission is granted **STRICTLY** on condition that the research is for academic purposes only in pursuit of your Post Graduate Degree in the Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education at the University of Pretoria. May you please note that the data which shall be gathered will not be used for **PUBLICITY** and if children are by any chance going to participate in your research their identity will be protected.

May you kindly submit a copy of your final research document to the Department of Social Welfare upon completion as the subject matter of your study has a bearing on our mandate.

Yours Sincerely,

T. Maphala
DIRECTOR SOCIAL WELFARE

APPENDIX 5: INFORMED CONSENT AND ASSENT FORM (PARENTS AND CHILDREN)

PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH

I, _____, hereby agree to conduct an interview with Martha Dozva. I furthermore agree that my child and I may be observed and taken photographs while I am selling my goods on the street and the researcher may interact with my child and take photographs during the observations. I understand that I can withdraw at any time and that my identity will not be disclosed.

Participant

APPENDIX 6: OBSERVATION GUIDE

During the observation the researcher would adhere to the following (check) list.

1. Where the child stays/plays.
2. Human traffic.
3. Vehicle traffic.
4. Closeness of vending site to street.
5. Child's tendency to move in and out of street and the pavement.
6. How the parent ensures child security/safety.
7. Cleanliness of the area (hygiene).
8. Child's appearance e.g. dressing/neatness/cleanliness.
9. What the child eats and drinks (diet).
10. How often the child is fed per day.
11. How often the child is diapered per day.
12. Condition of toilets used by the child.
13. Pollution – noise, air, e.g. dust, fumes, gas.
14. Exposure to chemicals and dangerous tools.
15. Child's interactions with the mother.
16. Child's interactions with other children/people on the street and pavement.
17. Who and what the child plays with.
18. How the child relates with other children?
19. What makes the child happy/sad/angry.
20. How the child expresses happiness/sadness/anger.

APPENDIX 7: PARENTS INTERVIEW GUIDE

The purpose of the interview schedule is to investigate the experiences of street vendors' children (3 years). The following prompts were used to engage the vendors in telling their stories of parenting on the street.

1. What is your name? (pseudonym).
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you currently live?
4. How many people are there in your household? (I mean those who you live and share food with you).
5. Why are you here in street pavements?
6. For how long have you been here?
7. How often do you come here?
8. What time do you normally come to this vending site?
9. What time do you normally leave this place?
10. Are you comfortable doing business at this place?
11. Whose child is this?
12. How old is he/she?
13. Why do you bring him/her with you here?
14. For how long have you been bringing him/her here?
15. Is it safe to stay with your child in street environments?
16. What things make this place unsafe for children?
17. How do you make sure your child is safe in this environment?
18. What does your child eat/drink during the time you are in the street?
19. Where do you get the food?
20. Where do you seek medical attention when you and your child fall sick?
21. Do you pay for it?
22. Are you very busy during the day?
23. Do you get time to play/talk with your child?
24. Who else plays with you child?
25. What objects does your child play with?
26. How does your child relate with others?

27. Does your child get excited when he/she plays with others?
28. Does he/she sometimes copy/imitate what others do?
29. What things does he/she do for him/herself?
30. Does your child attend day care? If yes, where? If no, why?
31. What things does she want to do on his/her own?
32. Is your child happy staying in street pavements?
33. What makes your child happy/sad/angry?
34. What worries you about the fact that your child is here on the street
35. What do you think should be done to prevent you from bringing your child to the streets?

APPENDIX 8: SOCIAL WORKER INTERVIEW GUIDE

The purpose of the interview guide was to investigate the experiences of street vendors' children (3 years). The following prompts were used to engage the social worker to give their opinions on children of street vendors who spend most of their childhood on the streets.

1. Could you please precisely describe your job description?
2. How often do you walk around the Central Business District (CBD) of Harare?
3. Have you ever passed through vending sites?
4. If yes, what do you think are the reasons for vending in the streets?
5. Did you notice some vendors with young children at vending sites?
6. What do you think are the reasons for bringing these children to vending sites?
7. What do the children eat during the course of the day at the vending sites?
8. Where do they get water to drink?
9. What toilet facilities are available around the vending sites?
10. Where do they access medical services when they fall sick?
11. Where do they play?
12. Who do they play with?
13. What do they play with?
14. Do you think street environments are safe for children's health and general upbringing?
15. What risks are these children exposed to?
16. How do vendors ensure safety of their children while they are vending?
17. In what ways do you think street life impacts on these children's:
 - (a) Cognitive development?
 - (b) Socio-emotional development?
18. What role does your organization play with regard to young children spending much of their time in street environments?
19. What strategies do you think should be taken to solve this problem of children who are being raised in streets of Harare?

APPENDIX 9: CHILD INTERACTION GUIDE

The purpose of the interaction guide was to establish whether children of street vendors had cognitive and emotional competencies which were commensurate with their age. The following prompts were used to engage children to demonstrate their cognitive and emotional competencies.

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Are you a boy or a girl?
4. Where do you live?
5. What are you doing?
6. Show me your head/hand/eyes/ears/feet.
7. What colour is this (red/yellow/green/blue/white)?
8. Show me a colour which is the same as this one.
9. Who is this (familiar face)?
10. What is this (mirror)?
11. Who is in the mirror (child's face)?
12. What is this (4 familiar objects)?
13. Can I have that (familiar object)?
14. Sing a song you like for me.
15. Find where I put the small ball.
16. Who is your friend?
17. Count for me.

APPENDIX 10: INFORMED CONSENT AND ASSENT LETTER

Dear Parent

I am a PhD student registered at the University of Pretoria in South Africa and the title of my study is: ***“The impact of the urban street community on young children’s educational development in Zimbabwe”***. The purpose of the study is to find how your young children develop cognitively and emotionally in streets environments. I hereby invite you as well as your son/daughter to participate in my research project.

I will require your permission to take part in an interview where I shall ask you certain questions regarding your child’s educational development in the streets. These interviews will be audio-recorded to make it possible for me to revisit the conversation after our interview. All the information provided by you will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity which means that I will not make use of your names anywhere in the course of my fieldwork and writing. I also need your permission to observe you and your child and take photographs at your vending site and to interact with your son/daughter during the observations. Information that is collected during the course of this research project will be stored safely even after the task is complete. You and your child may choose to withdraw from the research process at any stage should you deem this necessary.

Some of these questions may cause you to feel sad and upset, since they may describe difficult times in your life. Should this happen, I have arranged for a social worker from the Department of Social Welfare to be present during interviewing sessions to handle discomfort and/or unpleasant emotions should they arise.

Your assistance with my research will be greatly appreciated. In the end we hope that my research will lead to a better understanding of your life as a street vendor on the streets and the challenges you and your children are being confronted with.

Yours sincerely

Martha Dozva

Signature

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)

Dr M.G. Steyn

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(Supervisor)