



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**

**THE LIFE AND EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG WOMEN (19-35
YEARS) LIVING ON THE STREETS OF PIETERMARITZBURG
CBD AND SURROUNDINGS**

BY

**LUNGILE PRUDENCE ZONDI
STUDENT NUMBER 201300704**

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. V.B. OJONG

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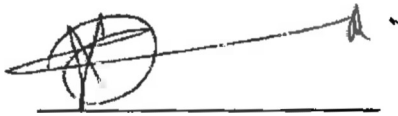
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Acknowledgments

Father God this is an output of your hands and your voice. Thank you for being my wisdom for I know that I remain incapable if not led by your Holy Spirit. I honour you above all wisdom.

I extend my gratitude to my supervisor Prof Vivian Besem Ojong, I am humbled to have been touched by her hand in this scholarly endeavour. Your belief in my capability gave me the strength. I am thanking you from the bottom of my heart.

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Thank you.

Dedication

This research is dedicated to all the African women, young women and girls. Ladies, I'm a demonstration that it is possible to eat your own sweat. Let's all rise and make sustainable and remarkable footsteps.

Let's emblaze all the realms

Abstract

Little was known about the life and experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa prior to this study. In order to investigate this subject, a combination of qualitative research (by means of the life history method through the use of in-depth interviews, focus group discussion and direct observations as data collection methods) and four theoretical frameworks (being the African Feminist theory, the Vulnerability Model, the Social Identity theory and the Social Network theory) were used. Collected narratives relating to *streetism* which were anthropologically recorded contribute to this study and overall, to the existing body of knowledge. This thesis contributes to the existing literature that a myriad of factors such as ancestral calling, food poisoning, *whoonga/nyaope* addiction (side effects comes with not having a monthly menstrual cycle as well as stomach pains called *roosta*), self-defence, forced/arranged/early-marriages, food distribution and corporal punishment, grandmother and big brother headed families, family connections on the street as well as hereditary recurrences are push and pull factors that has led the twenty (20) young women to the street. These push and pull factors validate that street-related reasons are homogenous and they need to be contextually studied. The study also finds that these women possess obscured and misconstrued identities that comes with living on the street and they actively use fending strategies for survival. Fending strategies include, hourly prostitution, standing on the road intersections and working as car-guards during the day and night. I argue that their vulnerability context includes being treated less of human being, smuggling *whoonga/nyaope*, unpaid prostitution, being beaten up by law enforcers and the death of their friends while sleeping. Despite such, the study finds that they are sceptical about being reunited to their families. Street groups/networks are influenced by prison life as they appear on the streets as either the 26's or the 28's and that such groups shape their identity as well as the language that they speak on the streets. Research recommendations as well as responsive interventions that policy custodians can embark on based on other African countries are part of the content of this thesis.

Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CBD	Central Business District
CSC	Consortium for Street Children
CPCS	Child Protection Centre and Services
DSD	Department of Social Development
EM	Explanatory Model
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
KZN	Province of KwaZulu-Natal
MMV	Multilevel Model for Vulnerability
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
OECD	Organisations for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PMB	Pietermaritzburg
PS	Problem statement
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SWG	State of the World's Girls

SWR	State of the World Report
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNFWC	United Nations Fourth World Conference
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
WSCR	World's Street Children Report
YfC	Youth for Christ

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Chapter One:

Introduction, problem statement and the outline of the study

1.0. Introduction

This chapter provides an outline for the research study. Included in this is the rationale for the study, the problem statement, the relevance of the study within the context of anthropology as an academic discipline, as well as research questions, objectives and finally, the outlines of the chapters to follow. As mentioned in the abstract, the research is based on the visibility or perception of women between the ages of 19 and 35, who occupy the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD. Bearing this in mind, the chapter sheds light on how the problem was conceptualised and intends to be explored.

1.1. Explaining a problem statement and its characteristics in research

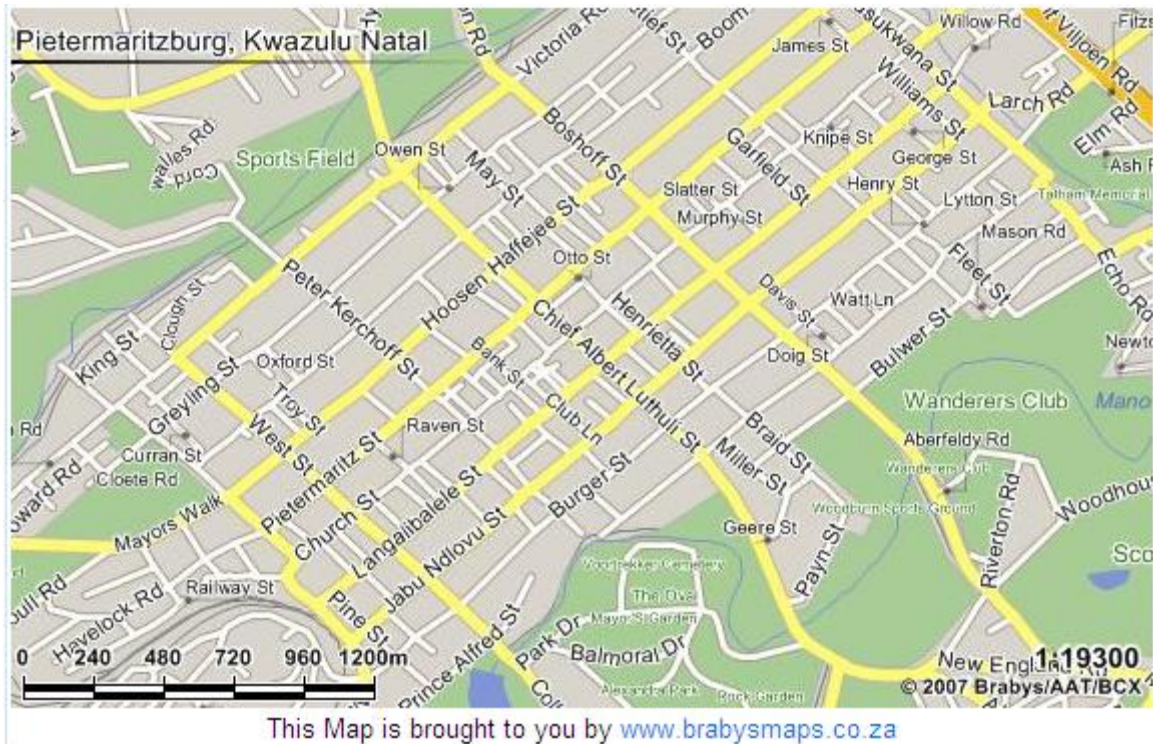
The delineation of a problem statement in any research endeavour is important. Ary et al., (2013: 47) acknowledge that there is no way that research can be conducted without having recognized a particular problem that warrants a scholarly inquiry. These writers claim that a problem statement is a description of a situation that needs to be researched to see if the solution can be found. Within their book they expand on this, noting that, “a good problem statement originates from the observation of the reality”. This reality becomes the source of knowledge which can be used to respond to the felt or observed problem. The value of a problem statement in an academic research is also acknowledged by Blaikie (2010) and Creswell (2012). It transpires in their independent writing that a scientifically sound research study is born out of a well-presented research problem. Blaikie (2010:18) individually mentions that it is important to present the problem statement first, before presenting the significance of the study in the existing body of knowledge because it delineates what the researcher intends to study or investigate. Creswell (2012:223) also remarks that most research has been classified as non-relevant or academically unqualified because it lacks a well justified problem statement. In this way, they acknowledge that, “the problem statement is the first stage of any research process where the research author first identifies the research gap and extends to argue in favour of the relevance of the proposed research in bridging the notable literature gap in existing body of knowledge”.

Opinions by Blaikie (2010) and Creswell (2012:14) maintain that, “a well presented problem statement captures the justification of the intended research and it seeks to satisfy the mostly asked question *is the topic topical and worth studying?*” As mentioned by Gerrish and Lacey (2010), a convincing problem statement should delineate the delimitation that refers to where the problem is found and to mention the population that is affected. Additionally, Creswell (2012:16) mentions that most contemporary researchers have fallen short in arguing the problem statement that provides both the conventional and a technical sense of the research problem being studied. The conventional sense of the problem statement is that it informs that there is a social problem that calls for a discussion and needs a solution. The technical sense implies that there is a possibility of an empirical investigation.

This definition is valued in this endeavour because, amongst other expected outputs of this research, is to develop a framework that will respond directly to the needs of young women (19–35 years) who live on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounds since they are a cohort of the study. Creswell (2012) continues to state that the ultimate goal of the problem statement is to transform a generalized problem into a targeted well-defined problem that could be resolved through focused research. The content of this thesis will inform further research endeavours that could be taken within anthropology by other fields of anthropology or by other disciplines since anthropology is a transdisciplinary field that also shape other disciplines.

1.2. Location of the study

Briefly, Pietermaritzburg is listed in South Africa as the capital and second largest city in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. The existing history confirms that it was founded in 1838 and, in terms of democratic demarcations, it is currently governed by the uMsunduzi Local Municipality. Pietermaritzburg is popularly called Maritzburg in both English and in isiZulu and often informally abbreviated to PMB. The following google map provides a picture of the streets/ urban margins where the studied population was observed and mostly confirmed as their dwelling spaces. Again, the following map provides an outlook of where the study was conducted.



Source: www.brabysmaps.co.za

All yellow coloured lanes are roads and streets where the studied population can be mostly found. I also conducted direct observations in these streets. It is also important to note that the Province of KwaZulu-Natal is one of the 9 provinces in the country of South Africa. South Africa as a country is listed as the southernmost country on the African continent. This is mentioned because I want to confirm the contextual location of the study and how the selection of theoretical frameworks was influenced. I also one to indicate that this study is not a comparative analysis. It is conducted to in Pietermaritzburg and that findings cannot be generalized to the experience of other southernmost countries in Africa. The following google map locates South Africa in Africa. The background or the location is mentioned not for the purposes of embarking on a critically analysis of the experiences of young women on the street. It is included for the purposes of providing clarity relating to where was the study was precisely undertaken.



Source: <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa>.

1.3. Research problem statement

The research problem was motivated by the researcher's observations on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounds which confirmed a growing number of young women living on the streets. According to an HSRC (2008) research report, most South Africa's homeless youth are black and male. Ortner (1972) argues that feminists must be seen unearthing situations that are subordinating women or which confirm some experiences as of that of men only. The reason for undertaking this study stems from an argument that I am bringing which state that street life is contemporary no longer for boys only and that there is need to understand why these young women have choose the street. I am arguing that young women in Pietermaritzburg have chosen the street as their dwelling spaces in Pietermaritzburg and that there are no local scholars who have took a research interest around their life and experiences on the street. Furthermore, I took an anthropological interest simply because anthropology studies social realities of people and it is within the scope of anthropology that no women situation or experience is the same as the other. There could be similarities but underlying factors will be homogenous or contextual. I also found

interest in studying the sampled population as I have also noted that there is no media coverage that I came across during the literature review search that has reported about their stay on the street or about any their experiences while living or surviving on the street. They are basically a population or a group that is out casted even in political manifestos and they stand a chance of being concluded otherwise because their story is not collected by any scholar with an intention of shaping policies and programmes that respond to their social welfare or well-being while on the street.

This research inquiry was also encouraged by Ray, Dave and Nolan (2011:12) as well as Samuel (2014:165) as they have noted that life on the street is absolutely not good for young women. This study also aim to fill a research gap that was noted by Ndlovu (2015:25) who asserts that research on street young women' lived experience is very "thin on the ground". This confirms that few studies have been conducted on the lived experiences of young women as they also found to be living on the street. Ortner (1972) and Tyler (2006) posits that women who are homeless are often underestimated and unresearched. This is the other gap that this thesis intend to bridge as it takes interest in recording their narratives related to their life and experiences as they live on the streets. Again, this research interest is supported by Holmes and Johnson (2009) who posit that every young women's story is different, hence it is necessary to collect their life stories and experiences on the streets where they were identified. Additionally, this research interest was emphasised by James and Prout (2015) who also mentioned that girls and young women on the street remain an absent population because they fall outside the frame of 'normal' human beings. Samuel (2014:165) also encouraged my research inquiry as he found it important to mention that girls and young women on the streets suffer on a chain of synergism which denies them basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter (as they sleep pavements, in front of stores, and health (both girls and young women are in many occasions raped and they end up suffering with unwanted pregnancies, sexual transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS and unsafe abortion). They are discriminated, victimized and survive without parental love and affection on the street (Larney et al, 2009). The magnitude of the problem is such that young women are found to be living in conditions that make them more vulnerable to dangerous conditions such as rape and other forms of abuse. Tyler (2006) further mentions that young women are more vulnerable because they are homeless females exposed to living in unsafe spaces and their appearance on the street weakens their dignity. They are people who mostly don't enjoy human rights like those living in normal houses. They are not protected from

violence, harassment and bullying which is a human rights issue that the government and all countries exist to guarantee for their citizens irrespective of their gender, race and age. Geatz et al (2010) agree that it is true that if you are homeless and female you are many times vulnerable.

As an emerging anthropologist, it has always been my research interest to study individuals or groups in their spaces so that their situation will not only be generalizable but will contextually understood. My interest is supported by Dryjanska (2014:2) who have posited that “the phenomenon of street is complex and differs from place to place”. I wanted to write about the life and experiences of the studied population from the emic perspective. Ferraro and Andreatta (2013: 3) assert that “anthropology is derived from the Greek words *anthropos* for *humans* and *logos* for *study*. It is the study of people-their origins, their development and their contemporary variations, wherever and whenever they have been found”. This means that, anthropology is the study that takes special interest in learning about peoples situations and experiences. The strength of anthropological research is that it studied people in their own natural situations. The street remains the natural situation of the studied population.

It is important to mention at the outset that the research interest was not intrigued by disseminated demographics that have confirmed the number of the population of the street internationally. Such demographics or statistical figures are not part of this writing context because they have been critiqued by many writers. The avoidance of demographics is supported by Tobias Hecht the anthropologists cited by Ndlovu (2015) who critically argued that “such demographics or statistical figures have been over-stated by many analysts, and that sources reporting these figures cannot be verified”.

A leveraged problem statement of in this thesis is that I rise to argue that no one was born to live on the streets. This implies that no one, irrespective of gender, race or ethnic groups deserves to live on the street. I also argue that, in the case that someone was born on the streets for unknown reason, this thesis also claims that he or she deserves to be raised by a particular family and under a proper shelter. This is statement is supported by Ndlovu (2015), Hills et al. (2016:14) Tyler (2006) and Wakatama (2007) who assert that streets are the wrong place because children are to live in a family settings not alone and away from family and adult control and protection. Armstrong (2013) asserts that biblically, the family

is the cradle of life and love where they are born and grow. Both Ndlovu (2015) and Armstrong (2013) convey that families are indeed the social space that is responsible for the nurturing, socialization, caring and protection of their offspring. Proceedings of this thesis will give a detailed comprehension of push and pull factors which influence street life.

Still within the content of delineating the problem statement, the opinion that I hold in this thesis is that the stay of the studied population on the street conveys that these young women are not part of the dawn of democracy or benefits that are to be generally enjoyed by a young person or young women in South Africa. Their visibility on the street translates into meaning that they are not direct beneficiaries of what is promised by the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, no. 108 of 1996). These rights come with the benefit of living under a proper shelter and being cared for by biological parents, caregivers, extended family members, shelters as well as by foster parents. Where the person has exceeded the age of being cared for by parents, government takes the responsibility to availing resources and socio-economic opportunities that will support that person.

The above paragraph illustrates that this Bill of Rights remains an essential commitment that holds the South African government responsible for all its people irrespective of their geographical locations. Another part of the problem statement is that preliminary research on literature in this field shows that young women are classified as more vulnerable and need special care and protection by families, the society as well as by the state. The vulnerability of young women anywhere in the world is confirmed by different media, academic and political speeches that are internationally delivered on a daily basis. The context of their vulnerability is multi-layered; it touches on the experiences of rape, economic exclusions, victims of rape, another form of gender inequality as well as other issues related to different cultural norms, beliefs and values that don't value one by virtue of being female offspring (Coy, 2012 and the SWR, 2014). This study is also undertaken to report their vulnerability context before and during their stay on the streets.

In addition, most writers have either collaborated or independently mentioned that the population of the streets often fall in between the public policy cracks. It was therefore important for me to collect their narratives around their life and experiences so that their challenges can be confronted from the view point of research. Findings are hoped to

influence the human rights agenda that will respond to their daily experiences on the street and that which also push them from their original homes. The study is about understanding their experiences on the street. This research interest is motivated by the fact that while *streetism* could be an international experience of all countries but reasons that lead to street life will definitely differ from context to context, as well as from personal experiences. This is how their life and experiences while surviving on the streets will be anthropologically recorded. The collection of their stories or narratives will not only enhance the scope of the existing literature but will inform how to respond to the growing numbers of young people choosing street life over their own families. The study is undertaken to study the whole array of the street life/ *streetism* that the studied population is exposed to in order to contribute to the fullest possible understanding of their life's on the streets. In the process of studying their complete array of life on the streets, this study also collected and observed deferent meanings that they attach to their experiences and themselves. Findings will be analysed and applied to shape interventions and policies that existing to respond to issues that continue to affect young women.

1.3.1. The rationale of the study

My interest in the already mentioned study population went beyond the postulation of early writers. I intended to understand the subjects' life and experiences without cross-examining them with other people or gender on the street. Haraway (1998) calls this research interest as an anthropological interest of collecting situated knowledge. The knowledge that remains the experience of that particular group of people without being compared to other groups. A leveraged interest was also drawn from many scholars in social work, psychology and in anthropology, who have acknowledged that the gendered and patriarchal society has exposed young women to endure different episodes of vulnerability more than boys and that they exist everywhere. The 'everywhere' is inclusive of their families, societies and in other social spaces. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2012:22) report acknowledges that it has been discovered in many parts of the world that the vulnerability of young women starts within their families and societies. Some young women are forced to get married early and, often, to men who are very older than them. Frost et al. (2015: 132) contends that the level of vulnerability of young women and girls is broadly linked to the establishment of a patriarchal society which does not recognize them beyond their feminine image. They appear as the *other* in the eyes of those whose masculinity matters in all landscapes. Frost et

al. (2015: 133-141) employed the meta-analysis theory when studying or examining gender difference. The research findings inferred that women, young women and girls endure unresolved emotions compared to males or boys within the families, in the societies and in other social spaces because they are not able to express their contentment, joy, sadness or affection.

The UNFPA (2012) report on the Situation of Youth and Young Women states that young women between the ages of 19 and 35 years, which the report refers to as youth, are more vulnerable than their brothers. Their vulnerability was determined by having no ability to control their physical, emotional, and financial situations as well as their bodies. This report finding touched issues that African Feminist and the Vulnerability Theory has listed as factors that exacerbate gender inequality where most women and young women are directly victimized. The report expand to note that, young women and girls in the mentioned age cohorts live under the voice of a male figure who is less sensitive to what negatively affects such female people. Other aspects of their vulnerability are female infanticide, inadequate food and medical care, physical abuse, genital mutilation, forced sex and early pregnancies which eventually take many girls lives. While others may not understand the extent of the situation, it is worth mentioning that terrible stories about the state of girls and women across the globe have been told by the media and captured and promulgated by many academic sources about how girls have been victimized within their families and outside. These stories indicate that it is indisputable that they are more vulnerable than boys and men. Such stories of the abuse and deprivation of girls and young women inform that the world of girls is gloomy and dark. The observation of 16 Days of Activism against Women and Children in South Africa is an indication that policy custodians accept that the mentioned population survives much vulnerability and this calls for significant observations as well as responsive solutions.

In line with this, the SWG report (2015:12) illustrates that millions of girls around the world still live under conditions that strip them of their dignity and they continue to remain a silent population, their hearts filled with bitterness. This research advances that the visible and the invisible factors and situations take advantage of the mentioned population. This thesis also notes that the society has socialized them as weak because hegemonic masculinity exist in most societies hence there was rise and still a rise of feminists advocating against this system. Both families and societies have encouraged girls to be more voiceless than men

who, in their early ages of development, are socialized to become warriors. The manhood (men) become the warriors of the entire society. This means that he remains an icon that the society continues to fear to a point of not questioning things that he does, which largely compromises the dignity of women and girls within their families and within the society. The society worries about what endorses or diminishes his masculinity. The mentioning of precarious vulnerability within their families and societies encouraged the section of literature sources that depict the role of families, the society as well as the state in ensuring socialization, maximization of their safety and their total well-being. The role of these institution will be part of the content of Chapter Two of this thesis.

The unpleasant living conditions of girls/ young women within their families and within the society propel them to make both sound and unsound decisions either to protect themselves from those who ill-treat them or to escape such conditions. It is mentioned in the Girl Effect (2015) report that girls have started to trust foreign places and spaces more than their families and their societies. In relation to this current research, street pavements remain a foreign place that the studied population opted for. Many writers correspondingly mention that street life is not good for girls because of their physical make-up. Street life demands a lot and girls and young women are not seen capable of resisting the demands of the street. The existing body of literature informs that the problem immediately starts when they land on the street, as they become acquainted with many negative social labels which are uttered by members of the public (who are people who could be their peers and those who can be their parents in the absence of their biological parents). Mentioned peers and parents are those who do not live on the streets but go to town to do their errands.

The Consortium for Street Children (CSC) report (2009) moreover states that *streetism* has mainly been associated with boys because they are strong to withstand daily challenges of the street. This report admits a new observable global trend which informs that girls who come from their informative ages and eventually grow older on the street have been found to be living on the streets. In the same vein, Lieten and Strehl (2014) further state that street live tarnishes their dignity. Within a blink of an eye, their dignity is lost. She co-opts a street oriented dignity. They confirm that the decision to leave their own space is a huge step. It is an indication of being fed up but and another resilience strategy from an unbearable vulnerability or any form of victimization which becomes cyclical as they encounter the same vulnerability context as live on the street. When the land on the street, urban margins,

they are no longer *'little princesses and angels'*. *Streetism* strips them of being family name, socialization and identities. They are no longer princesses or angels, society's pride. On the streets, they gain a new social identity that defines them as street children or as street girls or runaways, an identity type that is associated with being chaotic, rowdy and uncontrollable. Automatically, she forfeits her rights and being categorised as a normal human being. She starts being spoken ill of by people who are against street life (Tyler, 2006).

Dabir (2014) conducted a study on social identities that are attributed to girls living on the street. The voices of the sampled group of girls mentioned the following:

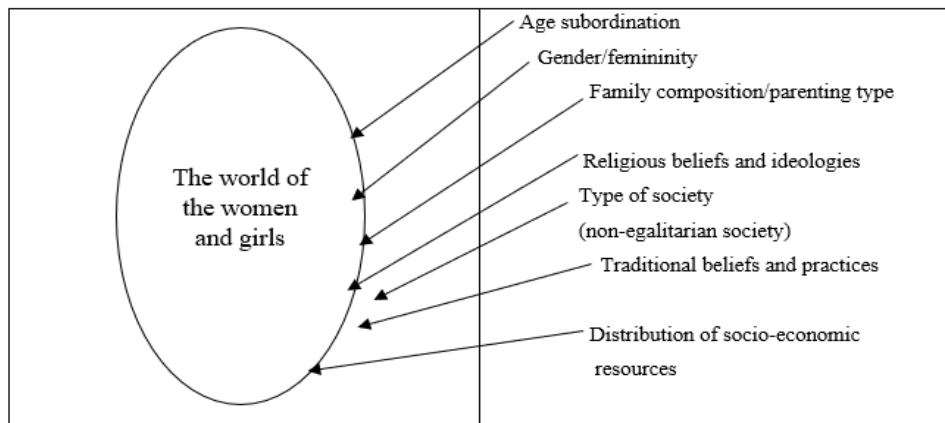
.....they call me street child, its means "anonymous": that's not my name. My name is Adeline. It means beloved. They call me Urchin. That's not my name. My name is Ilaria. It means "cheerful". They call me Spinning Top. That's not my name. My name is Cara. It means "precious jewel". They call me Dust of Life. That's not my name. My name is Mateo. It means "gift of God".

This was a poem by a former street-connected child expressing what it feels like to be stripped of one's name and given another.

In view of the above narrative, Wakatama, (2007), Ndlovu, (2016), Tyler, (2006) and Karlsson, (2015), confirm that projected informal names signals the way in which society, see them - often, as being something less than human. The consequent construed identity encouraged the incorporation of the Social Identity theory to be presented in Chapter Four of this thesis as I need to know how they are called/ named while living on the street and how this shapes their identities.

The following Multilevel Model for Vulnerability (MMV) developed by Amin et al., (2013:8) depicts that East and South African women and girls are indeed surrounded by a web of vulnerability. This model fits into the presentation of this study's problem statement because the research site, being Pietermaritzburg, is a city in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa, which falls under Southern Africa. The already presented map was presented to justify the use of the following model.

Figure 1: Multilevel Model of Vulnerability



Source: Amin et al. (2013:8)

Briefly, this model confirms and delineates that, women, young women and girls are engulfed by a web of issues. The self or the state of being is defined by others. Women, young women and girls are socialized in the world that dictates rather than recognizes them as equal or rational agents. This model finds relevance in this chapter because the vulnerabilities that are felt by a women, young women and a girl in Southern Africa have a great potential for being equally borne by both an adolescent and a young women between (19 and 35 years) in South Africa, including in Pietermaritzburg. This model also contributed to the selection of African Feminist Theory which exists to speak about the vulnerability context that are mostly experienced by women as well as young women and girls by virtue of being female gendered. This theory finds fit in the delineation of the problem statement and will be discussed in Chapter Four as well as in Chapter Five of this dissertation. There is a particular question that will be analysed in Chapter Five with the intention of diagnosing the vulnerability of the studied population, particularly their experience before they migrated to the street and while they are found to be living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounds. Findings of this thesis will tell the story of young women in Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings and to advise policy custodians so that public policies will significantly respond to their situation. This model will be used to cross analyse the collected data. It worth mentioning that the model encouraged the systematic search of theoretical frameworks such as the African Feminist Theory and the Vulnerability theory that will be delineated in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Beyond that already mentioned, the relevance of the study is supported by Ray et al. (2011: 17) when mentioning that, “the situation of street involved girls and their experiences is not yet fully recognized by many academic scholars, by child and youth focused organizations and institutions.” They further state that, the children and the youth of the street appear to be a population that does not have rights like any other human being. It is noticeable that they are not direct beneficiaries of any form of services rendered by government. They remain the burden of non-government organizations (NGOs). Such organizations have been seen providing food, clothes and shelter to those that they have identified on the streets. Overall, their visibility on the streets makes them to appear as insignificant people in most societies. They become enemies of the law as they constantly run away from policeman (Wakatama, 2007). This study’s academic relevance as well as its significance is also supported by the CSC (2009) as it declared that the existing research has been largely oriented around boys on the streets and the story of girl has not been explored by many researchers.

1.3.2. The problem statement in the scope of human rights

It was also important to understand life and experiences of the studied population within the scope of human rights. Human rights are defined as those rights which are due to a person by virtue of birth or of being alive (Tyler, 2006). In the context of this research, the perception of young women studied give an indication that they a proportion of the population in Pietermaritzburg that does not enjoy the rights of living under a proper shelter but uses pavements to sleep. Sleeping on the street pavements is an indication that they are homeless or roofless. According to Tyler (2006) as well as Human Rights Watch: World Report, (2013), they are not direct or indirect beneficiaries of economic, social rights which guarantees standards of living in conditions that ensure health, well-being, social security as well as education. Abu-lughod (1993) posited that an anthropological research inquiry will remain weak if it does not prioritize to look at the rights of women and young women for reasons that they are always considered as people with less rights in various social spaces. Collecting their narratives will inform a strong advocacy agenda and also shape policies and interventions that are expected to respond to their daily situations.

Ray et al. (2011) assert that it goes without questioning that any child, youth and adults living and surviving on the street is falling short of attaining their rights. James and Prout (2015) build on Ray et al. (2011) and mention that all the labelled street children or youths

fall outside the frame of what is perceived or considered normal. Tyler (2006) further state that they experience a wide range of societal ill-treatment. Seager and Tamasane (2010) elaborate on this, saying that they somehow fall into the category of the dead yet alive and visible on the street; hence it is worth capturing their life and experiences as they survive on the streets. The findings are envisaged to influence corresponding public policies that will revive them from the grave of not being taken as normal members of the society as well not being beneficiaries of public policies.

My inquiry focused on the life and experiences of the studied population, based on my interest and learning from the writing of Tyler (2006) who has largely argued that any person who lives on the streets does not enjoy equal universal right like the person who lives under a normal shelter with a confirmed sanitation. I was intrigued to position or to ask if the South African celebrated democracy and it's promises remains an equal benefit of young women living on the street where the study was conducted. In the Republic of South African (RSA), democracy maintains the liberation of all its people. It comes with the benefit of human rights by virtue of being born and it promises people access to health and sanitation, education, shelter etc the list is quite long. All these are promises listed in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No.108 of 1996) section 152 of chapter, which stipulates the uncompromised enjoyment of human rights by all South Africans. The appearance and perception of the young women being studied gives an indication that are not part of the normal population or society because of they happen to live on the street. Without any scholarly investigation, the identified studied population is outside the bracket of being direct beneficiaries of the enshrined human rights. The presence on the street as a key problem statement indicate that they are not direct beneficiaries of a South African democracy which is more than two decades now. The visibility of the mentioned studied population on the gives an indication that the South African constitution has cracks and poor policies that respond to the welfare of everyone irrespective of their geographical places.

It is within my writing scope that the population of the streets, particularly young women that live on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings, have a different story to tell about the democracy that they have celebrated on the street. I also hold that they democracy song that they sing is different to those who live in good shelters across four seasons, which is spring, summer, autumn and winter. The song they will sing will also be in contrary to what is claimed by politicians. The outlook analysis of their visibility on the

street in the context of democracy and promised human rights informs that the public, the private sector and other key stakeholders in policy making and implementation have not taken into account the protection of these young women within their families and within societies and also have dismally failed to understand the root causes of the factors that push and pull them to the streets. The State of the World's Girls (SWG) (2015) reports disclose that no country in the world has achieved equality and a sound environment for women and young women, and, it could be said, not many have even tried.

Besides all that has been mentioned and referenced as the problem statement above, a supplement to the magnitude of the observed problem is that in the history of road spatial development and distribution, Mehta, (2013) assert that streets have never even been classified or categorized as residential areas, but have always been referenced as a public thoroughfare (usually paved or unpaved) in a built environment. Streets are public parcels of land connecting buildings in an urban context, on which people may freely be in transit, assemble, interact, and move about. This research builds on this, noting that streets have turned to being living and sleeping areas for young women.

The inference that I drew from the quoted SWG (2015) report imply that girls are faced with multi-dimensional challenges. I persuaded to undertake this endeavour because I wanted to understand the situation of the studied population, as I held that they are not different to other girls or young women in Africa or in the world. The only difference will be that their vulnerability will be the result of the context and the situations that they may uniquely find themselves in. The story/ narrative of a young women studied will be presented in Chapters Five and Six of this thesis. Such chapters entail what this literature contribute in the existing body of literature around the street phenomenon. Findings will not be generalized because of the sampling technique used in this study but other countries will have a sense of what contribute to the street life and experiences in Pietermaritzburg. The presented data about the life and experiences of the studied population in streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings has never been explored by any other scholar or researcher.

1.3.3. Delineation of the problem statement within the scope of culture

A historical overview drawn from Sorre and Oino (2013) provide that within the African culture, children and girls/ young women in particular were treasured and mostly protected by their societies more than other institutions or structures. They were taken as a source of

prestige in addition to being regarded as a blessing from God and the ancestors. They expand on this to state that the visibility of young people on the street in Africa is a cultural shame because it is the responsibility of each society member to love, provide and care for the societal or village offspring. Them being seen on the streets fending for themselves is a cultural shame in Africa as a continent and on its rich customs and values. Karlsson (2015: 10-12) who conducted a study titled *Living the Street Life* posit that seeing girls/ young on the street is a cultural shame in most cultures as they are mostly cared in strictest places. Seeing them on the streets inform that African societies are troubled and this calls for a thorough understanding of a cultural shame or loss in some societies. One would be interested in asking where has African societies with strong societal ties gone? Chapter Two of this thesis will look at the role of societies which the intention of understanding what has happened as the international literature confirms that girls/ young women are not seen on the streets.

In the KwaZulu-Natal Province (KZN), the visibility of girls and young women on the streets, not only on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings, is a cultural and traditional shame. The shame is grounded on the fact that Pietermaritzburg is a city within the Province of KZN which is known to be grounded on the commemoration of traditional customs. The Zulu royal house now and again encourages the nation to make sure that girls and young women are to be nurtured and protected accordingly by those who existing to resume parental roles upon them.

For example, the reed dance also known as *Umkhosi woMhlanga* is one prominent custom that defines the traditional image of the KZN image in South Africa as a country. This custom has put the KZN Province in the international limelight. The commemoration of the reed dance is a symbolic cultural heritage of the already mentioned Province. Nkosi (2013:38) defines the reed dance as a custom that is annually commemorated in September by girls and young women and median ladies who advocate that young girls should be well cared for by families and societal structures. This custom advocates that the families are to take good care of girls and young women so that they will be able to preserve their virginity up until they get married.

The visibility of girls and young women in the city which also commemorates the reed dance springs up a significant contradiction because one would expect girls and young women to

be highly protected and not to be seen living on the streets, as *streetism* has been confirmed to be rough, brutal for boys let alone girls and young women. The question that other researchers can ask beyond the current study, is as follows “what is the inclusionist or exclusionist approach of this cultural custom?” Or does it take into consideration that there are girls and young women that are on the street and what can it do to respond to their daily challenges on the street? This study can be undertaken by both cultural and applied anthropologists.

1.3.4. International scope of *streetism*

I acknowledged from the onset that I am not the first emerging researcher to write within the scope of *streetism* or street life. Seyed et al. (2013:21) acknowledge that the visibility of young women on the street has also been observed on the international landscape. This global rise is an indication of a global phenomenon which is a result of contextual influential factors. They note that street life has many pathological and consequential negative impacts on for the population of the streets. Their visibility also portrays a negative image of themselves, their families and the society as a whole. The State of the World Report (SWR) (2014:2) states that worldwide, girls and young women live under severe contexts of vulnerability resulting from social and societal exclusion where boys are more recognised. This report crucially argues that such exclusions marginalize girls and young women and expose them to being victims of gender inequality. The content of the report expands to posit that girls/ young women are largely unable to fully enjoy or exercise their basic human rights. Such conditions thus encourage girls and young women to escape from their family institutions and bear the consequences of being excluded from accessing healthcare, schooling, and various channels and types of information that would empower them as they live on the streets.

Furthermore, living on the streets tends to portray a negative image of who they are: often they are defined as children in constant conflict with the law (Thapa et al., 2010). In relation to the existing literature, the extent of the research gap is acknowledged by the International Day of the Girl Child (2015) report issued by the United Nations where it is admitted that there had been an unprecedented rise in the number of leading public figures who back the girls and the agenda they bring to various roundtables, but there is still not enough research that captures the life and experiences of adolescent or young women who are presently visible on the streets.

Montague's (2000:11) research findings confirm that the visibility of young women, irrespective of age, on the street is a global problem. These findings show that parents no longer possess a qualified or a conditional moral right to impact their lives of their children in significant ways. The SWR (2014:2) also states that parents have lacked appropriate care for their girls and young women. The report mentions that girls, worldwide, in general, live under severe contexts of vulnerability resulting from social and societal exclusion where boys are more acknowledged than girls, leading to marginalization and gender inequality. As such, girls, young women and women are largely unable to fully enjoy or exercise their basic human rights. Under such living conditions that girls are thus forced to escape from their family institutions and bear the consequences of being excluded from accessing healthcare, schooling, and various channels and types of information that would empower them as the live on the streets.

From the perspective of family preservation and within a sense of belonging, the SWG reports (2012, 2014 and 2015) mention that, the existence of girls on the streets globally, demonstrates that the traditional composition of families as recognized institutions has been rapidly breaking down. Thapa et al. (2010) as well Mokofane (2014) agree that these children and young people of any gender on the street are highly neglected and deprived, and generally lack family care and protection, as well as access to healthcare and education. They are also stigmatized, dehumanized and demeaned by members of the public who do not even want to know who they are and what they wish for. This particular thesis took interest in also collecting their structures of their families, types of parenting that they come under or from as well as their level of education that they had while staying at home and those that they may have pursued while living on the street. This kind of data will be graphically presented in Chapter Five as part of their life stories.

Tyler (2006) and Ndlovu (2015) argue that the population of the street is categorized as worthless and undesirable citizens, and several countries have used violent and punitive measures to remove them from the streets. It is clear that the visibility and the presence of girls and young women on the street hustling and living globally shows that life on the street is rough and complicated. It places them in vulnerable contexts. Couch (2010) continues along the same vein saying that, globally, girls living on the street had started to be seen in great numbers at that time and they seemed to be have been suffering enormous *gender-*

specific issues in health, education, social, and economic spheres that have historically been overlooked by global development programs.

It is not in dispute that the situation of the girls in the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounds, as well as internationally, is a socio-economic concern. The question is who has failed who, what are the roles of families and the society in the protection and the rearing of girls? The unfolding of this research project will be telling a story that will give a sense of who has failed who and provide a clear perspective as to why these girls have chosen the streets.

1.3.5. The relevance of the problem statement in anthropology

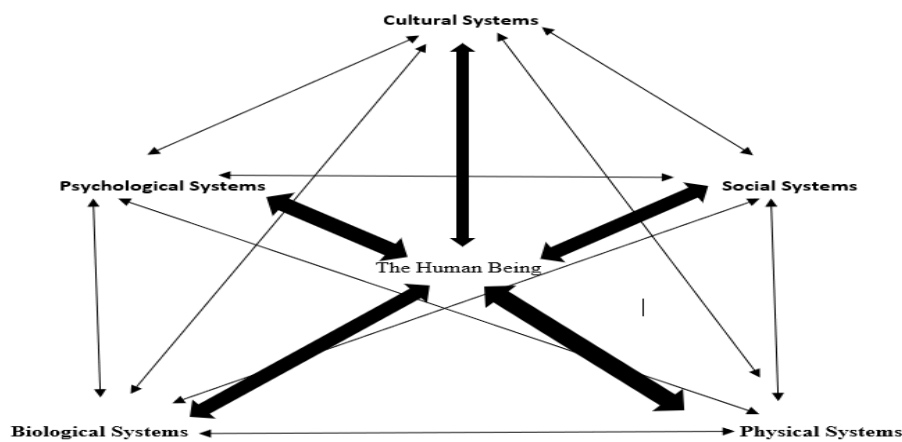
Andreatta and Ferraro (2013: 3) theorize that anthropology is the study of people or human beings. Anthropology as a subject and a field is capable of thoroughly examining any human related situation and experience in their natural spaces. Behar and Gordon (1995) also mentioned that anthropologists have uniquely studied people social realities through the lens of ethnographic research and other qualitative research methods which encourage the collection of experiences and narratives. They expand on this to say that anthropologists strive to understand the totality of people beyond the human eye and appearance. They also state that anthropologists have took interest in studied women in their own cultures simply because women issues are complex and they vary from context to context. The relevance of this study is intended to study life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. Collected findings are envisaged to tell a contextual experience of their life and experiences as a unique experience from the experience that has been document about another young women elsewhere.

Existing sources in anthropology outline that anthropologists are specialists in conducting ethnographic research or direct observations and they favour the Explanatory Model (EM). This is the data collection model that this study also considers as I intend to collect their narratives through in-depth interviews and to also conduct direct observations. In-depth interviews enables the EM to come through as the person being studied because the lead narrator of their story or situation. The EM allows anthropologists to holistically capture narratives from the directly affected or the studied population and such narratives have the potential to eventually shape public policies and programs. The significance of the EM is that it discourages the generalization of the studied phenomena and exists to provide a grounded insight of the studied phenomena. Collected findings will remain the experience

of those that were studied. Further, researchers are not discouraged to make or draw from generated research findings but they must critically note that such findings must and will not be generalized to the broader international society.

Again, the relevance of this study in anthropology is embedded in the rationale that anthropologists are known for providing a nuanced understanding of a particular phenomenon and they are concerned with the many aspects of peoples' lives as they seek to explore what makes people unique and seek to understand why they behave the way they do and how they behave in their natural settings. The content of anthropological research analyses each of the following interrelated systems in order to under the totality of the person's situation. From an anthropological point of view, women and young women vulnerability contexts is often the result of the following systems. They are interlinked, women and young women are in most ethnographic research findings confirmed to be at the centre of such factors.

Figure 2: Interrelationships between various scientific models of human beings



Source: Hiebert (1976)

It is worth noting that development of research objectives and questions of this study was influenced by the above figure, as well as by the theoretical frameworks that will be discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. The rationale behind the favouring of this figure was embedded in realizing that it provides dimensions which could really communicate the life and experiences of the studied population. Peoples and Bailey (2011) contend that anthropology brings and provides an explicit evolution to the study of human behaviour and

it specializes in scrutinizing all aspects of life and everything that confirms the totality of a human being or a particular subject. This is the strength that other fields lack are not being able to carry through. Anthropology affords emerging anthropologists the ability to holistically study people and other things that contribute to the totality of them.

1.4. Research context in anthropology

Anthropology is a discipline within social science as well as an area of specialization. The context of this research is in urban anthropology. The existing literature confirms urban anthropology as an area of specialization that emerged between the 1950s and 1960s. Urban anthropologists ever since have examined important topics such as ethnic neighbourhoods, rural-urban linkages, labour migration, urban kinship patterns, social networks, urban stratification, squatter settlements, and in formal economies. They have also focused on social problems such as homelessness, troubled race relations, poverty, social injustice, unemployment, crime and poor public health. Haraway (1998) also state that anthropologists have always had the interest of collecting situated knowledge. Urban anthropologists continue to take interest in asking people ask why people continue to be homeless or live on the streets; how they got to be homeless or live on the streets. Such information is required to present a contextual/ situational analysis of how people continue to live in order to inform responsive public policies and development initiatives (Ferraro and Andreatta; 2013: 14). It is because of this major contribution made by early urban anthropologists that I see a great need to collect reasons and experiences of contemporary street life especially from the sampled population.

1.5. Definition of key concepts

1.5.1. Life stories

This thesis captures life stories of the population studies. McAdams (2009) cited in Mosoman (2015: 2) explain life stories as narratives of self-experiences that are internalized and evolved over time. The owner of the experience becomes the narrator. The content of this thesis captures life stories or experiences of how a young women (19-35 years) lives on the street that her narrative will tell where she comes from and how is she surviving on the street. This study should not be critiqued on the basis of giving a single street life being the life and experiences of young women where the study conducted. The rationale is been justified enough and an in-depth narrative of a young women remains a limited literature

gap in Pietermaritzburg. Longitudinal prospective research endeavours are recommended in this thesis as an intention of broadening approaches and strategies of responding to the contextual life and experiences of street life in Pietermaritzburg.

1.5.2. Young women

The theme was developed within the scope and the age of the studied population that has been already introduced in the beginning. This thesis acknowledges different definitions are contextually drawn or justified. Other contextual definitions include the use of girl to refer to a young women. Other definitions exclude a girl to define a young women. With this brief contextual comparative background, what remains critical to note is that defining a young a women is not easy as this definition is shaped by an interplay of issues. This thesis has noted that existing definitions are also shaped by culture beliefs and norms, country political experiences, the consideration of environmental, human right issues and other ironic and chronic experiences that any female person has endured both in happiness and in sadness. In other cultures, a girl, or young women is simultaneously used to refer to a female that is young and not customary or civil married. In other cultures a girl acquaints the status of being a young women after having gave birth or lost her virginity because it is culturally believed that she does not belong to be called a girl. In other cultures the girl or young women is used to refer to a female that has never gotten married irrespective of having lost her virginity or not. Gere and Helwing (2012) concur by stating that the term girls is colloquially used to refer to a young or unmarried women. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a “girl” reference or labelling is technically used to signify a “young women”. In their writing context they acknowledge that this “girl/young women” has brought a dichotomous debate. Gere and Helwing (2012) also noted in their writing context that the use of “girls” has been internationally contested. The basis of the contestation is embraced by many gender advocates and feminists who critically argue that the “girl” reference belittles the image, rights and the dignity of “girls” between the ages of 15-35 years. Their critical analysis of the label inform that the use of a “girl” reference is always mixed up in metaphors that don’t recognize the worth and the potential of such young women in patriarchal settings. Feminists challenged this reference on the basis that it was and still victimize a young women potential within their families as well in the society where patriarchy rules. It is belittles their presence and it also shunt their voices where they need to represent themselves.

Notwithstanding the critical views raised above, this thesis also note that the use of “girls when depicting the situation of a young women” cannot not suddenly be completely avoided because a great amount of literature produced by feminists and other gender specialists in the context of gender inequality simultaneously use girls or young women to refer to female person who is under the supervision of women and who is in most cases not respected in the patriarchal family and society. Therefore, the content of this thesis should not be penalized if the quoted literature in Chapter Three simultaneously uses girls to refer to young women or young women along with girls. The alternative use of this references or labels does not me that this study is less sensitive to the issues that are aligned with the usage of a girl labelling. Secondly, the existing literature is critiqued for immensely writing about situation of girls/ young women but fail consummately to come up with a theoretically embedded definition of who is a young women. This theoretical critique will be elucidated in detail in Chapter Seven which is the chapter that will be outlining contributions that this thesis contribute in the anthropology or in the existing body of knowledge.

The definition that is being introduced by this thesis is that..... *a young women is a female that has passed adolescence stage/ age, does not matter the race, ethnic group, height, the curves as well as her bone structure. She can also be defined as a youth when spoken about in political spaces or represented in policy prescripts and in other demographic reports.*

The above shared definition of a young women is the one that I prioritized to represent the studied population. In this context of this research, she is homeless and not referenced as a young women but called differently by different people; and such names will translate in the Chapter Five of this thesis.

1.5.3. Street person/ population

The definition of which person is classified, referenced or labeled as a street population also remains largely contested term. The existing literature on *streetism/* street life explains that it is quite and often difficult to define the population of streets either as street children or street youth because no one is ever sure of their ages, as many of the conducted endeavors have not been focused on collecting their ages but rather on how they were surviving on the streets. Many had stated in their literature sources that a street person is a boy. This definition was seen embracing a homogenized identity of the persons or the population of the street

which is disconfirmed by the diversity of gender that one sees on the streets in contemporary times. I also noted that the existing literature confirms that both developed and underdeveloped countries lack a unified definition of who is a child or a youth of the street. Tyler (2006) and Ndlovu (2015) supports my opinion but arguing that the existing literature hub is critiqued for having various definitions that are either too wide or too narrow: too including or too excluding. Even so, the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2012) defines a street child, youth and a street adult as someone who is found to be on the street without being cared for by his or her parents. Hedges (2012:4-5) also notes that there is no common consensus regarding the definition that has been supported by all researchers, hence it is accepted for researchers to continue to construct definitions that delineate street children/youths based on their observed situation. After having conducted a study on "streetism", a socio-cultural and pastoral theological study of youth problems in Ghana, he further defines a street child, adolescent or youth as someone who lives on the streets. He also mentions that they do not form a homogenous group as they appear to fall in the categories of either being (children on the street, of the street (live, work and sleep), or spend majority of streets but returns home). Thomas de Benetez (2011) authored the World's Street Children Report (WSCR) (2011) where he stated that "a street child or youth is any girl...or boy...for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood and who is inadequately protected supervised or directed by responsible adults". De Benetez (2011) defines street children "as children/ youth who are away from home or care for lengthy periods of time, who live outside of societal institutions such as the family, education and other statutory services; who do not receive any formal sources of support and are self-reliant and/ or dependent upon informal support networks".

This thesis does not dispute existing definitions around the street phenomenon because they may be contextually inclined. Based on the context of the studied population, this thesis defines a street child or youth as *any boy or girl child, adolescent or youth who for many reasons spends time living on the streets. This human being lives on the streets without the supervision of any guardian that is older than him or her, irrespective of being a legal or illegal guardian. He or she is a child, adolescent or a youth that for many reasons migrated, dislocated or exiled from his or her places of origin and opted to work or stay on the street. This boy/ young man or girl/ young female is popular on the street but mostly not liked and trusted by members of the public. He or she survives individually or within a so-called group*

in order to survive the demands of the day. This human on the street does not have a permanent corner on the street with a title deed that confirms that she or he is the owner.

1.5.4. Streetism/ Homeless

This is a key descriptor of a child, youth or adult, irrespective of gender, race, and ethnic group who (because of push and pull factors) lives and survives on the street. Ajiyobe and Aladiti (2008) state that *streetism/homeless* connotes an act of living and sleeping on the street; it entails using the street as means of survival as well as making a place for abode. Arthur (2013) also defines *streetism* as a manner of life of homeless or unmonitored youth on the street. Both these labels will be used interchangeably in this thesis as they meet the description of the sample population of this study. Barons (2003) provides that the term street youth usually refers to youth who run away or been expelled from their homes and/ or spend some or all of the time in the various public places.

1.5.5. Street identities versus young women identity

This thesis also argues that when these young women are born they are given beautiful names. It also appeared that in Africa they are considered as blessings from God. The content of the already quoted chapter also stated that, they lose such beautiful names when landing on the streets. What this chapter presented, corresponds with the content of the Social Identity Theory presented in Chapter Four of this thesis. The chapter provides that one's identity is socially constructed. This theory further claims that one's identity is not static but fluid because of various shaping contexts. Also, the content of the theory additionally state that one's identity is negotiated and also traded by choice or because of pressing conditions which motivate the person to let go of the previous identity in order to settle or adjust in a new environment. The content of the theory further brings forward that one's identity or identity labels are constructed out of the observed performance while other identities are developed in the quest to victimize or disbelieve the situation of a particular phenomenon. Some identities have misconstrued the true self or identity of a particular person. In the context of street life or *streetism* such identity labels are a result of the geography of the street and the reasoning of people who do not live on the streets.

Dabir (2014: 2-4) provides that in the Democratic Republic of Congo, groups of people who live on the streets are collectively called *moinex* (sparrows) or *balados* (ones who walk

around); they are also called *phaseur*, which refers to their habit of taking naps during the day. In Kenya they are called parking boys. This reference confirms that *streetism* has been normalized for boys only. In Philippines, street children or youths are called *juvenile thieves*. In Brazil they are called *pajaros fruturos* (meaning fruit birds). In Myanmar, a traditional term that is used to reference street children as *Lan pyaw kalay* which means children who are happy on the streets. In North American countries, street children are usually included in the population of *homeless children or youths*. In the United States of America, they are best known as *thrown away kids* and most of them end up on the streets after a failure of the foster care system. In the former Soviet Union countries, street children are called *bezprizorniki*, which means those who are uncared for. In Costa Rica, they are called *chapulines* meaning grasshoppers, parasites or pests. In Vietnam, they are known as *buidol*, children or youth of the dust. In Bangladesh, they are called *tokai*, meaning rag pickers. In Guatemala, they are called *huelepegas* or glue sniffers. In Nairobi, street children are branded as *chokora* (scavengers) and in Mongolia, they are known as *manhole children*. Wells-Bogue (2013:1) mentions that street girls are called *setenya adari*, (girls of the night) in Ethiopia, particularly Mekelle city. In South Africa, they called *hoboes or os'khotheni*.

The existing street identities are less or not at all sensitive to the struggle that African Feminist activists are trying to achieve about the image, rights as well as the dignity of young women and women in general. Such identities prove that one's dignity is wrecked by those who are less sensitive about someone's living conditions. This thesis will report in Chapter Five identities that the studied population they have traded, assimilated and that which were protected by people of the other world being those who don't live on the street. Such recorded labels will contribute new insights from the existing literature trace and also confirm that one's identity is socially constructed and this will broaden the content of the existing literature.

1.6. Significance and the delimitation of the study

Many scholars have mentioned the importance of delineating the significance of the study as well as stating the delimitation. Simon (2011) mentions that the significance of the study in particular because this is where the researcher describes or finds the spaces to explain the potential value of the study in the social sciences or within a specific field of inquiry or discipline. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) build on Simon's (2011) perspective by mentioning that the significance of the study in social science research is key because it is where the

main author presents the academic angle that the study is bringing to the existing body of literature.

The critical angle of the undertaken research which also marks the significance of the study is that the main author is focused on exposing the life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings, not of any other age cohorts or gender. The delimitation favours girls not boys, because the existing literature shows that boys (or a boy child) living on the streets have been repeatedly researched. The sexual category which is young women, the age cohort which is (19–35 years) and the streets of the PMB CBD and surroundings indicate the delimitation of the study. Joyner et al. (2013) define the delimitation of the study as a research scope which sets or defines parameters within which the researcher has conducted the research. Delimitation does not mean research flaws or weaknesses. The researcher makes mention of delimitation which relate to the exclusionary and inclusionary decisions that were made and taken before and during the research process.

The significance and the delimitation of this study is on the studying their life and experiences before coming to the streets and when they are on the streets; how they did they arrive on the streets; how do or are they surviving on the street define and sustain their sexuality, sensuality, sexual orientation, sexual identity and social identity; and how they cope with daily demands and how they access government service. The soundness as well as the academic relevance of this study is pronounced by the existing literature. The author of this research analysed a series of research thesis that were produced by many scholars dating from 1973 to date, 2018. Among these, not a single scholar has been specific in studying and capturing the life and experiences of young women on the street as intended by the study that I undertook. Various age categories have been studied but findings have been generalized to the extent that one could begin to think that they also encapsulate a girl's voice. The reality is that a (19–35) year old young women's voice, particularly a young women living on the streets, has still not been captured by any researchers or scholars. This anthropological attempt is new and academically relevant. It is envisaged that the findings of the study will bridge the existing literature gap and further influence public policies and then motivate other scholars to continue with academic research which will continue to focus on the situation of young women living on the street and other aspects that will be significant to study.

1.6.1. Study objectives

Wanjohi (2012) asserts that the importance of research objectives lies in the fact that they determine, the kind of questions that are to be asked and they also determine what questions are to be asked, define what is the nature of the data to be collected and what analyzing procedures are to be used. (data collection tools are developed from research objectives) and they also inform the design of the proposed study.

The following are the objectives that guided the development of questions that were asked during the data collection and are intended for the collection of the social reality of the studied population.

The primary objective of the study is to:

- Study and capture the life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) that are found to be living on streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

The secondary objectives are as follows:

- To ascertain the demographics or profiles in terms of the race, levels of education, places of origins, family backgrounds and structures and the nature of their stay on the streets.
- To ascertain how they cope on the street.
- To ascertain the periods that the studied population has survived on the street.
- To discover the push and pull factors that drove them to the streets.
- To diagnose if they have access to government services and facilities while living on the streets.

1.6.2. Study questions

According to Wanjohi (2012), research questions are the methodological point of departure of any scholarly research in social science. The intention for delineating such questions was allow the collection of experiences that have never been recorded by any researcher before with an intention of providing a thorough description of the life and the experiences of the studied population where the study was conducted. The following are questions that were key to be answered during data collection.

- What are the daily life experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings?
- Who are the young women on the streets?
- How do they cope on the streets?
- How long have they been on the streets?
- What are the push and pull factors that possibly drive young women to the street?
- How do young women living on the street access government services and facilities?

1.6.3. Structure of the thesis

Chapter One: Introduction: This chapter covers the introduction, delineates the problem statement, outlines the research significance in social science research and in anthropology, and lists the objectives and questions of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review: Chapter Two presents a global literature review and a conceptualization of terms in respect to street life of girls. A great amount of captured literature within this chapter will be used in Chapter Six for the purposes of comparing what was pre-empted by the existing literature and of being able to ascertain if a new theory has emerged as a result of the undertaken study.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodologies: This chapter outlines the research design and methodologies that shaped the data collection. It also presents the data collection plan that the researcher adopted. Experiences and limitations experienced by the researcher during data collection are listed in this chapter.

Chapter Four: The Interplay of Theoretical Frameworks: Chapter Four will outline the relevance of the chosen theoretical frameworks regarding the situation of the studied population. These theoretical frameworks will also be used in Chapters Five and Six which cover the analysis. It is important to mention that this chapter also outlines the problems that which had been experienced by the studied population which had caused them to opt for the streets. It is through this chapter that one will also begin to note that how social identities are adopted.

Chapter Five: Presentation of the Life and Experiences of young women on the Streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and Surroundings: The chapter captures narratives from each sampled participant. These will be inclusive of both in-depth-interview responses and that collected during the focus group discussion.

Chapter Six: Presentation of Direct Observation: This chapter delineates all that the researcher observed and also highlights the limitations that were experienced during data collection. The data is analyzed by using themes.

Chapter Seven: Recommendations and Conclusion. This chapter entails a conclusion as well as recommendations that the researcher makes from having been involved in the processes of the research.

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the intentions of this study which included the delineation of the presented problem. This presented problem which is visibility of young women living on the street constitute a research inquiry because no one was born to live on the street. It has often been reiterated by many scholars that street life is far too risky for young women because they are susceptible to a lot of vulnerability contexts. The following chapter will look at the role and responsibilities of families, the society and the state in raising a child or a youth.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the literature review on young women living on the streets. The content of this chapter takes a different angle from that of early writers on the subject. I decided to analyse the role of families, the society as well as the state in the process of rearing and socializing of any offspring through the lenses of theoretical scholars such as the systems theory, functionalist theory, Marxist theory as well as the structuralism theory. The rationale of this literature content is that these theoretical lenses give a grounded account of why things have changed from what they were rationally meant to be.

2.1. The relevance of a literature review in social research

Fink (2014:3-5) defines a research literature review as a systematic, explicit and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating, and synthesizing the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners. In

addition, Machi and McEvoy (2012) define literature review as an objective, critical summary of published and unpublished research literature which is found or has been recommended by a researcher as key or relevant regarding a particular undertaken research endeavour. Ridley (2012) independently defines a literature review as a survey and discussion of the literature in a given area of study. It is a concise overview of what has been studied, argued, and established about a topic, and it is usually organized chronologically or thematically.

2.2. The purpose of a literature review

I value the purpose of conducting a literature review because, according to Machi and McEvoy (2008), it helps the researcher to place the study in the context of its own contribution in order to under the research problem being studied, identify gaps or flaws in the existing body of knowledge and justifies the relevance of the intended research. Further, it demonstrates that the research has not been done before or helps to indicate that the study has been conducted before and illustrates how the subject has been studied previously. A literature review influences methodological insights and also limits research duplications.

2.3. The delimitation within the existing literature review

The sampling of literature within the specified period is based on acknowledging that such sources are credible enough to inform the content of this research. Literature from 1970 to date was reviewed and quoted within the content of this thesis. The rationale is that this period proves to have sources that are relevant to this study. Acknowledging that the literature review is a continuum of different types such as evaluative, exploratory, instrumental, argumentative, systematic, historical, methodological and theoretical literature reviews, I chose the systematic, methodological as well as the integrative literature review on the basis of guiding the researcher to select the most appropriate literature source.

2.3.1. Systematic literature review

Creswell (2013) and Galvan (2015) correspondingly state that the systematic review has been recommended by many scholars and researchers who want to get a nuanced understanding of a particular phenomenon. This type of a literature review affords researchers to penetrate, select and synthesise all high-quality research evidence and arguments relevant to the study. The same type of literature review is recommended by many

qualitative methodologists as they mention that it is through such, researchers are able to identify themes which are to be used in developing data collection tools and also to assist researchers to filter themes that have already been exhausted in the existing body of knowledge. From an existing hub of literature sources around the street child phenomenon, I purposively observed scholarly literature sources that have been produced by the following disciplines: anthropology, social work, psychology and sociology. For selecting and filtering the literature that was relevant, the author systematically searched for online and library-based sources such as journals, both unpublished and published theses and dissertations, encyclopaedias and books within the period already mentioned. I had strong confidence in the mentioned literature sources because they had been listed and approved by many scholars to have a great potential in providing a nuanced understanding of the studied phenomenon; in directing the research to the existing literature gap; and to then shape the critical angle that the researcher eventually employed.

The content of this thesis makes reference to most recent sources, even though the literature period already mentioned is quite broad. It was within my research interests to attain a high level of relevancy and to acknowledge recent contributions made by new researchers and scholars. What I acknowledge from recent literature sources is that they have moved from wanting to critique the conceptualization of existing definitions. The current literature is more focused on wanting to learn more about children and the youth of the street in order to come up with solutions. It is appealing within the existing literature that contemporary researchers and writers have also moved from being bogged down with street statistics. Their argument has been that, such statistical findings are somehow flawed. Hills et al, (2016) and Ndlovu, (2016) are amongst recent researchers who have critiqued the statistics that have been disseminated around the number of the population of the street, their argument is that such statistical figures are not related the experiences of street life. These researchers have mentioned in their independent research write up that research endeavours around street life experiences should be around or about understanding street life and other contextual experiences that come as a package of *streetism*. Another sound argument that Ndlovu (2016) has made, is that it is difficult to count the population of the street or to even to conclude an international analysis of their number simple because their identities come in different shapes which confirms that one person could be counted more than twice.

A large portion of the literature talks about their survival strategies well as their resilience on the street (Asante, 2015 and Couch, 2010). Couch (2010) continue to focus on telling a story that is either talking about a street child without being specific to a particular gender or an age cohort. I undertook the study with the hope of bridging the shared literature gap and also with making recommendations for future research which is focused on young women living on the street in Pietermaritzburg.

While systematically searching for the literature on street children, I came across a journal article written by Macfie et al. (2015) where they argued that it is important to first admit that there are changes that have been seen in our families and society which have a resulted in “parent-child role confusion”. This particular journal article states that the behaviour of a child or a youth is a result of what was instilled during the early stages of development. To be specific, they even say the analysis of parents, families and their roles towards their children has gone unnoticed for a long time, which is why children as well as the youthful population is commonly is found to be opting for the street.

The systematic review of literature also empowered me to note that South Africa is one country whose authors have written little on the street phenomenon and many existing literature sources seem to be repetition of what has been done by other scholars or researchers. From the time research was undertaken around the street child phenomenon, China, the United States of America, Kenya, Brazil, Sudan, Thailand, Tanzania, Colombia, Harare, Egypt, Delhi, Zambia, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and India to mention but a few, have commissioned progressing amount of research around the street child phenomenon but with less focus on girls, young women on the street. In summary, existing sources that relate to the situation of girls on the street do not even contribute one percent (1%) to the existing body of knowledge. The latest reports on the situation of girls around the world (2010-2016) collated and disseminated by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) admit that girls seem to be troubled in both the developed and the underdeveloped countries. They mention their level of vulnerabilities as well as the socio-economic and cultural factors that affect them, but have fallen short in mentioning that they have opted for the streets rather than their own families.

2.3.2. Methodological literature review

The insight of favouring this particular type of a literature view was motivated by Galvan (2015) who asserted that a review is not always about what someone said (the findings), but how the research was designed, the exploration of different research paradigms that researchers and scholars opted for, how the data was collected, how the research participants were sampled and how the data was analysed and interpreted. A recent study on *streetism* was done by Karmacharya et al. (2012) where they looked at the prevalence and risk factors leading to HIV infection among a sample of street children and youths of Kathamandu. The study relied on the purposive sampling where ten streets were sampled as a result of having a recognized density of street children and youths. A total of 251 children (aged 11–16) and youths (aged 17–29) were sampled. The collected data was gathered through structured interviews and focus groups. The study was a typical example of many researchers who still view street children as a homogenous group and assume that their experiences on the streets are merely the same. This research was conducted with an explicit reason which was to share the life and experiences of the studied population. This study also needed to close the gap left by the study conducted by Karmacharya et al. (2012) as they only looked at youth (aged 17-29) hence this study is concerned with young women between the (ages 19-35 years).

This thesis notes that methodological reviews assist researchers to know about different designs and research methods that other researchers have used when conducting research in the same area. Thus, the literature review empowers researchers to make a decision about a suitable research design, sampling technique as well as a sound research method to guide the data collection (Bernard, 2011). The influence of methodological reviews will be demonstrated by the researcher in Chapter Three which covers the research methodology. From a list of literature sources that are part of this research content, many studies have been purely qualitative with a few which have been embedded in survey methodologies and in mixed or triangulated methods. Other researchers have conducted both empirical and desk top analyses (a systematic review of secondary sources), while others have embarked on longitudinal studies around the street child phenomenon. Others have been cohort studies looking at specific age groups and homogenous groups on the streets. I have learned many researchers have used non-probability sampling as a technique of drawing a sample. Purposive sampling as a technique under the non-probability sampling has been used by

many researchers. Very few studies have used simple-random sampling. Vedadi et al. (2013) conducted a study which looked at “street children and its impact on educational attainment in North-Western State”.

The decision to use qualitative methodologies was that I intended to make use of the life history methodology as one of the qualitative research methodologies used to collect data about life and experiences of the human beings and societies. The existing hub of literature emphasized that the use of qualitative methodologies is relevant and sound when studying street populations because it through them that the researcher is able to collect sound experiential information that could influence future policy and program directives of that particular country. Having mentioned that Harare is among the cities that have commissioned a large volume of progressing research around the studied population, the latest qualitative research was conducted by Mhizha et al. (2016) looking at “ecological self-image and behaviours for children living on the street of Harare”. The other one was conducted by Manjengwa et al. (2016) where they looked at “deprivation among children living and working on the streets of Harare”. Such different contexts of *streetism* researched by scholars in Harare really prove that one can confirm the totality of street life by conducting one study. I also systematically noted that survey research is a lesser used research inquiry. The latest one was conducted by Ray, Davey and Nolan (2011) entitled “Still on the street: still short of rights”. The focus of this endeavour was focused on analysing policies and programs related to street involved children. The methodology used is found relevant as researchers only intended to conduct a desktop analysis on the content of public policies. Such studies in Pietermaritzburg will not yet commence because a large amount of empirical knowledge about street life is still needed to be collected. This study on its own will also recommended future studies that other researchers can embark on in order to balanced scope of street life beyond the narratives of the sampled group for the study that this thesis focuses on.

2.3.3. Integrative literature review

This particular literature review remains a used method of selecting the most appropriate literature sources. Collahan (2010) states that Torraco (2005) is one of the prominent scholars who favours the integrative review as a type of a literature review. Collahan (2010) agrees but also points out that many researchers pay less attention to performing this type of review as they happen to repeat the already conducted studies. This study also noted that

the repetition of studies have been around learning about boys on the streets which confirm street life as an experience of boys only. This study critiqued this hegemonic conclusion as a result of an influx of street life information concluded on boys living on the street. This influx to some extent poses a critique to feminine studies focusing on the street life as many reviewers would assume that one is repeating something that has been already known. Chapter One of this research critiqued this academic contribution as giving a false scope of street life. I argued that there has been too few studies focused on young women's life and their experiences on the street, hence this study found relevance.

What remains crucial about this integrative literature review is that, the researcher must answer what, where and how questions which are key questions in research. These remain crucial questions that the researcher has to ask and be clear about, even before a research proposal is developed. This literature review type, in my own view, discourages the generalization of findings from places that are not directly affected. Researchers are able to capture and interpret findings that remain the experience of that particular context or a geographical experience or the population was sampled only. Moreover, it affords researchers to maximize their uniqueness or their critical angle of scrutiny among various existing sources. This particular literature review type afforded me in this study, the opportunity to thoroughly analyse if this study had been conducted before. It was through this thorough analysis of the existing literature that I am confident to say that this particular study remains my own empirical contribution as it has been not conducted by any of the early scholars. It remains my own fresh contribution. Hence, Chapters Five and Six gives new information on the subject that the study looked at.

In the process of systematically searching for the most relevant literature sources. A noticeable gap is that recent researchers are still thinking that *streetism* is only for boys. This literature gap was also mentioned by Ndlovu (2015) as he noted that most existing sources entail a street experience of boys only. Research about experiences of young on the street is still very thin. This sentiment was also presented as a justification of the problem statement and this particular research is undertaken to bridge this research gap.

The following segment of the thesis was developed through the pedagogies of the different literature review that I have explained above. The succeeding section of the thesis provides a detailed scrutinised role that each institution has to fulfil in the life of children, the youth and other people.

2.4. The role of families, society and the state in protecting girls and other children

The existing literature theorises that the visibility of any child or youth on international streets illustrates that families, societies and the states are no longer institutions that care and protect them. In my own view, the mentioned three social institutions are key institutions to ensure a well socialization process of young women and girls or any other female person. Furthermore, I hold that, they should or are to stand against structural/ chronic vulnerabilities and issues that lead to any form of inequality, gender exclusions or psychological trauma of its own people being the children, youth women, boys and other people who are categorised as vulnerable. I reason that their collective effort should be towards alleviating barriers to human development and other issues which stand against the human development of the people under them. I have learned that in anthropology, any phenomenon is studied thoroughly when socio-cultural factors are observed or noted. Boas, a proponent anthropologist encouraged all anthropological studies not to lose sight of understanding people through the roots of their origin to the current context. The early writings of Bronislaw Malinowski also a prominent writer of a large proportion of anthropology literature also encouraged anthropological studies to always question or evaluate the functionality of structures and set beliefs. The reason behind the sentiments of Bronislaw Malinowski is that a person or a society can never be studied outside the already mentioned. Ndlovu (2015) confirms this sentiment by arguing that any person who is seen living on the streets comes from a particular family, society and under a particular led state. Within this writing context he beings to say, in Africa in particular, “it takes the whole village to raise a child”. This exhortation will be interpreted as the thesis progresses.

In relation to the care and socialization of girls and young women, existing literature sources state that engagements around the poor care and protection of girls date as far back as 1995. The year 1995 mark the seating of the United Nations Fourth World Conference (UNFWC) on Women and Girls/ young women. The discussion focused on domestic issues whose

roots were from the three institutions and they were concluded to have fuelled gender inequality. International countries converged for the first time to collectively voice and agree that women, young women and girls' situations were not the same as that of men. Deliberations were centrally on what was happening in the families, societies as well as what the state was evaluated to have done less or not done at all. The root of any form of imbalance against women, young women and girls was confronted. The intention was to dethrone and harmonize the welfare of every human being irrespective of gender or sex. Debates collectively pointed that these institutions have in one way or the other created a myriad of development deficits (Jones, 2010). It was agreed in this conference that such institutions are creating barriers that have perpetuated chronic poverty and vulnerability over the course of childhood and adulthood and potentially inter-generationally; that is why women and young women are considered as inferior or voiceless. Delegates from different states in the world admitted that across the globe women and girls are often treated as inferior and are socialized to put themselves last, thus undermining their self-esteem in these institutions. They admitted that the state was seen not rigorously acting in support of the voiceless or those subordinated by a patriarchal system as well as hegemonic masculinity. Delegates from different countries in the world collectively agreed that, women and young women remain vulnerable and voiceless in many social spaces.

Within the same conference, discrimination and neglect in childhood was also noted among the social factors that are experienced by women, young women and girls. This was confirmed as an international phenomenon which prompted the rise of feminist theory. Some African feminist activists who also rose to advocate against conference discussions critically argued that the existing feminist theory was lacking an African perspective. They argued that an African woman goes through multi-layers of issues such as being a female and also being categorised as black, hence there was also a rise of Black Feminism. This theory, as already mentioned, is grounded on the perspectives of the African Feminist Theory which will be discussed as the thesis unfolds. Profoundly, this conference was listing a vulnerability context that Tallis (2012) has written about (and will be discussed in Chapter Four), elucidating the theoretical framework. The conference tabled issues that root a girl/ young women in isolation and this remains the advocacy agenda of the African Feminist Theory also presented in Chapter Four. Such deliberations were also concerned with illuminating the identity and the amount of shock that a girl/ young women begins to collect from a very young age.

The thrust of the engagement among different country members in the conference was that the care and the protection of women, young women and girls should be the primary and an immediate responsibility of their families, society and the state. Families were identified to be weakened by patriarchal systems which are widening the gap between males and females. Hegemonic masculinity was condemned for turning women, young women and girls into being vulnerable and voiceless both in their families as well as in the society. Families were also seen as institutions that are not valuing the presence of women, young women and girls beyond their designated domestic place being in the kitchen. Ojong and Muthuki (2010) who are anthropologists, confirm the shared sentiment by arguing that the kitchen has always be used as a space to shape a women's identity in the family and in the society.

From the deliberations of the conference, the society was tasked to restore the fabric of societal care, where every society members sees a need of advocating for a gender balanced society which also maximize the care, the protection and the empowerment of women, young women and girls. The state or government was trusted with the responsibility of ensuring a correct review and the correct tailoring and the implementation of policies that promote the rights, the care and the protection of women, young women as well as girls. It was further recommended that development initiatives should be implemented to prepare young women and girls to participate actively, effectively and equally with boys at all levels of social, economic, political and cultural leadership.

In relation to the conducted study, the presented problem informs that the care and protection of girls and young women has not been given urgent or maximized attention 22 years after the UNFWC was held and where many resolutions were taken. The question that needs to be urgently asked is: what are the roles of families, the society and government in protecting the rights of girls internationally?

2.4.1. The role of families and experienced challenges

The premise of this section was also motivated by acknowledging that it is without doubt that the visibility of any person living on the street raises a question which asks "where do they come from? This question broadly ask about their family compositions and origins. What kinds of families do they come from? It was important to write about the role of families because Ndlovu (2015) had previously contributed that people who live on the street come from a particular family. I held it within me that, most people are either silently or

vocally questioned e.g. where are their parents, how have they been parented, how were they socialized from their families? Are their parents dead or alive? The content of the analysis chapter will delineate what the existing literature confirms to be state of families. Chapter Five of this thesis will also delineate a life history narrative where the studied young women speak about who she really is, where does she come from and who parented or socialized her and why she chose the street.

From the scholarly point of view of anthropologists, families are primary institutions for nurturing as well as for the socialization of their offspring. This gets translated as or when anthropologists conduct qualitative research with the intention of fully understanding people in their geographical spaces. Families are always listed as variables for analysis hence this study also write about the families of the studied population. From the perspectives of anthropology literature, families remain the first point of inquiry when intending to make sense of a person or a group of people. When conducting any qualitative research, they look at of dimensions which include but are not limited to types of families, family rules and patterns, descent, marriage, parenting skills and kinship ties in order to understand the totality of an individual or group being studied. It is through such in-depth analysis of families that the anthropological literature list or confirm families as institutions from which parents are to invest in their offspring. Anthropologists believe that peoples' identities are made and shaped by the families they come from or they have been raised under. This means that children, girls and young women are the mirror of their families. People's experiences can be first traced from situations or experiences of their families before they could be linked to any other external factors.

This thesis would have been feeble if the role of families in rearing or socializing a girl/ young women was not broadly understood and also if the existing challenges that families come across in the process were not outlined. My interest in analysing families is supported by Diriba (2015:137-140) who asserted that it is vital to study people within their families. Family situations and existing experiences are important to note because such elements shape the future of children's lives and those of everyone who belongs in that family. The interest in discussing the composition of families and parental strategies is also supported by Darwin's theory which state that "our own understanding of persons depends on understanding origins of families and its dynamics". This contribution shaped the presentation of Chapter Five where I began to write about a young women that the study

sampled. The chapter begins by telling her origin, the family type that she came from as well as parenting skills that she was socialized under. It is within this chapter that she tells about what push and pull her and how she was able to trade her original identity and opted the street identity.

Bronislaw Malinowski, remain one of the pioneers in anthropology, his contextual writing postulated that a family is a universal human institution, a socializing space of all those who grow in it. The content of his writing listed a nuclear family (composed of two parents, a mother and a father, with children) as a dominant family structure in most countries. He argued that nuclear families exist to socialize children into a set of norms and customs that they learn and then preserve as grow. This means a good investment in children will result them living with the teachings of their families till adulthood. This refers to say, children are small adults in the making, ready receptors of traditions, shaped by parents and community. They become what has been deposited to them. Normatively, this means that if children are socialized well they will ensure a meaningful continuity in cultural and moral education, competence for survival in the ecology and the community, respect for tradition, appropriate behaviour and respect for elders in demeanour and gender roles. The visibility of a rising population on the street signals that this ideal family is possible no more; if it still exists it is severely troubled and findings can not only be drawn from the contribution of one writer because contexts of both developed and underdeveloped countries are not the same. If considered to be the same, one will then be comparing apples against oranges and there are no inferences that can be drawn from such findings.

In the same vein, Weisner (2015) also mentions that children's personalities and minds are understood as reflections of the cultural themes as well as the anxieties children grow up with. This was also acknowledged by Bateson and Mead, anthropology scholars who mention that the mistake that families are not aware of or they do not acknowledge, is that children who later become youths and adults, absorb and internalize all that is happening to them or around them while they are still young and growing. In turn, such experiences reproduce the neurotic behaviour that they have been collecting through observations and experiences. This literature contribution motivated the development of questions that asked the studied population to narrate what has pushed and pulled them to the street. Chapter Five of this thesis lists new push and pull factors that this study contributes which validates that reasons for choosing street life differs according to contextual factors.

Various literature sources have also noted that historians and communitarians have also acknowledged that times have changed, and that the children and the youth of today are growing up in a variety of households which have different family systems or compositions. The analysis chapter of this thesis, writes about families and the continuum of families that this thesis presented to have socialized and led the studied population to the street. Other studies both in anthropology and sociology have noted a serious decline of nuclear families (consisting of a mother, father and children). Others blame it on the rise of industrial revolution which opened opportunities of the employment of fathers away from their families. Others blamed it on the patriarchal system that encouraged a lot of divorces of married couples, the employment of mothers as they were no longer available to coach and socialize their children and mostly children were left on their own. The list of challenges in nuclear families is seen long and spirals into other issues. The contemporary status of families tells that there are many types of families that are in existence across the world.

Acknowledging that many writers have studied families and their dynamics, Adeyem (2012: 41-43) conducted a study which adopted a survey research design of the ex-post facto type, when diagnosing cultural factors promoting *streetism* among urban children in the Ibadan metropolis in Nigeria. The data that was analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistics confirmed that families are the most potent factors to recognize when trying to understand the cause and effect of *streetism* amongst children. Pollard and Harris (2013) also published a research report that captured that strong families have died out and have been replaced by an outraging number of cohabitation which destroys parental roles and weakens trust and respect between parents and their offspring. Chapter Six of this thesis presents a narrative where one of the studied population confirmed to have been raised by a step-father whom the mother left her with before she died. This confirms the vulnerability that comes with the cohabitation of parents which is confirmed as a contemporary experience proving the diminishing of nuclear families.

Rabe and Naidoo (2016:1-2) also posit that the family, irrespective of its formulation and type, has been an important structure within society, along with religion and politics, for many decades. A collaborated view that has been ascertained from many literature sources, has empowered me to reason that a family or any formation or establishment was indigenously meant to be a school for human enrichment of children across all stages of development and the foundation of societies. Another view from the anthropology literature

around families is that, families are important because they provide opportunity for personal fulfilment and contribute to the growth of other persons in society at large. Family scholars have mentioned that there is an observable change that has affected families which is not only limited to the industrialization transition but also because of what they call a *proportional change of household types*. Affandi and Habibah (2016) and Conger et al. (2010) in their independent studies assert that contemporary families are wounded by multi-phased socio-economic and economic challenges or factors. Macfie et al. (2015) profoundly stated that there is evidence that the current state of families and parenting is confused. From the desk-top literature research that they conducted around the parent-child role confusion, they concluded that there is evidence that role-confusion appears in the few years of life where parents for many reasons are seen not parenting their children as expected. This absence of parents in the early lives of their children has negative and detrimental factors during adulthood and it carries from one generation to the next. Ndlovu (2015) mentioned children, teenagers, adolescents and the youth are experiencing loneliness, and that families and parents are no longer providing them with warmth. Oppressive socio-economic situations (Affandi and Habibah (2016:8) call it “economic hardships;” increasing poverty and a lack of employment have been quoted by many scholars as having forced parents to seek for work increasingly far from their families, thereby causing prolonged separation which weakens relations and isolates children, youths and family members from one another.

Tyler (2006) state that families are experiencing many challenges which are a result of experienced poverty, death and other cultural issues that destroy its strength as a recognizable unit. Such experiences impact on the families and the development of its own offspring. This researcher also mentions that, there is a literature gap on the subject of parents-child/youth relations and this is a result of assuming that parenting is without challenges.

Booth and Crouter wrote a book in 1995 which was titled “The New Population Problem”. They were questioning why families in developed countries were shrinking and what it meant. The industrialization era was declared by many writers as a period of *transitional disorganization*. According to Marxist theory, the transitional disorganization produces residential instabilities, ethnic diversities, family disruption and proximity to urban areas

experienced which are largely experienced by underdeveloped countries, is a result of industrialization transition.

Early anthropologists like George Murdock (1897–1985) declared that, in order for one to describe the family as a social institution, one should first reveal its universal character. He went on to mention that there has been no society, no matter the era in which it functioned and has developed, in which family is missing. In other words, from the most remote times to the present, the family has been the most common form of social organization that is still in existence. Throughout history, strong families have helped to make strong societies. The family is the best arrangement for socializing and for bringing up children to be mature adults. Chudhuri (n.d.) states that in many human societies, it is assumed that the family performs biological as well as social reproduction for the survival and continuation of society. A family can be categorized as matriarchal, patriarchal or egalitarian according to the power distribution in the family. Crucially, the family plays a critical role for the personality formation and socialization of every individual. Wilson (2013: 116) declares that families are the most important social units of any society. Bornstein (2013:3) mentions that “it is a biological fact that human children do not — and cannot — grow up as solitary individuals; parenting constitutes an all-encompassing ecology of a child’s development. Mothers and fathers, as well as siblings, other family members, and even children’s non-familial day-care providers guide the development of children via many direct and indirect means”. Wilson (2013:118) also acknowledges that families will always be the basic social organization of any society. He continues by mentioning that families provide initial socialization for children that shape their self-worth, attitudes, values and behaviours. They create structures and stability. Children learn about structure, rituals and routines in the family unit. It is the first unit that is expected to instil moral discipline in a child. Armstrong (2013:116) as he draws from the perspectives of Lucretius, John Rawls and what he claims as recent findings from endocrinology, asserts that “family is important not only for bearing and raising children but to ensure that children become functioning members of the society”. When families are weak, societies begin to break down. From the theoretical perspectives of functionalism, family problems stem from sudden or far-reaching changes in the family’s structure or processes, these problems are what actually threaten the family’s stability and weaken society (Boss et al., 2009).

Proponents of the sociology of families affirm that families are ideally a major source of practical and emotional support for its members. It provides them with food, clothing, shelter and other essentials, and it also provides them with love, comfort and help in times of emotional distress and other types of support. Bonvillain (2010:211) defines a family as a “basic unit of economic cooperation and stability” that generally includes at least one parent or parent substitute and children. It is the primary group responsible for rearing children and is where the enculturation process begins (enculturation refers to the process of learning the culture that children are born into). The children in the family and parents may not always be biologically related. The role of families is to provide both economic and social support for its members.

Expanding from what was confirmed in Chapter One, communitarians mention that the family is the oldest institution on earth, and it plays a vital role in human society. Communitarians with theoretical perspectives that exist or that could be applied in instances where people are not clear of their roles and responsibilities within the society. The theoretical lenses of communitarians were found relevant because it showed that some people are not clear on their roles and could be used to diagnostically reach the roots of *streetism* life. On the other hand, the OECD (2011) report acknowledged that “nowadays the family is changing not for the better. Most children are born out of wedlock, some to young teenagers. Reports from around the world tell of millions of homeless children roaming the streets; many are escaping from abusive homes or are cast out of families that can no longer support them. It is clear that many homelands/ homes are without people to resume or satisfy parental roles”.

There is no doubt that families are social institutions and a great pillar of every society. Collaborative views from conflict theory which draws largely from Marx, Engels as well as Weber, Hebermas, Foucault and Domhoff, state that it is indeed the family that provides its members with a social identity. However, they continue that some children have advantages throughout life because of the social identity they have acquired from their parents, while others face many obstacles and remain unfortunate in the real world because the social class or race or ethnicity into which they are born is the at the bottom of the social hierarchy. I was interested in the collection of information from the studied population about their family classes and social identities. I was also interested in learning about the social classes that the studied population come from in order to establish pushing factors and to ascertain a socio-

economic profile of their families. Armstrong (2013) asserts that biblically, the family is the cradle of life and love where they are born and grow. It is a unit where moral values are taught and the spiritual and cultural heritages of society are passed on.

Opinions of cultural anthropologists about the role of families and the society are supported by advocates of proprietorism as they maintain that children and the youth are the priority of their families, parents and the society (Archard and Benatar, 2010). Cultural anthropologists mention that in other clans or kinship groups, female parents were and are still not allowed to work because their primary responsibility was and is to properly rear, protect and teach their girls good manners while their fathers have gone to work. Female parents are also known as *house-keepers* while males are called *hunter gatherers*. Female parents are also trusted with the responsibility of teaching their girl children household chores so that they are prepared to take care of their future families. In addition, cultural anthropologists mention that in many clans and kinship groups, societies and families, a girl child is cared for more than a boy child, because the parents are more concerned about preserving her virginity which is something that matters when the girl is about to get married. In relation to the care of a girl child in the Zulu culture, the family is able to receive *inkomo yomqhoyiso* (cow given to the mother of the bride as part of her bride price) (Mnguni, 2006:iv) and the brother is able to use the same *lobola* cows to engage in marriage discussion with the family he intends to take a wife from.

Perspectives on the conflict theory and the functional theory agree that changes in conventional family structures and processes threaten the family's stability and thus that of society. As far back as in the 1950s, sociologists mentioned that the male breadwinner-female homemaker was the best arrangement for raising children, as it provided for a family's economic and child-rearing needs. They warned that any shift in this arrangement would harm children and by extension, the family as a social institution and even societies themselves.

Belangare and Ward (2011) as well as Archard and Benatar (2010) postulate that the visibility of girls living alone or independently shows that family, societal norms and values have shaken with evident cracks. The appearance of destitute girls is a result of family cracks and the death of extended families also known as safety nets. Other scholars claim that the visibility of any child on the street shows that families, societal structures have or are falling

apart, have absolutely broken down or they are now too weak to take serious care of their children, particularly girls who are prone to a variety of vulnerability than boys as they are more vulnerable to many social ills such as rape and other forms of abuse. On the same note, Ridge et al. (2015) mention that across the world, family practices and ways of doing family are undergoing profound changes. Intimate relations-within or outside the family institution are characterized by dramatic changes as well by surprising continuity. There is a notable growing literature around family structure as there is an evident rise of single-parent headed households, divorced and blended families, teenage first-time moms and dads as well as child-headed families due to the absence of the so-called guardians or parents. Bornstein (2016:1) confirms the scholarly sentiments that have already been mentioned but adds that “family structures are under fire nowadays because of industrialization, urbanization, poverty as well as the increasing population growth and density, and especially widespread dual parental employment. Families are today in an agitated state of question, flux, and re-definition”. Furthermore, Ridge et al. (2015:22) state that many people blame the present family crisis on the entry of women into the workplace, others point to today’s moral breakdown. Mothers have left the responsibility of rearing children to strangers and some to extended family members, mostly grandparents (Backhouse, 2009).

The conflict theory does not diverge from what has been postulated by other scholars but leverage to assert that “the weakening of families and societies is based on the fact that families themselves contribute to social inequality by reinforcing economic inequality and by reinforcing patriarchy. Family problems stem from economic inequality and from patriarchal ideologies”. Joas and Wolfgang (2011) state that the family can be a source of conflict, including physical violence and emotional cruelty, for its own members. Bigombe and Khadiagala (2003) confirm the shared sentiment by noting that African families are affected by a web of socio-economic and patriarchal ideologies which disadvantages women and the girl child. Women enter the labour market but their pay is far less than that of a male person and yet women have a greater number of dependent children to look after.

Kimani and Kombo (2014:12-15) note that physical violence and psychological and emotional cruelty have been endured by children whose parents have died because of AIDS or because of labour migration. They note that the absence of parents weakens the functionality of a family. It also confuses parental roles because orphans are usually divided amongst extended family members. Children affected by migration labour suffer

emotionally, socially and economically because parents stay away for too long. Continuing from the scholarly lenses that have been already elucidated, theoretical perspectives of symbolic interactionism mention that families have been weakening because “wives and husbands have different styles of communication, and social class affects the expectations that spouses have on their marriages which impact on children and other members of the family” (Belanger & Ward, 2011: 7).

On the issue of social classes, Furstenburg (2010: 3) mentions that it is the responsibility of families to ensure the cognitive, psychological and social development of their children. He further states that what happens during the first months and years of life may have profound effects on how well a new-born prospers during childhood, adolescence and beyond. Moreover, Furstenburg (2013) states that children enter the world affected with inequality because some parents are falling to apply double standards when raising a girl or a boy child. This inequality worsens when they grow up. In the study that he conducted titled “Steep differences exist across social classes”, he mentions that socio-economic problems and challenges are commonly experienced by families. Furthermore, he state that socio-economic standards are likely to be experienced as result of the death of a bread winner the family, or the unemployment of both parents or because of divorce with separate parents and leave offspring with a parent who, in most cases, is not employed and cannot provide basic necessities. Such socio-economic experiences produce great amounts of stress which in turn cause children to experience various developmental problems. The second socio-economic link point that the research report unveiled is that of the absence of skills to empower the child in a nuclear or extended family. Low-income parents are much less likely to read and speak regularly to their infants and young children, who thus are slower to develop cognitive and reading skills; this problem, in turn, impairs their school performance when they enter elementary school. Low-income parents are also less able to expose their children to cultural experiences (e.g. museum visits) outside the home, to develop their talents in the arts and other areas, and to otherwise be involved in the many non-school activities that are important for a child’s development.. These children’s involvement in these activities provides them with various life skills that help enhance their performance in school and later in life (Archard and Benatar, 2010).

Kimani and Kombo (2014:98) assert that deaths from the HIV/AIDS pandemic has confused family relations and have significantly robbed children of parental love and access to good

recreation. In the same line of thought, the Department of Social Development (DSD) (2011) reports that children whose parents have died were dropping out from schools early; were becoming victims of child labour because they wanted to provide for their siblings; were in child-headed families; were victims of rape; and were enduring other kinds of abuse.

The OECD (2011:20) report notes that family structures were not being observed as they were during the hunter gatherers' times, particularly in African countries due to the industrial revolution. Major changes have affected the family, such as fertility rates as more women have delayed marriages. Many households have one child or are defined as no children households. South Africa is listed amongst the countries such as Brazil, India and Indonesia that have decreased fertility rates. Children born alone in their families were said to be suffering loneliness because they did not have siblings but it was noted that they seemed to be well cared for by their families. The report continues to note that marriage rates have lowered and the emergence of one-parent families had been rising, out-numbering traditional families like nuclear families and extended families. The diminishing number of nuclear and extended families had confused parenting roles and responsibilities. Some households were being led by women only. The Department of Social Development (DSD, 2011) report on families reported that families are in crisis. There is a rise of women single parenting, more early teenage pregnancies, and premarital and extramarital sex relations because are absent in many households. Kimani and Kombo (2014:120) assert that a boy child growing up in such a family ventured into dangerous activities like drugs and robbery, while others roam in the street to make a living. Girls grow up with no father figure in their lives and they begin to trust strangers.

Lastly, Dworkin and Serido (2017) and Berzonsky (2011) in their independent writings provide a view that families are weakened by identity issues. Families have been experiencing identity crises or dilemmas as families continue to evolve as a result of different circumstances. Givertz and Segrin (2014) and Lucyckx and Robitscheck (2014) state that family identity crises compromise family communication, and they negatively impact on the identity development and cognitive development of children, adolescents and the youth, which mostly overwhelm growing children.

The above segment explained the state of families in relation to how it has contributed in the rearing and the socialization of women and girls. The preceding section analyses the

role of society as other institution that this thesis believes has a responsibility in caring and protecting its families and children under such families.

2.4.2. The role of the society

The above theme was motivated by a phrase which says “*it takes a whole village to raise a child*”. Ndlovu (2015) posited in his study that Southern African villages are known to be responsible for raising a child for they know that it is not the responsibility of a particular family to resume this duty. He further stated that, this is a responsibility that comes with accepting that it is the society or a village that defines the culture that families adopt or rebuke. It is common in Southern African countries that members of the same village will marry each other and that validate the responsibility of caring for all their children. Sorre and Oino (2013) posit that this is how a societal culture was defined and maintained. What is a society? Many scholars have attempted to define the society as a group of people who share a defined territory and a culture. Sociologists elevated this definition a little further by arguing that a society is also a social structure and interactions of that group of people. The World Development report (2015) state that societies are defined by configurations of interconnectedness (social relations) between individuals who share a distinctive culture and institutions. According to the functionalist perspectives who draw largely on the works of Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, and Robert Merton, “a society is a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole. The interconnectedness of a society is measured by focusing on how each part influences and is influenced by other parts”. Functionalists use the terms functional and dysfunctional in order to describe the effects of social elements on society. Elements of society are functional if they contribute to social stability and dysfunctional if they disrupt social stability (Mooney, Knox & Schacht; 2007).

The analysis of the society was also motivated by the figure I presented arguing that families, families are interconnected. Writing about the role of the society was also within the context of anthropology as the existing literature provides that families are made and destroyed by their own societies. It is within this literature that society is defined as group of people with a common territory, interaction and the same culture. I had argued in Chapter One that no one was born on the street. Sorre and Oino (2013:148) assert that the society has a traditional responsibility which is to ensure that its children and young people are members of its and can't be separated from it. Chapter Five of this thesis also lists societies from where the

studied population came from. The data was collected because it was within the claim of this thesis that societies have the responsibility to care and protect children and young people even if family structure are experiencing problems or not. In my own view, Sorre and Oino (2013) are translating that societies are responsible for defining the culture that will shape societies, as well social institutions. The society is responsible for the determination of family values, attitudes that are to be observed and treasured by its societal families.

Other writers have pointed out that the responsibilities of societies over their children and young women has been torn by politics which has destroyed societal ties because of selfishness and greed. They expand to say that the unreasonable exercise of patriarchy instead of love, care and support has also destroyed the role of societies over the enculturation and the protection of their children and young people. Societal members have been emotionally bruised by the patriarchal systems. This is also the advocacy of the African Feminist Theory. Tallis (2012) also states that this where most of structural vulnerability issues stem from. Patriarchal leadership and systems have produced weak families and weak families produce a weak society. This means that if families are weak, the society or societies will also be weak. Lamanna and Riedman's (2012) posit that the weakening of families is a result of selfish societies or communities. Even the existence of youth uncared for, is a result of a non-caring societies. These scholars further state that communities or societies seem somehow polarized about whose "job" it is to raise our youth. This is the dilemma of the contemporary times. On one side are those who say, "I raised mine, and it's time for others to do their job". This is a result of society that has lost its societal ties. On the flip side are those who understand that in a complex world of change, it may take a certain kind of a society or community for youth to thrive. Many political and spiritual leaders across the globe have mentioned that "*it really takes a society to raise a child*". Hedges et al. (2012: 67-70) employed qualitative and ethnographic/critical theory models when studying "*streetism*" his study was titled a social-cultural and pastoral theological study of a youth problem in Ghana. He confirmed that the truism that "it takes a society to raise a child" was mostly relevant in African societies back in the day. Qualitative narratives from sampled people mentioned that the truism was meant to "exemplify love and care for every Tom, Dick and Harry...within a particular village or society. In the African context, it emphasized the value of family and societal relations, parental care, self-sacrificing, sharing and even total hospitality". Arthur (2013) theological lens is appreciated in this

chapter because it also mentions that the visibility of children on the street is a good demonstration that families and the society have failed the biblical principles cited in Matthew 19:13-15 as well as Luke 18:15-17 where Jesus Christ instructed or commanded parents, community members and government officials to bring all children and youth to Him. This means that the unstable or weak families and society are a result of not being grounded on any of the existing religious beliefs.

In 1998, Cardinal Roger Mohany, quoted in the letter that he wrote titled “Creating a Culture of Life”, mentioned that “*Any society, any nation is judged on the basis of how it treats its weakest members — the last, latest, the littlest*”. (<https://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view>). In the context of this study, the weak are the young women who have been confirmed by various literature sources that she needs to be protected by the family, the society and the state.

The late former South African President Nelson Mandela was grounded in the belief that the society at large had a significant role to play in caring for its people. On many occasions he was quoted saying, “*History will judge us by the difference we make in everyday lives of children and the youth. Our children are our greatest treasure. They are our future. Those who abuse them tear the fabric of our society and weaken our nation. The true character of a society is revealed in how it treats its children*”. (<https://www.huffingtonpost.com/vashtinepaul/nelson-mandela>). In Chapter One of this thesis, I argued that the success of democracy will also be measured against the song that is sung by the population that grows on the streets where this study was conducted. The South African democracy will be judged by content of non-responsive policies protecting them from precarious vulnerability which is the effect of surviving or of living on the street.

These sentiments are supported by communitarians who believe that it is the responsibility of a society or community to take care of and ensure the well-functioning of families and to prioritize the proper rearing of its children and youth. Their claim is based on the belief that societies are made up of families – all kind of families. They mention that a community that supports parents and cares for children – that looks after families – is a stronger better functioning community. In their point of view, a child- and youth-friendly society or community is characterized by creating a conducive environment where children and the youth and families are valued members of the society who need care and support. It protects

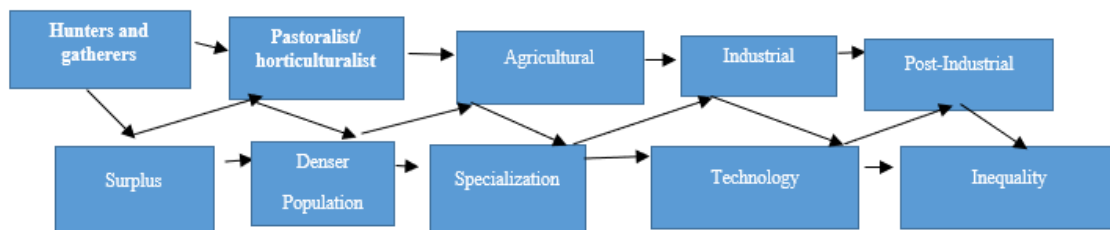
them as much as possible from all forms of harm, abuse and neglect so that no-one becomes an outcast. They prioritize to empower their children and young people to reach their potential. Existing literature sources both in anthropology and sociology affirm that the primary responsibility of the society, even during ancient times, was to socialize its members and to set cultural norms and values. Independently, anthropological studies reflect that members of agrarian and herding societies were much more concerned about its members being compliant with all society rules and regulations. The content of anthropology literature in the formation of early societies and political systems confirm hunter-gatherers were defined by egalitarianism being the spirit of band care. Band ties and connections were seen fading when sedentary life was confirmed resulting a growth of population size then the birth of the state.

There are many proponents that have contributed to the analysis of what has compromised the strength and the role that the society must play. Karl Marx is listed amongst those proponents, his contribution is that societies were affected by stages of economic development which created a some classes which categorised people according to what they have and don't have. Karl Marx posited that as societies evolve from agricultural to industrial paradigms, concern over meeting survival needs was replaced by concern over making a profit, the hallmark of a capitalist system. Industrialization leads to the development of two classes of people; the bourgeoisie, or the owners of the means of production; and the proletariat, or the workers who earn wages. This perspective indicates that out of such economic stages of development the division of society into two is born into two broad classes of people: the "haves" and the "the have-nots". This is a large fissure in a society that existed to define the culture that was giving the families the same identity. Families were then defined by the nature of resources they have and that how the element of individuality and selfishness took place. This thesis further note that this fissure could have been a result of limited resources that were availed to people with the intention of breaking their interconnectedness. The other analysis is that the exposition of population sizes encouraged a greedy state to collect societal resources but failed to redistribute them back to the society equally. Are societies not fit to care and support societies because their societal resources are now be administered by institutions are not centrally located within geographical settings? Noller and Callan (2016: 147-148) mention that the society is deceased because the family is deceased. The simply analogy that this scholar is bringing forward is that the death of the one is responsible for the death of the other. This author's

contribution signifies the contribution that I used to justify the interconnectedness between families and societies. These scholars further explain that in current times, children and the youth are no longer raised in structured institutions like families and by the society but they are being raised by the street. They also claim that the humanitarian fabric of the society is torn, due to the level of inequality and lack of care and rules. This contribution endorses the advocacy of the African Feminist Theory presented in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Bigombe and Khadiagala (2010) provides a South African context of families. They state that the fabric of unity and care was torn by the apartheid regime. People lost strong humanitarian values and the spirit of togetherness. They further state that the imposed Land Areas Act not only racially segregated societies, but it also teared the fabric of the societies. The apartheid experience landed South African societies to a point of not caring for anyone; every person is for his own. For Durkheim and Coster (1997:3), the torn fabric of a society is a result of industrialization which has killed an important component of social life and social solidarity which is understood as a sense of society. Societies are faced with a high level of unhappiness and a rate of substance abuse which kills the moral generation of children growing in that particular society. He notes that other evident societal cracks are a result of the stages of societal development or the transitional evolution that has been experienced by both the developed and the underdeveloped which are as follows:

Figure 3: The stages of societal development



Source: Durkheim and Coster (1997)

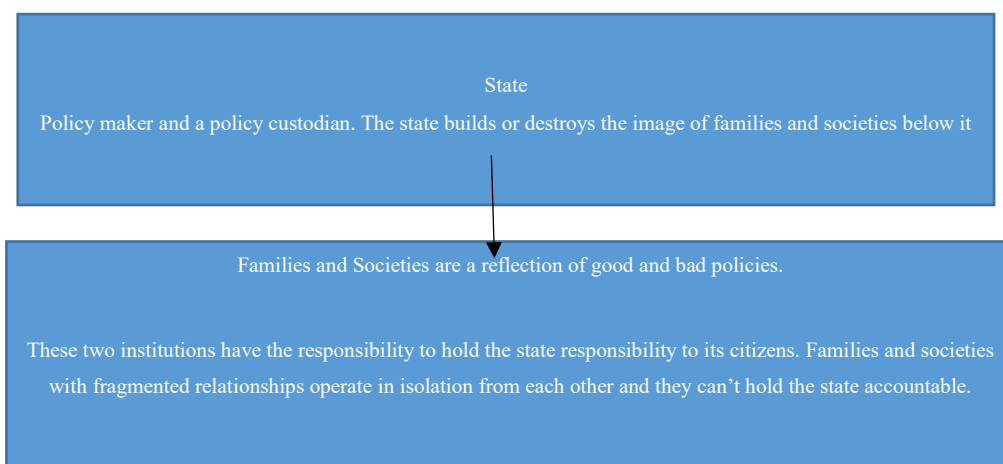
Noller and Callan (2016) still believes that there is a need for the stitching together of the torn fabric or church and the society because these are vital structures that could contribute

in raising children as well as the youth. What remains crucial for noting is that almost all quoted theorists and scholars have in one way or the other emphasized that families and societies represent the oldest and most enduring connection to the world. This implies that families and societies have undergone a significant transition which should not be avoided when questioning what could have compromised the strength of families and societies. Hence, we see girls and young women living on the streets. Arthur (2013) contributes by saying that it must be noted that these changes left families and societies weak. They are struggling to sustaining themselves and they are not strong to render and proper socialization or nurturing of children and the youth. This scholar evidently raises that children and the youth are seen to be growing up by themselves without a proper socialization by the family or that of a society.

2.4.3. The role of the state

The context of political anthropology, provides that the state represents complex organizational structures that exist to direct or administer the functionality of large societies. It marks a major departure from bands to contemporary societies. Within this context the state resumes the responsibility which confirms it a centralized form of a political organization in which central government has a legal monopoly over the use of force as well as a well the formulation of policies. This political anthropological context pronounces that the state lead by government has a role to play and authority over its own citizens. The mentioning of citizens confirms that government has a responsibility and this responsibility is felt or measured by people. The government is presented as a policy maker and a policy custodian Families and societies are direct beneficiaries of good or bad policies.

Figure: 4. Impact of public policies on families and societies



In the same breath, Mahatma Ghandhi once mentioned that “the moral test of government is how that government treats who are in the dawn of life, the children, those who are in the twilight of life, the elderly, those who are in the shadow of life, the sick, the needy and the handicapped”(https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Hubert_Humphrey). This argument finds relevance because the studied population falls in the category of the needy as they helplessly survive on the street.

Another significant contribution to the role of the state is raised by Callan (2014) where he states that government or the state must enact policies that will only create conditions through which societies and families can flourish. Building a strong society requires effective family policies, while building strong families requires well-resourced societies. The state exists to enact policies that maximize the welfare of every citizen. The state should play the role of being a policy maker and a service provider. It also exists to strengthen the functionality of societies so that societies will strengthen the functionality and the sustenance of families. The state has a responsibility of establishing a conducive environment where all its members are provided with basic services and also maximize opportunities of accessing even the hard to access services. Callan (2014) further accepts that families are confronted by socio-economic related challenges. Within this context, government is tasked or expected to provide socio-economic relief to affected families and societies. The state’s accountability is always analysed or judged by the development as well as geographical spaces where its people stay in or under. Browning and Pasley (2015) assert that the contemporary state of families is a result of a weak state. They claim that weak states have emerged in the disappearance of nomadic and sedentary societies. They further mention that the current states exist without sound public policies. Their public policies in relation to strengthening families, the society and to take of children remains a serious hurdle. Existing public policies are not fit to realize the challenges that are experienced by children, especially girls. They emphasize that the visibility of children wandering on the street is an output of poor public policies. They claim that existing policies in most countries are not tailored to maximize the total welfare of its citizens. They claim that some states in the world have lost interest in their own people, and that they are captured or economically driven. They are striving to meet the demands of becoming first world countries without noticing that their future generation is compromised by weak families. As already argued

in Chapter One, the visibility of the studied population on the streets being studied poses a democratic shame in South Africa in general, not in Pietermaritzburg alone. This is an indication that the state is giving less attention to what adversely affects families and societies. The question is, who does the state exist to support and respond if it does not diagnose issues that are weakening the fabric of families and societies? In case the state has enacted policies and programmes that respond to the already presented state, applied anthropologists can investigate bottle necks or endogenous, dearth factors that distort the implementation and outcomes that are desired. Applied anthropologists can also develop a policy that responds to the situation of young women on the streets.

2.5. General push and pull factors

I was motivated by the content of the existing literature which has illuminated that a large percentage of children and the youth are growing up in, are raised by or, are from broken families. The sad reality is that children are left with no option but to care for themselves even before they become adolescents or youths. Diriba (2015: 137-139) conducted a study of family problems as a contributing factor to street children in the Nekemte Town using the triangulation of methods being qualitative and quantitative research methods. The study employed a cross-sectional survey approach and sampled hundred (100) street children through the non-probability sampling technique. The data was collected by means of three types of data collection instruments which included questionnaires, interviews and a focus group discussion. Study findings confirmed family situations are a determinant factor that push children to end up on the street. Findings show that children in the Nekemte Town fled from their families as a result of family disintegration, observable absence of parental love and care, poverty and parental divorce. Mashicolo (2016:6-10) conducted a qualitative study on understanding *streetism* from the street children's perspectives where twelve (12) boys and twelve (12) girls were sampled by means of purposive sampling. The study discovered that rife poverty due to unemployment and the uncontrolled child labour market pushed the studied cohort to move to the street. The study also found a lack of social security after the death of parents.

Poverty was also confirmed independently by Arthur (2013) and by Adeyeni (2012) in their year of study. In the same year of 2012, Alenoma (2012) studied street children in Ghana from the perspectives of parents using cluster, accidental, simple random, purposive and snowballing sampling techniques and discovered that the studied children left their families

because of the irresponsible parents. Some mentioned the absence of fathers and others ran away because of arranged teenage marriages caused by poverty levels. Other children were pressured by their parents to excel at school without wanting to know and assist them about their feelings or experience with learning challenges. Interestingly, other children said they ran away to the street just to avoid idleness at home. Kebede (2015:45-47) looked at the situation of street children in the urban centres of Ethiopia and the roles of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in addressing their socio-economic problems. Research participants were sampled by means of both snowballing and purposive sampling. Based on in-depth interviews, the researcher discovered that children were motivated to opt for the street due to family disruptions, family violence, unacceptable behaviours by parents such as teenage pregnancy, homosexuality acceptance as well as a lack of societal care after the death of parents.

Obeng-Odoom (2015:2) noted that rural weak economies, the breakdown of strong kinships, fosterage, cultural expectations of both sons (to take care of the family in the absence of the father) and daughters (to provide homemaking items such as daily cooking) push children and the youth to the street. Others learn from the evidence of those who seldom visit rural areas as mostly better off than when they were staying or living with their families. These are street children or youths who live on the streets but also contacts with their families as they are able to occasionally visit them. Adeyeni (2012:45) mentioned that streetism in Nigeria was a reason societal customs which were not favourable to children's welfare. Kebede (2015) mentions that children and the youth migrate to the street because they want to identify with spatial freedom, financial independence, city glamour as well as street-based friendships and gang groups. Tefera (2015:67) conducted a study titled, "Causes and Effect Analysis," looking at the case study of Sudan and noted that family disruptions and war induced displacements of families. She also noted that poverty remains top amongst factors that push children to the street. Streets in Sudan have become a space where children look for means to secure food. The Office of Human Rights Council Resolution (OHCHR) report (2011) state that some children on the streets are motivated by poor parental development which relates to poor socialization, abandonment after the death of one or both parents, experience abuse and mistreatment by either step-mothers or step-fathers, inappropriate sources of livelihood, substance abuse by parents and sexual risks which they cannot report to anyone. This document captures that South Africa lacks studies of family situations.

Adeyeni (2012: 43) study findings confirmed that nearly 88% of American runaways said that they had been physically and sexually abused.

In the same view, Arthur (2013:25-28) conducted a study in Ghana designed to understand pushing factors associated with *streetism*. In gaining nuanced data, the researcher employed qualitative and ethnographic/critical model to understand such driving factors. Study findings showed that children and the youth said there was no development where they come from in terms of health facilities, electricity, drinking water, roads, agricultural patterns as well as schools. They said they did not want to stay where living conditions were or remained sub-standard. These street children also mentioned that they were raised by women alone who were overwhelmed by poverty. They say that poverty pruned their mothers to be active in ensuring their early socialization. Their early socialization was inclusive of providing food and other essentials that they needed as children. The case study of Ghana demonstrated that government or state delay in providing adequate infrastructure and sanitation, triggers people to escape from their original place to places of affluence. It is also clear that poverty weakens the strength of women and their parenting role. Among many factors that have been mentioned above, Adeyeni and Oluwaseum (2012:42) also posits that street children that occupy streets in Sudan a country of Muslim, Christian and Animist faiths, were a result of the ethnic violence that had taken took place. His study also found that violent uprisings were factors that motivated *streetism* in Latin America. He also mentioned that South African *streetism* was a result of the country's violent political problems. A notable critique of the Sudanese and South African reasons for *streetism* is that Adeyeni and Oluwaseum (2012) fall short in providing specific timelines that should broaden the context of their writing. Adeyeni and Oluwaseum (2012) was writing as if emerging researchers were aware of the eras in which such episodes happened. Within the context of South Africa, Meda (2014:72-76) conducted a qualitative study using Branfenbrenner's Social Ecology Model. He sampled twelve (12) unaccompanied refugee children using purposive and snowballing sampling. After having collected data through conducting semi-structured interviews and focus groups, the study findings postulated that xenophobic attacks had contributed to the visibility of uncared for children and youths on the streets in South Africa.

The interest of understanding the effects of culture-bound syndromes has been the speciality of medical anthropologists as well as psychiatrists for many years. Recently, we have seen other fields studying the pulling and pushing factors of *streetism* in line with the culture-

bound syndrome analogy. Moyo et al. (2015) explored the reasons for *streetism* through the lenses of the culture-bound syndrome theory. The study findings confirmed that many children as well as the youth, endure a lot of painful and undiagnosed syndromes that somehow impair them from becoming rational thinkers. Omondi (2015:65-69) employed a descriptive survey research to study and determine factors influencing the influx of street children in Kitale Town. Ninety-nine (99) street children (the gender was not specific) were purposively sampled. The findings demonstrated that polygamous marriages, over-crowded families and slum areas encouraged children and the youth to opt for the streets. Other children could not stand to see their parents being terminally-ill. This study discovered that families were also growing up in small houses. Parents' night privacy is no longer confirmed as they share their bedrooms with their children. Children's rights are also compromised by the lack of space in their families as they are exposed to what parents do at night. The study revealed that some of the street children had migrated to the street because they wanted to do what they had seen their parents doing.

Weeks (2012:14), the author of a book titled "Sex, Politics and Society," notes that many people have been excluded and treated badly by their families and by the society because of how they define themselves as opposed to the determinants that are laid on them by the mentioned structures. He says the understanding and the acceptance of the other person's sexuality which differs from one's acceptance is still an unresolved issue. The arrival of modernity encouraged some people to come out of their shells "false identities" of who they are, in terms of their "sexuality". Some people are seen being brave enough to define who they are and how they want to be treated and referenced within their families and by the society at large. The author postulates that many people have been rejected and excluded by their families, societies and some by the state, as well as by the church, because of how they have presented themselves which happens to be the opposite of what was concluded by the mentioned structures. The book notes that some of the children whom we see on the street are victims of unaccepted sexuality and they continue to be daily victims because they still need to defend their sexual identity on the street. The Child Protection Centre and Services (CPCS) (2014:16) "has been able to conduct many research projects on street children. The study conducted in Nepal examined pulling factors associated with streetism. CPCS discovered that they included urbanization, peer influence, hope for employment and false information about city life". In the same vein, Mangesha (2011) conducted a study on a

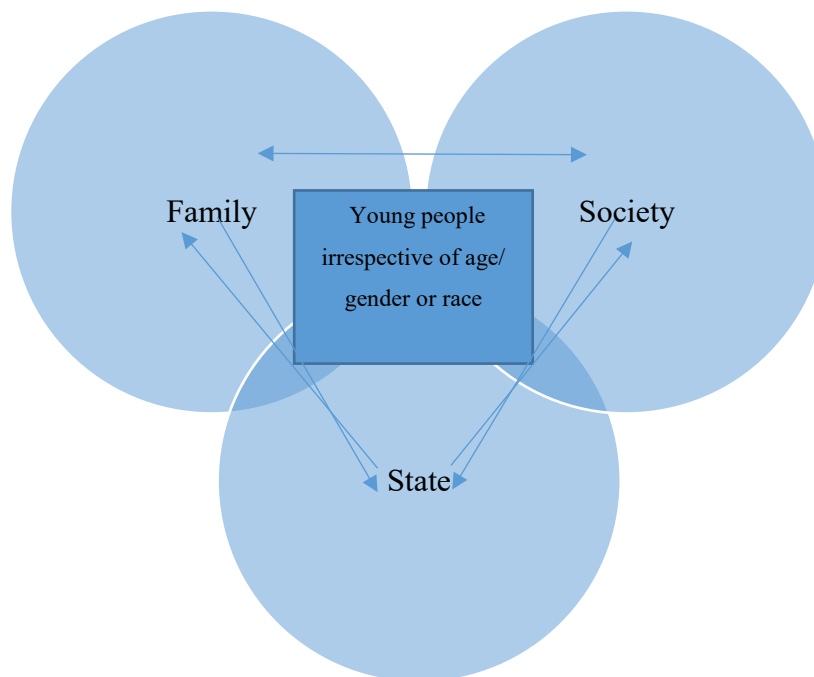
policy framework for street children in Addis Ababa which revealed that the service provided to street children by different NGOs attracted children to street life.

Tyler (2006) and Barons (2003) assert that numerous studies have demonstrated an alarming incidence of physical and sexual abuse among today's runaways and homeless youth population. Most young women and girls run from the chains of repetitive sexual abuse and assault which has become a chronic experience in most families. Barons (2003: 23) argues that the population of the street is mostly victims of web-nested issues/ the abuse experienced at home by street youth is multidimensional and repetitive and the prevalence of domestic violence in the families of street youth. The negative consequences of abuse and violence home life includes depression, low self-esteem, suicidal thoughts and behaviour, post-traumatic stress disorder, substance abuse, and criminal behaviour. While surviving on the street female street members irrespective of their age are vulnerable to physical and sexual victimization. They continue to suffer another repetitive amount of abuse and assault which comes in the form of being raped, shot, and stabbed or being threatened with weapons (gun and knives). The street demands them to embark on risky subsistence strategies. Farnandes and Vaughn (2008), Barons (2003), Njord et al., Tyler and Malander (2015) as well as Hills et al. (2016) posit that they become addicted to drugs because they want to shield their past and also try to fit in their present lives on the street.

Ward and Seager (2010:24) assert that pull factors were a result of the lack of the poor implementation of policies to strengthen communities and families has been seen as having contributed to the migration of children to the streets. Arthur (2013:100) noted that some children mentioned adventure and unexplained hope as pull factors which was enhanced by the media and technology. He also noted that the absence of strong advocacy on the challenges experienced by families also encourage *streetism*, out of deprivation. The absence of strong family policies emphasizing parental roles, local and district by-laws, the non-visibility of DSD encouraging child-care and welfare is the cause of streetism in Ghana (Alemona, 2012:80). Hedges et al. (2012) research findings listed hereditary passage as a reason for streetism which most scholars and researchers did not observe in their research findings. He further stated that "some children are children or youths of the streets because they are children whose parents once occupied the streets for some of the documented and undocumented reasons".

This thesis introduces the following figure as an ideal collaborative approach in responding to what factors push and pull young women to the street or any people found to be living on the streets in Pietermaritzburg. This contribution is also embedded on the African Feminist Theory which argues that it does not blame a particular sector or gender for the vulnerability that is experienced by a women or young women but it is advocating for a collective approach to fighting such unpleasant contexts. The ultimate goal is to have a society, a village, or a state that is sensitive to the conditions and the circumstances of both genders.

Figure: 5 Collaborative approach of social institutions in the protection of young people irrespective of gender, race and age. The interconnectedness of “nets”.



The above figure is an ideal collaboration/ interconnectedness that this study proposes as an ideal intervention that these three institutions should strive to achieve. I believe that the solution to the street life experiences depends on the commitment and the approach that these institutions which I also call as “nets” can invest on. A simplistic sense that this study holds is that families exist because there are societies and that the state exist because there are families and societies. The state is nominated by the electorates who are society members coming from families. Societies exist because there are families. There won’t be a state without families and societies. If there is a possibility of its existing without families and societies, who will it be existing to represent or stand on behalf of? This is an institutional investment that this study proposes as something that could save dying family structures,

weak societies and unaccountable state. A crack that can happen between these interlocked institutions will result in more vulnerable young women, a rise of street population statistics, weak families and a dead state system. What also remains crucial for noting in this thesis is that the content is that these institutions can initiate a lifelong downward spiral of deprivation and exclusion from the social mainstream if they don't exist to full feel their roles which is to socialize, nature and protect.

2.6. General and daily challenges on the streets

Fiasorgbor and Fiasorgbor (2015: 45-46) mention in their study that “it is true that streetism exposes the youth or children living on the streets to a lot of health problems and other hazards”. They mention that girls are more vulnerable to defilement. Sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS, syphilis and gonorrhoea from sexual abuse become a daily reality. They state that teenage or youth girls are often lured and raped by irresponsible men on the streets. They contribute to the high rate of teenage pregnancy and unsafe abortions which are major problems of the streets among the girls.

Kwaku Opong, Meyer-Weitz and Petersen (2015:2-5) state that children and the youth of the street experience poor mental health and traumatic experiences which are a result of sexual risk (unprotected sex with multiple sexual partners). Girls are raped by other boys on the street and also by members of the public because they know that they will not report it to the police. Ray et al. (2011: 18) agree by noting that, “Street involved children experience a range of emotional, physical and reproductive health problems, high levels of violence and exploitation. They are denied the opportunity to contribute to and participate in their societies, and have difficulties in accessing the services they need”. Melaku (2014) discovered that street children and the youth surviving on the streets face a web of challenges such as poverty, social exclusion, lack of security and protection, lack of adult supervision, no access to education and medical care, and unpaid employment or child labour. Olurantaba-Oju (2011) assert that young women in Africa face a high volume of vulnerability. Some of the vulnerabilities experienced is geography, gender and sexual vulnerability. She says young women both on the streets and living with their families experience sexual vulnerability (which refers to the susceptibility of a person or group to sex-related injury, or to any unwanted or desirable sex-related outcome. Young women are also not protected by their cultural values as they are sometimes forced to marry someone without their consent. This pushes them away from their societies because they will not

protected enough from such biological, psychological vulnerabilities. Young women are forced to many grown up men with so much experience that even put them in the danger of acquiring sexual related infections. When surviving on the street, they are victims of human trafficking. They experience poverty which makes them to more vulnerable and encourage them to be involved in transactional sex that put them in more danger. They experience sexual violence and they are often not paid by their clients and beaten up after having used their bodies for paid sex.

Within the scope of vulnerability, Tayler (2006) posit that they are vulnerable because they come from dysfunctional families and societies where they have witnessed domestic violence and or have been victims of relationship violence, physical abuse or have been neglected in their homes. Irrespective of gender, race and age, the population of the street becomes vulnerable just because they are homeless and unaccompanied by families and relatives besides themselves in their street camps. They make a living out of themselves. By living or surviving on the street, they are exposed to living in a non-safe environment and with no safe alternatives. They have a disproportionate share of serious health problems, behavioural issues, emotional and psychological problems because they lack sufficient resources to obtain care that is mostly enjoyed by people who are living within their families. They are the population with very low levels of education. They experience daily victimization by those who take them as less human beings. Tayler and Malander (2015), Frost et al. (2015) and Gaetz et al. (2010) assert that young women are more like to face challenges that leave them depressed or with anxiety disorders. Chances of them being re-victimized are very high as they are mostly taken for granted by those who don't live on the street like them. What this thesis acknowledges from Tayler (2006) is that it must be the responsibility to government to develop an accurate national reporting system to report to the problem, and must be seen instrumental in developing effective systems of care (including preventive and aftercare services, emergency shelter services, extended residential shelter, and street outreach services). In order to respond to their vulnerability while surviving on the street, the government must create opportunities for the street youth to complete high school, learn job skills and to obtain employment. They are a population that must not fall in between the cracks of public policies.

Gaetz et al. (2010:10) agree that being homeless comes with lot of vulnerabilities. They are mostly raided by law enforcers because they live in unprotected urban margins. These

margins don't protect them. They don't have private homes that lock. In sum, street youth do not have even the minimum level of protection available that reduce their risk of being victims of crime, or the protection of police who would moderate the consequences of such victimization (Gibson, 2011).

Many research papers have argued that the population of the street often falls in between the cracks of public policies. Tyler (2006) agrees with such research sentiments as he also states that they continue to be vulnerable because they are mostly under-reported and under-recorded. Most public policies are not inclusive of their situation on the street and the amount of their daily vulnerability remains unknown. He says that in most countries, statistics of homeless people are not known by policy custodians simple because they rely on international statistics which is difficult to confirm their accuracy and validity.

This thesis appreciates the contribution of various countries around street life. It remains an undeniable fact that they have prioritized the study of both girls/ young women and boys experiences on the streets where they have been spotted. The existing literature is quite detailed and very informative. I must admit that the existing literature also shaped the development of the research topic and the selection of data collection techniques. Within the existing literature hub, I also noted a trend that some African countries have prioritized and invested in studying street life across many social welfare angels and their studies have not been generalized which gives a sense that they have also acknowledged that reasons behind *streetism* are contextual. This study has noted within the existing literature that there is no literature source that tells the story of the young women that the topic of this study aims to focus on. This thesis argues that this young women may have been seen by many, and that her story could have been mistaken for the experience of another young women in world or in Africa for that matter, but the focal point of this thesis is to argue that experiences young women are not same and that their experiences are not be represented by someone narratives out there in the world. This study will contribute a new narrative of her street reality or of her social reality on the street in Pietermaritzburg. Collected narratives will confirm that some issues are shaped by different context and interventions cannot always be generalized but could be most effective if kept within the context of the situation.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter captured a thorough delineation of the status of families and expanded to analyse the roles and responsibilities of families, the society and that of the state through the lenses of existing literature sources. Many scholars and theoretical lenses have confirmed that family structures, the society and the state is fragmented and also lacks moral obligations which are due by virtue of such structure existence. This chapter has shown that it is without doubt that the fragmentation of already mentioned structures contribute to the lack of sound socialization of children. In my own interpretation, the population of the street irrespective of gender and age are growing like reptiles for an example like tadpoles which from the time of birth are expected to fend or to learn to jump for themselves. In isiZulu the saying means “*ixoxo liyazigxumela*”. Another isiZulu saying says “*Ichwane lenyoka liyazibonela*” which means that the absence of sound socialization encourages children as well as the youth to feel lonely, lack guardianship, parental love, societal caring. This study contributes by arguing that the interconnectedness of families, the society as well as the state could contribute in restoring for the fabric that is said to been torn across all mentioned institutions. This study argues that a responsive approach to street life will be fought by the interconnectedness of families, societies as well as the state. The absence of one of these institutions will result a weak approach which will not bear net effects. But a collective approach could save, halt and maximize the protection of young women and they will not opt for the street.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.0. Introduction

This particular chapter provides a thorough research methodology which the research design was based on. This chapter shows how data was collected and what influenced such methods of data collection. The research data is presented in Chapters Five and Six of this dissertation. This chapter defines what research is all about in order to share a clear perspective showing that I was clear about the research that I undertook. The chapter also delineates the appropriateness of qualitative research methods in anthropology and notes how this research methodology benefited data collection, analysis and interpretation.

3.1. Defining what is research

Many definitions exist around the term ‘research,’ however the following quoted definitions provide meaningful interpretations and they demonstrate why research endeavours are undertaken. Gray (2014) along with Polonsky and Waller (2015) define research as a detailed study of a subject or an object in order to discover (new) information, reach a (new) understanding or learn from existing sources. O’Leary (2017:3-4) asserts that research is a systematic study of materials and sources in order to establish facts and reach new conclusions. Research uncovers and discovers new knowledge and it also clarifies existing misconceptions. It provides an in-depth understanding of complex issues that surround us. Fain (2017: 8) postulates that research is a systematic inquiry into a subject that uses various approaches (qualitative and quantitative methods) to answer questions and solves problems. Research can or could be undertaken by many people or organizations such as government, business, consultants, academics and students. This shows that research is not only conducted by university students as most people would think.

Creswell (2014:8-9) defines research as a process of making claims and then refining or abandoning some of them for other claims more strongly warranted. Research seeks to develop relevant, true statements one that can serve to explain the situation of concern or that describe the casual relationships of interest. Sarantakos (2013: 4) defines research as a non-homogenous and a pluralistic, purposive and rigorous investigation that aims to

generate new knowledge. It is non-homogenous and pluralistic because different academic fields and sectors conduct different types of research which are motivated by the nature of the problem or the rationale. Research produces empirical and non-empirical knowledge.

All the above cited definitions were observed because they defined what the executed study was geared to achieve which was to record the life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

3.1.1. The preferred type of research

Sarantakos (2013: 12) posits that “research produces knowledge and knowledge is power”. This study was purely qualitative. Qualitative research was preferred to discover and interpret new constructs that fall within the scope of the conducted research. Strengths or purpose of qualitative research will be discussed in the content of this chapter.

3.1.2. Strength or purpose of qualitative research

Ary et.al. (2013), posit that qualitative research is mostly used in anthropology, history and theology. Sarantakos (2013) assert that qualitative research is also known as social or basic research. Creswell (2013) explains that it yields descriptive research findings through life history methodology, in-depth interviews, focus groups, observations (participant / direct observations), and narratives. Samples are drawn from the non-probability sampling technique because findings are not generalizable. May (2011), in her independent writing states that qualitative research relies on the interpretive paradigm which values methods of collecting data in qualitative research. Qualitative research allows the collection of empirical data and which encourages the collection of emic perspectives (narratives/ insider-participant) as well as etic perspectives (outsider-researcher). Overall, it clarifies, validates and builds a new theory.

Barbour (2014), recognizes that people are scientists themselves. Gray (2014) assert that it studies experiential, personality and naturalistic patterns of living. (Captures narratives of people in their natural situations). MacNabb (2015) explores social reality and expands the horizon of new ideas and new conclusions about all aspects of life. It is iterative as it is able to de-mystify information and it captures a detailed account of experience. It locates the observer in the world of the subject (Babbie: 2014).

Flick (2014) state that research participants are sampled by means of non-probability sampling (quota, purposive, convenience and snowballing/chain referral sampling). Findings are not generalized to the broader population. It explains social life by providing well-documented information. According to Monette (2014) qualitative research is conducted/ for the purposes of describing the state of the social affairs. It is through the strength of qualitative research that the life and experience of a young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings was codified and reported in Chapters Five and Six of this thesis. These chapters delineate the kind of knowledge that is realistic in nature because it narrates what was recorded or captured from the sampled proportion of young women who live on the street, as already mentioned.

3.2 Research design

Creswell (2013), Schwartz and Yanow (2012) define a research design as a blue-print, a design that guides the researcher with the necessary steps that he or she will have to follow in order to produce a piece of research. Bernard and Gravlee (2015: 98) define a research design as a design or an implementation plan that is crafted to guide the research process. It also incorporates important aspects such as methods of data collection, the population to be sampled as well as ethical considerations that the researcher will bear in mind, to mention but a few. Maxwell (2013:2-4) captures in his book that research design is a protocol for carrying a good research endeavour because the absence of a clear research design results in flawed research.

Based on the views that have been mentioned by quoted scholars above, I note that a research design is a blue-print, plan or schedule that is designed by a researcher that intends to conduct a piece of research. I therefore symbolise the research design as an architectural drawing that is designed by a researcher which starts at the time of conceiving a research idea and it unfolds till the writing up of the research findings. It is also a dictator that shapes the interest or the research appetite as well as the data that can be collected and interpreted by a piece of research. It is also a checklist that captures all the indicators that warrants a scholarly research report. This means that the research design has clear prescriptions and outputs. In this particular research the output was the collection, capturing of the life histories and experiences of young women (19–35 years), living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. Broadly it also regulates that a research endeavour is not a thumb-sucked endeavour.

This study was based on the following research designs: narratives and phenomenological design. They both fall in the bracket of qualitative research which is the spinal cord of this research report. The rationale behind such designs was summoned by the nature of the data that I intended to collect from the studied population which was life and experience. The following designs enabled the capturing of the desired information which I have presented in Chapters Five and Six of this write-up. These two chapters which are still to follow, provide a contextual and episodes of personal life and experiences and other events of the population which could have been difficult if the study was not guided by such designs.

Table 1: Description of narratives and phenomenological/interpretive research design

Research design	Description
Narratives	It is a design of inquiring from the humanities in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives.
Phenomenological/ interpretive	It is a design of inquiry in which the researcher describes the lived experience of individuals about a phenomenon.

Source: Creswell (2014:13-14)

3.3. Preferred research strategy or methodology

This study is based on the life history methodology which falls under qualitative research methods. The use of life history research in any social science research was first used around the 1920s and gained its strength around the 1970s. Creswell (2014:14) theorizes that the historic origin of qualitative research comes from anthropology, sociology and the humanities. The existing literature in qualitative research pronounces that early anthropologists and sociologists used life history methodologies when interviewing the indigenous people of the Americas. It was also used to interview criminals and prostitutes

in Chicago. The ultimate desire was to collect narratives from the people living or trapped in a particular life event. Such anthropologists and sociologists were seen grounded in using or applying phenomenological expertise or approaches because when using life history methodologies they were listening and collecting narratives, exploring, describing, observing and analysing experiences of lived life.

I favoured life history methodologies because I intended to record the life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings, which is delineated in Chapter Five of this report. The study was able to gather nuanced information and motivated sound recommendations for policy custodians and future researchers. This validates that life history methods remain outstanding methods in learning about life experiences of the studied population. These methodologies can also be used by many other writers whose interest is to learn more about other people because it does limit generalization.

Sharland et al. (2017) assert that a life history methodology is a qualitative research method that collects peoples' stories based on their personal lived experiences. Thompson (2017:12-28) defines life history methodologies as a type of research that particularly collects empirical data from the people who live and experience a particular event or a period of life. It is through the application of life history methodologies that researchers and policy custodians become informed that life is lived in times, places and under particular circumstances and conditions.

It is because of this particular research methodology that researchers are able to conclude that life is not a simple collection of events, but it is shaped and constructed by many social dynamics. Thompson (2017) further notes that life history methodologies are widely used by anthropologists because it yields the kind of data that is highly valued by them. Briefly, anthropologists are people who holistically study human kind or the science of man. They are interested in collecting narratives from the people naturally *in situ* also known as in their natural settings.

Continuing from Thompson's (2017) line of thought, life history methodologies yield detailed information around life and lived experiences. This means that it captures a personal account of life and affords the studied population to share their stories by referring to their

personal time lines. It expresses what can often remain unrecorded and unknown about individuals or groups of people. Lastly, it affords researchers to document patterns associated with societies and social change.

Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2016) contend that life history methodologies are important when studying people in their natural settings because they allow the application of reflexivity. This reflexivity happens in two folds. The first reflexivity encounter is when the person studied is given the opportunity to share or narrate his or her life within his or her state of mind and situation or experience. The second reflexivity encounter is when the researcher at the time of the research analysis keeps on referring to his/her research memo in order to ascertain the context which the collected information was based on.

Corbin and Strauss (2015:1-5) purport that life history methodologies are born within qualitative research. These writers explain that qualitative research is a form of research in which the researcher or the designated core researcher collects and interprets data. It is the research that allows the researcher naturalistically study the phenomenon very closely. Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2016:3-4) define methodology as a term that is used to refer to the way in which researchers approach problems and seek answers. In social science, the term applies to how research is conducted. They then mention that a qualitative research methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that provides descriptive data. It is the research that codifies peoples' own spoken words. In my own definition, qualitative research is the research that collects people's words and narratives and probes for detailed and relevant meanings behind what was said. It is research that can purely collect words and meanings with a very or without any minimal consideration of numerical data.

3.4. Qualitative research methods in anthropology

Ary et al. (2013) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) theorize that anthropologists took an interest in qualitative research methods from around the 1870s. It was in 1871 where qualitative research methodologies were much used by all anthropologists of the time. Braun and Clarke (2013:19) assert that qualitative methods become the most usable tool in anthropology because all qualitative research are underpinned by ontological and epistemological assumptions. Patton (2017) theorizes that qualitative research is relevant in anthropology because this research method is interested in the collection of words and meanings, which means it does not collect numerical data. It collects reality data, which is

directly captured through direct fieldwork observations, participant or direct observations, in-depth, open-ended interviews, and other written documents. He notes that qualitative research allows a naturalistic as well as an individualistic inquiry and this nuanced data is collected from inductively studying the real world. Qualitative research helps anthropologists to collect information that is both subjective and highly descriptive in nature.

In the same line of thought, Bernard (2011:3) asserts that qualitative research is important in anthropology because all anthropological research endeavours are commissioned to collect empirical data around a particular subject matter or phenomenon. Therefore, anthropology research is grounded on the actual felt or experienced reality and is geared to collect humanistic oriented knowledge. Maxwell (2013:12) also mentions that, anthropologically, research is qualitatively based simply because it takes an interest in humanistic or personalistic inductive data. The person becomes the narrator of his or her situation. This where reflexivity takes place because the researcher affords the studied population to narrate his or her situation from his or her personal situation. He elaborated by saying that this humanistic inductive data is both descriptive (rich and nuanced) and interpretive which is the speciality of anthropologists.

Flick (2015) contends that qualitative research is recommended in anthropology or by anthropologists because it allows reflexivity and it captures hermeneutics. It is relevant to the study of social relations which is the speciality of anthropologists. Marshall and Rossman (2016) state that it is relevant in anthropology because it typically takes place in the natural world. It is fundamentally interpretive. It draws on multiple methods that respect the humanity of the participant in the study. This means that qualitative research methods encourage a conversation between the researcher and the participant.

Lastly, and through the lens of Hennink et al. (2011), qualitative research is relevant in anthropology because it allows researchers to identify issues from the perspective of the studied population and to understand the meanings and the interpretations that they give to the behaviour, events or objects. Qualitative research in anthropology allows anthropologists even to understand contextual influences in order to make sense or gain the totality of the phenomenon.

Chapters Five and Six of this report will clearly demonstrate that qualitative research is indeed a relevant method in anthropology because the data that is captured is humanistic in the sense that it is telling the story of the studied population. It is naturalist and empirical because it tells the story as narrated by the sampled cohort. This report captures the reality of the studied population on the street which would not have been so thoroughly clear if told through the lens of quantitative methods. The study confirms that it is advantageous to use qualitative research methods because it allows interpretive flexibility. There are new constructs that emerged which I was able to probe for interpretations from the respondents themselves because of having conducted qualitative research. Such constructs and interpretations add value to the existing body of knowledge and they also encourage future researchers to investigate further.

This study confirms that people are the scientists of information and knowledge which is what is valued by anthropologists. This also confirms that there is sound rigour in the data that is collected through qualitative methods because the person or phenomenon studied does not become the object of research but the subject of vital information. This study also confirmed that anthropologists collect inductive research because the data that was collected reflect the total life of a young women (19–35 years) in the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

The nuanced information that is captured in Chapters Five and Six of this thesis proves that the qualitative research method is a scientific method that generates information that could contribute to the tailoring and or the revision of public policies. This study also notes that the story or the situation of the voiceless can be best told through qualitative research.

3.5. Research paradigm and philosophy

Many research reports have been much criticised or critiqued for having lacked a clear delineation of specific paradigm/s on which the research was based. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) as well as Creswell (2014) state any research is based or grounded on a particular point of inquiry or a philosophical assumption. They both note that such points of inquiry are known as paradigms. Wilson (2014:19) calls paradigms philosophical views which guide the nature of the inquiry that will be executed by the research. They all agree these paradigms were coined by Kuhn in 1970, as he is known as the research paradigm father. This study was based on the following research paradigm.

3.5.1. Interpretive/ phenomenological/ constructionist paradigm

Willing and Stainton (2017), Gray (2014), Flick (2014) assert that, interpretive/phenomenological/constructionist paradigm are used in qualitative research. Such paradigms are useful in the research that has interest in ontological and in epistemological reasoning. The philosophical belief from this paradigm is that the world is socially constructed as people are authors of knowledge. This paradigm is a vehicle for exploring something beyond its casual appearance. The interpretive/ phenomenological/ constructionist paradigm, allows reflexivity and the Explanatory Model in order to obtain people's stories for further interpretations. Studies individuals in small samples and this justifies the sampled population for this study. Researchers are able to confirm reliability and validity at the time of capturing narratives from owners of the knowledge. It also allow researchers to be part of what is being observed and that is how subjective epistemology is gained. Produces thick descriptions of people's experiences and perspectives within their natural settings. Generates a contextual description of the experience or a particular situation (Geertz, 2006).

3.6. Research sample

Anthropologists are known to conduct all their studies on human populations and they call such people the studied population. Briefly, Ritchie et al. (2014:112) say that a research sample is an integral component when conducting research because one needs to be clear about who will be the subject and the author of knowledge. What is a sample? According to Bernard (2011:115) the sample refers to a specific number of units of analysis or a subset

of a population that the researcher can have access to or who can be recommended by their folks or fellows for data collection.

3.6.1. The rationale behind the chosen sample

There was no statistical or mathematical formula that I employed to work out the study sample. The first rationale was that qualitative research is known to accept small samples because researchers are interested in gathering personal and nuanced information. Secondly, many writers around the subject of *streetism* mentioned that large samples are not possible for the already mentioned studies because units of analysis are difficult to locate for different reasons. Thirdly, the selection or the sampling of these girls was not motivated by their race, language or their ethnic group assimilations on the streets. Fourthly, the sampled population is purely sampled by virtue of the population that is visible on the streets and for having felt within the age cohort (19–35 years) that is part of the research topic. The mentioned population was not confirmed at one go but it was gradually confirmed, because I relied on the referral made by each girl that I had interviewed in-depth. Ritchie (2014:112) asserts that qualitative research makes use of non-probability sampling in order to sample the desired population. The author also insists that there is no mathematical science in the sampling of the units of analysis in qualitative research.

This research project asserts that captured findings are not generalized to the entire population of the street. These findings tell the experiences of the sampled girls. This is a method that falls within the family of non-probability sampling. The first contact with the sampled population was made possible by the supporting organization called Pietermaritzburg Youth for Christ (YfC). After having learned from many literature sources that the studied population is quite difficult to get hold of, I requested the mentioned organization to provide support which was to arrange the first contact with one girl which led me to the next girl and that was how I managed to confirm the sample.

3.6.2. Sampling framework/ Study population

In anthropology or in qualitative research, the study population refers to who the researcher is going to study or observe in order to produce knowledge. This population could be human or non-human (object or phenomenon). This study studied young women that I had observed to be living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings as justified in in Chapter One of this thesis.

3.6.3. Units of analysis

This refers to the actual target for the intended study (Cresswell, 2015 and Babbie, 2013). It refers to asking who are these specific people that the study will collect information from. Who will be narrators of knowledge? The researcher becomes specific in terms of the desired gender, age, location as well about the race if it has any relevance to the desired information. Twenty (20) young women between the ages of 19–35 years were sampled as units of analysis. The age justification is also delineated in Chapter One of this dissertation.

3.6.4. Recruiting strategy

Snowballing or chain referral sampling was used. The first research participant referred me to the next and the next to the next until all 20 girls were reached. According to Gray (2014) as well as Hennik et al. (2011) recruitment refers to having or devising strategies of getting people to participate or volunteer themselves as authors of information in a particular study. Other researchers announce on the radio or pin requests on the notice boards, others list incentives to be received before or after participating in the research. Other writers mention that some researchers coerce or threaten people to participate in their research. Upcoming researchers must note that this is the time where the researcher must also table any obvious and hidden risk elements so that the recruited participants will be aware of the pros and cons as well as the risk that she or he is exposed to.

All participants in this research were recruited through Youth for Christ, the supporting organization. Youth for Christ is a non-governmental organization that support the population of the street. Because of the difficulties that I had envisaged which relates to speak or meeting with the intended studied population. I then consulted them and they agree to issue me a gatekeeper's letter, which mentioned that they will assist in linking me with the first young women whom I recruited into the study. They also assisted me by providing a private room where all in-depth interviews as well as a focus group discussion was held. They also supported me by accompanying me to the street. Throughout their support, they have never influenced or swayed the content of the study to be about their organization. This is not new; Ndlovu (2015) was also supported by a particular non-governmental organization when conducting a study in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. When meeting the studied population for the first time. I divulged my identity (name and the institution that I am registered with). Outlined the intention of my study (the academic interest as well the requirements of the

intended degree). I announced the samples that I intended to use (20 for in-depth interviews and 12 for the focus group), specified the age and the gender that I was hoping to study young women (19–35 years), and specified the geography of the study (being streets within the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings). I also specified the length of time for my data collection. I also informed them that I would towards the end of the study directly observe them. They were informed that they had the right to pull out of the study if they felt uncomfortable with continuing. I explained that the content of the data collection tools did not entail any elements of ambiguity which might motivate them to divulge information that they would not have intended to share. I informed them that I had arranged a debriefing session which would be conducted by the social workers of the supporting organization if there was a need for such sessions. I also told them that if they would be expected to sign a consent form which had been translated in isiZulu because it was the most spoken language in Pietermaritzburg, and I also told them that there was an English version if they would prefer it.

I repeated all the above points in each in-depth interview I held because I was aware that I could be meeting someone who was not available when I first presented the research idea since snowballing was the sampling strategy. The same was also conducted before the start of the focus group. All those who ended up being part of the research through snowballing were never coerced, threatened or promised incentives to be participants in the study. Their participation was voluntary.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven captures nuanced, descriptive, inductive and subjective findings because of the phenomenological narratives as well as well as ontological findings that were codified from the life and experiences of the sampled population.

3.7. Data collection methods

Creswell (2013) assert that any research endeavour refers to the collection of unknown and known information from units of analysis. This research was empirical and it collected data from the studied population (find the attached data collection instruments). Data collection remains the crucial aspect in realizing the intention of a particular research; it is the collection of the story from the subject itself (Curtis and Curtis, 2011). Wildemuth (2017:22) postulates that data collection refers to the actual collection of research data which is handled for analysis, interpretation and dissemination. Data collection is the reality of all

anthropological research. In anthropology, data collection refers to the collection of information from the subject and that is where a person narrating his or her story becomes the scientist of theory. Data collection in anthropology is based on the explanatory model, reflexivity and phenomenology. The research participant speaks about him or herself based on his or her situation. Seidman (2013:7) asserts that anthropologists rely on qualitative research methods as means of data collection because they are interested in peoples' situations and narratives. Anthropologists have the opportunity to become closer to the desired knowledge in order get the *qualia* from the studied population. The researcher capitalizes on the recorded qualia because he or she learns to record new constructs and seeks for a thorough conceptualization of terms and concepts that are entangled in the narration that is provided. This is how anthropologists collect new constructs which contribute to building new theories, enhancing existing knowledge and adding new concepts to the existing body of literature.

For this research project, all data collections were designed to collect open-ended responses only. There were no questions which were designed to restrict research participants to select from a list of answers or Likert scales that most quantitative researchers make provision for in order to limit the scope of responses. The existing literature in qualitative research methods has empowered me to define open-ended response as a response that is encouraged by questions which are posed with an interest in obtaining words and meanings around a particular phenomenon or subject. They are largely explanatory in the sense that the interviewee becomes the generator of knowledge through his or her narrative. This is what we value as anthropologists and that is where the explanatory model takes its place.

Within the focus of open-ended responses, Farrell (2016) mentions that open-ended responses are collected through a qualitative inquiry where the respondent or an interviewee is allowed or enabled to give free-form answers to a particular question. This method of data collection encourages a conversation between the researcher and the research participant. It also enables researchers to collect more than what she or he could have initially anticipated.

3.7.1. Process of data collection

3.7.1.1. Field entering

Curtis and Curtis (2011), Flink (2014) and Fink (2014) assert that how you enter the field during data collection also determines the success of data collection. Field entering or entering the field refers to how I located myself as a researcher in the territory of the population that I sampled for data collection. I was connected with the studied population by the supporting organization called Youth for Christ Pietermaritzburg. I approached this organization to provide support in locating the intended study population because the nature of their work connected the organization with them. There were no conditions attached but the organization was aware that the study was not about their organization, and that they would not be part of any data collection session. The organization introduced me to a group of girls to whom I presented the content of the study. From that group, I met the first research participant who consented to tell me her story and that was how I entered the field. That is how I started to file or store research responses and began to take field notes which I have stored according to the conditions of the research ethical clearance.

3.7.1.2. Field termination

I left the field after having conducted direct observations which was the last method of data collection. I went to formally thank the organization (YfC) for the support that I had from them for providing me the support and for allowing me to use their offices for interviews without forcing any interference. I also thanked them for linking me with the studied population and requested them to pass on my gratitude. I did not issue any incentives to the supporting organization nor to the studied population because I had mentioned in my ethical clearance that the study would not do this at any stage of data collection nor at the termination of the study.

3.7.2. Methods of data collection

The analysed data captured in both Chapters Five and Six of this report was collected by means of three data collection methods which fall within the bracket of qualitative research methods. These methods are as follows.

3.7.2.1. In-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing was the first method of data collection that I used for the collection of data. Morris (2015:3-10) postulates that in-depth interviews gained popularity within the social science in the late 1930s and it continues to be the most used methodology in qualitative research. In-depth interviews are semi-structured in the sense that the researcher has a list of topics he or she intends to touch on, in order to develop a sound rapport with the shared narrative. In-depth interviews can be conducted face-to-face, or they can be done telephonically, through skype and emails. Morris further notes that in-depth interviewing affords the interview a good deal of leeway. This means that interviewees are able to express themselves freely while the researcher is only expected to ensure that he or she regulates the parameters of the conversation.

Campbell et al. (2013: 295) asserted that in-depth interviews constitute the empirical backbone of much qualitative research in social science. Within the same line of thought, Seidman (2013: 9) postulates that the purpose of in-depth interviews is not to test a hypothesis and not to “evaluate” as the term is normally used by others. In-depth interviewing takes an interest in understanding the life experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. This writer justifies the fit of this method to this particular conducted study. It also validates the topicality of my research title which is directly in line with the provisions of this data collection method.

Ary et al. (2010: 2650267) state that in-depth interviews are purposeful interactions in which the investigator attempts to learn what other the person knows about a topic, to discover and to record what the person has experienced, what he or she thinks and feels about it and what significance or meanings it might have. Contributions of quoted scholars fall within the scope of the intended inquiry. In this study, all face-to-face in-depth interviews were timed. I initially thought that twenty (20) minutes was enough for data collection but each interview lasted for an hour. This length of the period of data collection confirms that the participants were given considerable time to narrate their stories. This period also fell within the teachings of Morris (2015: 4) who advised that it is suitable to devote an hour for the conduct of in-depth interviews, but he also cautioned researchers not to push for this hour if the needed information had already been collected.

I recommend this type of data collection because as a growing anthropologist I intended to collect inductive, nuanced as well as descriptive data from the studied population. The collection of the intended data by means of in-depth interviews took ten (10) days. All in-depth interviews were conducted within the premises of Pietermaritzburg Youth for Christ. All interviews were held in a private room or office where there was no representation of the mentioned organization.

The rationale for choosing this data collection method is that this data collection method falls within the bracket of qualitative research methodology which is the spinal cord of this research reflection. In-depth interviews encourage open-ended responses which allowed me to gain some or further clarity around concepts that were entangled in the narrative. In-depth interviewing falls within the interest of anthropologists because it is where the ontology of the subject is gained. The data collection methodology encouraged a conversation between myself as a researcher and the interviewee. That is why there are explanations of concepts that are new or old in the subject of *streetism* captured in this thesis.

In this thesis, in-depth interviews that were conducted amongst the twenty sampled participants were guided by a research instrument which listed questions that were in English and IsiZulu. The content of the research instrument was thoroughly examined or assessed by the ethics committee and it transpired that there was a great need to translate the English version to isiZulu. One ethical restriction was that I was prohibited to ask the names of the research participants because the entire study was not based on the collection of participants' names. The capturing of their names either by intention or by mistake would have had serious implications for the ethical requirement of confidentiality.

3.7.2.2. Focus group meeting

This type of data collection happened three days after all the in-depth interviews had been conducted. It also happened before the last method of data collection of direct observations. It happened once (1) as outlined in the ethical clearance application. The focus group discussion was guided or facilitated by the very same data collection instrument that I had used for in-depth interviews. The ultimate rationale was to confirm the validity of the narratives that were captured during in-depth interviews. Secondly, it was intended to benefit from mixed narratives on the topic as well as on the experiences of the studied population.

I also used this data collection method because it falls within the bracket of methods for qualitative research where the collections of words, meanings and interpretations is accommodated. Shamdasani and Stewart (2015:1) assert that a depth or focus group is a widely used research tool in social science. This data collection method fitted well in this particular research because anthropology falls under social sciences and humanities. I used it to collect narratives around the studied topic. This method is used by anthropologists when collecting or studying people in their natural settings. Anthropologists conduct empirical research because they value people as scientists of knowledge. It is a data collection method that encourages an interactive session between the researcher and research participants. The only gap between the researcher and research participants are the rules of the group conversation. Krueger and Casey (2015) define a focus group discussion as the clustering or the selection of people who have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic or the intention of the group discussion.

The focus group was held in one of the rooms within the YfC premises. This is the organization that helped me to meet with the first young women who volunteered to participate in the study and they were not involved or tried to influence the collected, analysed and interpreted data. Entrance to this focus group discussion was restricted to me (the researcher) as well as the sampled population. Each member was given a pseudonym just for identification within the group. These pseudonyms were used when accepting narratives or responses from group members and on the presentation of the data. I laid out some rules before the start of the discussion which related to the signing of the consent form, and where I instructed the studied population not to identify themselves with their names other than the given numbers and not to call each other by name within the group. All members of this group had consented to be members of this discussion. I was responsible for taking the focus group discussion because the note-taker was not listed in the ethical clearance that I had initially filed. To have someone who was not listed and cleared by the ethical committee would have been a serious contravention of ethical expectations that were granted to me.

I favour this method of data collection because it allows phenomenology and reflexivity which was provided by the studied population through their individual narratives and group expressions. I was able to collect words, new social constructs and meanings behind them. This was through realization of a discourse analysis where I was able to note concepts that

were generated into themes and further interpreted by the research participants themselves. Gee (2014:8) states that a discourse analysis refers to the noting of language, sentences, themes or the grammar that is repeatedly uttered by research participants when responding to posed research questions. The correctness of the interpretation or meanings behind a concept was confirmed by group consensus and I also observed their facial expressions. It is also important to state that the narratives were captured during in-depth interviews and that the focus group discussions were transcribed. They were transcribed to represent emotions that were embraced by research participants. Gee (2014:9) defines conversational analysis as the analysis of human interactions and talks. It is a data analysis method that allows researchers to probe for meanings or clarity. Researchers are also able to record unspoken expressions which are listed or mentioned in the data presentation or analysis chapters. I paid careful attention to how research participants were conveying their narratives. I also ensured that their narratives were written exactly how they were conveyed. The confidence of this entire write-up is based on such expressions. This research project captures sound descriptive and nuanced data which will also make an impact on the existing body of knowledge. Chapter Five of this thesis captures new words and constructs with meanings that were gathered from the sampled population. I must note that there were no disputes that took place just because group members had different interpretations or meanings around concepts. Instead, the study takes pleasure in having been able to capture concepts which were interpreted by more than one participant. Such multi-interpretations were valued in this study because they sought to provide a broader understanding of the terms that are much used on the streets, particularly the ones within the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

Due to the nature of information that I yield because of the focus group discussion, I realized that the focus group method is flexible in the sense that it allows research participants to openly respond to the posed question and where the researcher is also able to observe emotions that are associated with the narrative to gain a thorough understanding about around the subject or a concept. I noted that this data collection method also allows the actualization of an explanatory model. The EM yields emic perspectives because research participants narrated their stories which were largely drawn from their personal experiences and situations. It allows anthropologists and researchers to gauge the reliability as well as the validity of the captured narratives. Jone and Gomez (2010:202) support my sentiments by noting that focus group discussions afford researchers to interpret data in order to provide

more meanings beyond the surface of words. Gubrium et al. (2012: 163-4) also state that focus groups collect participants own meanings, encourage participants own language and concepts, allow elaborative accounts which is achieved when focus group participants agree on a particular point, and provide researchers the opportunity to observe the co-construction of meanings.

As anthropologists we also take pleasure in using the already mentioned data collection method because it is how the new theory emerges. When new theory emerges it often becomes transdisciplinary knowledge, which means it enlightens other fields within the social sciences and humanities. It also enlightens or directs emerging research and anthropologists' new empirical inquiries. Litosseliti (2010:165-70) also contends that focus group discussions are advantageous to qualitative researchers because that it is how they are able to discover new information or validate and consolidate old information. To support the cited scholar, this particular study did not capture the lives and experience of the studied population only. It also validated the writings of early scholars in the subject of *streetism*. It is because of this particular data collection method that I was able to analyse the collected data which is presented and interpreted in this thesis.

The existing literature in research methods spells out that all focus groups should be a composite of six (6) to twelve (12) people. The conducted focus group had eight (8) young women because the ninth (9th) was denied attendance by her boyfriend on the street. It was pleasing to note that all eight (8) were amongst the ones who had come for in-depth interviews who largely contributed to the discussion of the push and pull factors. This gave me a high level of confidence on the collected because I got a second chance to record their narratives which were exactly like our first interviews with them. Those who attended the focus group discussion actually confirmed the validity and reliability of the collected data.

I valued this data collection method because this is where further explanations and demonstrations were provided which made this data rich in information. There are concepts that I strongly believe will add value to the existing body of literature. They will also provide meanings that could empower the knowledge of the entire Pietermaritzburg community. This knowledge that I am referring to is the knowledge that will empower the Pietermaritzburg community to use street labels within the correct context and to deeply understand the story of a girl that I sampled for this research project.

3.7.2.3. Direct observations

Direct observations also called ethnographic research by others, falls within the bracket of qualitative data which solicits empirical and inductive information. This type of data collection is treasured by anthropologists because anthropologists study people in their own natural settings and situations which is also known as their situations, which means it gives researchers a personal and eye-witnessed data. In my own definition or interpretation, direct observation refers to the data collection strategy that allows the researcher to be slightly distant from or be within close proximity to the studied subject or population. It could be undertaken in two folds. The subject or the studied population could be aware that the researcher is conducting observations. Secondly, the studied population or object might not be aware that the researcher is observing. Merriam and Tisdell (2016: 137) state that direct observations are common in qualitative research. Richards (2015: 1) qualifies what has already been mentioned by mentioning that qualitative methods are ways of studying people and their social world. Researchers go there to observe them closely in their natural settings, and to learn how they understand or account for their behaviour.

Ritchie (2014: 4-7) further notes that direct observations are covertly or overtly conducted and they caution that there are ethical implications that guard their execution. According to the mentioned scholars, direct observation affords or enables researchers to capture both the ontology and the epistemology which is the “lived experience” of the subject or the phenomenon which in this case was the life and experiences of the studied population. This study did not only capture the ontology and the epistemology of the studied population, but it also confirmed the credibility as well as the validity of the data that was collected through in-depth interviews and during the focus group discussion. Merriam and Tisdell (2016:139) purport that in most cases, direct observations are conducted to validate what has already been captured through other means of data collection. These scholars further note that direct observations or any type of observations conducted within the frame of qualitative research, give researchers first-hand information. This type of data collection allows a researcher to take field notes. The intention of this research journey was to gather the life and experiences of the population that is being studied. All the girls that participated in in-depth interviews as well as in a focus group discussion were informed about their rights in the research and consented to be, participants in direct observations. They also told me of street pavements, street corners and open spaces that I could use in order to observe them. The dates and days

of direct observations were not shared as I intended to maximize observing them as their true selves, which the study can confirm to have been successful in, observing the reality or the normal behaviour of the studied population on the streets. Pattern and Newhart (2013:13) claim that all types of observations as means of collecting qualitative research produces empirical findings. These findings are largely drawn from experiences that were recorded from the reality of the studied subject. Chapter Six of this write-up delineates a description of the observed reality of the studied populations without alterations.

Direct observations like any other data collection method has serious ethical implications. The researcher is ethically cautioned to have a list of things that she or he will observe and report about. To observe and record that which was not listed is a serious contravention of ethical requirements. I have attached the data collection instrument that was ethically granted for this type of data collection method. I also encountered delays in data collection, direct observations ended up being conducted for fifteen (15) days instead of the planned ten (10) days because of the methodological challenges that I encountered on the field. The reason for the extended period of data collection was because the studied population kept on moving from place to place. The other reason was I had to observe repeatedly how they lived on the street in order to maximise the validity of the research findings. The sampled population was aware that I was going to observe them directly. I had a note book where I captured all the field notes. I kept a significant distance that did not dilute the intention of conducting the study. All my observations were unobtrusively conducted because I did not want the studied population to alter their natural stay on the streets. As the study was supported by Pietermaritzburg YfC, it was through their outreach programme times that I capitalized on observing the studied population and that is how my safety on the streets was also maximized. This organization did not influence any of the data that was observed or analysed. The field notes will be stored according to the conditions of the ethical clearance conditions. It is through the listed data collection methods that the study thoroughly captured the life and experiences of the studied population. The study also expanded to the capturing of new constructs and definitions. It also clears some of the misconceptions that are commonly shared without being validated by members of the public or of the normal world being those who measure their bitterness by not living on the streets like the studied population.

After having collected immersed data by using the above data collection methods, I state within anthropology that in-depth interviews, focus groups and direct observations are the methods that best tell of or capture the experience and the reality of the studied population or the phenomenon. All these three methods yield a true story of the population that I intended to study. I also recommend such methods for further upcoming reality research endeavours.

3.7.2.4. Data collection limitations experienced

Data collection exposed me to understand that it has many dynamics. Some are directly linked to the data collection instruments. I am outlining this, not to compromise the strength of used data collection tools that guided the collection of the nuanced and descriptive study, but to alert up-coming researchers that data collection is full of dynamics and ambiguities that could compromise qualitative data findings if the researcher is not aware of these limitations. The listing of these limitations is not intended to weaken the academic strength of this entire study because all the captured information is authentic. It was not laboratory developed but it was collected from the girls who were experiencing life on the streets, as mentioned. The mentioning of such limitations is supported by Gray (2014:62) where he asserts “no research work is perfect”. It is important for researchers themselves to identify and be honest about the weakness and the limitation of their research data collection instruments as well as other factors that may have attempted to compromise the quality of the research. Gray (2014:63) notes the mentioning of such limitations will alert and empower growing researchers. In anthropology, the listing or the mentioning of such limitations is part of debriefing on the experience of field work. It also affords other anthropologists to go to the field being aware of such predicaments and being skilled to resolve them without compromising the rigour of the study.

Table 2: Summary of data collection limitations

Data collection method	Experienced limitation	How it was resolved	Future recommendations
In-depth interviews	<p>Many research participants got too close or attached to me which I appreciated because it was an indication that they had trusted me and they were going to share uncompromised stories. I could have been swallowed into their world had I not noticed this feeling.</p> <p>The limitation was that others started to call me “<i>ma’am</i>...”. This reference meant the following:</p>	<p>I constantly encouraged them to call me by my name.</p> <p>I also referred them to the content of the ethical clearance that they had voluntarily signed before the start of the research.</p> <p>When feeling being swallowed in their words, I recovered from this level of bias by not entertaining discussions that were not within the frame of the set questions – not unless they</p>	<p>Future researchers are encouraged to be aware of this intimacy or assimilation.</p> <p>It is good to be thoroughly observant of the expressions that one gets from the narratives because they could be signalling that the participant is losing the position in the research process.</p> <p>Future researchers must guard against being swallowed in the complexities of their research subject in order to remain researchers or data collectors. If this is not mastered during data</p>

They considered me as their mother;

were mentioned as a result of my probing.

collection, it will be difficult for researchers to separate emotions from what was intended by the study.

They somehow anticipated that after listening to their stories I would give them something as a mother. This would have been a serious contravention of the ethical clearance that was awarded for this particular study.

Future researchers must guard against collecting information from people with whom they share the same culture, enculturation or socialization because an element of being shy or apologetic around some or particular key concepts or experiences takes its cause without noticing. This experience validates that early anthropologists were cautioned about conducting research in their own villages in order to avoid or bridge this data bias.

Others were afraid to be thoroughly detailed in their narration if it concerned prostitution and the use of *whoonga/nyaope*.

I must also note that I was at first not comfortable when probing about prostitution as a mentioned fending strategy on the street. This is because many of the girls were blacks and it falls within their culture not to openly discuss issues that revolve around sex and prostitution.

Focus group

Members of the focus group did not approve of the recording of the session as they said that they were sharing information that somehow or partially linked to other people who were not sampled in the study.

I did inform them that no names were to be mentioned nor would they be mentioned in the write-up but they were adamant that they did not approve the recording of this session.

Researchers and anthropologists should refrain from having this data collection method as the only method of data collection, because participants might go against the recording which could jeopardise the rigour of the intended data.

The session proceeded without a recording.

Direct observation

This data collection method creates a slight distance between the subject and the researcher. It yields reach information which is difficult to clarify or get further meanings of what was observed with interest.

I ended up having more days (15) instead of the 10 days of direct observations which allowed me to recognise those that I had met during in-depth interviews and during the focus group discussion.

I would like to alert upcoming researchers and anthropologists to note that direct observations consume a lot of time and this time must be budgeted because the actual data collection is done in order to guard against the compromising of data.

This particular data collection method exposes many people to the study which became a challenge because I was somehow to spot those who had been snowballed for in-depth collection as well as for the focus group discussion.

3.8. My research experience

Research dream/idea (I asked myself the following question):

What is it that I want or intend to study, where is the problem felt in the world, in South Africa and in KZN Province, what is the problem about what I intend to study, is the problem worth writing about, should I test a hypothesis or tell the story as it is.

Brainstorming session involved debating:

What would the topic be, is it a topical or an academic topic, does it fit within my discipline of anthropology, what would be the broad research objectives and specific questions, who am I studying (population, gender, age, geographical setting). I also embarked on thoroughly reading the existing literature about the subject.

Supervisor consultation:

I developed a conceptual note that briefly captured key aspects of a research proposal such as proposed research topic, research objectives and questions, research rationale, limitations and delimitation, brief literature review, sample frame (population, age, gender), preferred research design and methodology and a theoretical frameworks relevant to the study.

Supervisor feedback involved:

Academic correction or wording of the research topic, narrowing of research objectives and questions, advice on the research methodology as well as on the sample frame, advice on relevant theoretical frameworks. Supervisor's support was gained.

Proposal Development phase

I was required to complete as a requirement of the University of KwaZulu-Natal Higher Degrees Committee.

This included a short descriptive title, background and outline of the research problem, preliminary literature review and reasons for choosing the topic, research objectives and questions, listing of principal theories, research methodology and sampling design procedures and ethical clearance, development of data collection instruments, submit the proposal for supervisor's confidence and approval and engage on a supervisory contract which was between myself and the supervisor.

Proposal or protocol defence at the school level:

This phase involved presenting the research idea in front of the panel of academics within the cluster, receive comments from the panel of academics as well as feedback from the reviewer (s).

Await decision from the High Degree Committee

The Higher Degree Committee is the highest authority, they assess aspects in the research proposal. They analyse if the research is topical, relevant or not relevant and what does it address or test.

Received feedback from High Degrees Committee

Feedback warranted me to start to develop chapters according to the outline of the proposed research. Filed an ethical clearance application for the clearance of the study which takes place before the collection of data.

Received Ethical Clearance

Ethical clearance authorized the execution of the research. I was able to submit this ethical clearance in order to be given a gatekeeper's letter. Ethical clearance afforded me to established trust with the studied population. I developed a schedule for data collection and went for data collection, worded field notes and proceeded to write.

Data sorting, analysis and interpretation

This is the most challenging stage in research. I had to develop theme and variable worth analysing and interpreting. After themes, I had to present narratives through which represented the voice of a young women sampled in the study.

Submitted first draft

The draft was submitted to be supervised in the development of chapters. The supervision report entailed constructive critiques. I was expected to attend and address such comments and resubmit.

Submitted final thesis

The final submission had to have a signed declaration and acknowledgments of people who contributed in the form of any support. Attach an abstract, data collection instruments, gatekeeper's letter, ethical clearance letter along with the entire write-up. Bound the thesis for internal and external marking once the thesis has been deemed to meeting academic standards.

The presentation of the above research steps that I observed is supported by Wilson (2014:29) where he quoted that the presentation of the process also declares the role of the supervisor/s in the entire research project. This then proves that my research journey was academically supervised.

3.9. Research team, collaborations, partnerships

Barbour (2014:60) asserts that many research endeavours have been successful because of teams and collaborations or partnerships. Such collaborations or partnerships are a testimony that some research endeavours could be conducted better because of transdisciplinary collaborations. I must agree that I have read journal articles where anthropologists have also partnered with epidemiologists in trying to understand issues of the health and illness of people over time. This study was a solitary undertaking. I did not have any team members assisting me during data collection and during data analyses. The entire research remains my independent work. It would have been an unethical conduct to have a research team which was not mentioned when filling the application for the ethical exemption or the clearance of the study.

3.10. Ethical clearance

The presentation of the ethical clearance for this study is not only my interest or my academic wisdom but I respond to a writing gap that is noted by Leach et al. (2012: 268) and Bhattacharjee (2012) posit that many research write-ups are found to be submitted without the mentioning of research ethics or how the study was cleared. In this regard, I am also empowering up-coming and alerting mature researchers in anthropology and in other disciplines and fields that they must note that research ethics are like Alpha and Omega. It is the beginning and the end of the research. This means that the research starts with a research clearance and it ends by reporting about the research clearance. The researcher must also report on ethical dilemmas in the field, if any.

3.10.1. What do we mean by ethics in research?

Many definitions exist and some of them are a repetition of the other. For the benefit of upcoming researchers, Alderson and Morrow (2011:3) coined an all-round definition that ethics in research are a guide to morality within the context of research. I am also motivated to state that morality is not the element of doing well in church but it also matters in research. The research committee scrutinizes morality intentions in all received ethical applications before they issue ethical clearance certificates. These writers note that research ethics protect the interest of every person or object involved in the research project.

Leach et al. (2012) note that different types of research have different ethics committees. These different committees exist to regulate standards and principles for all those who conduct research within the philosophical beliefs of the field. The content of the writer's book cautions researchers to note that qualitative and quantitative research ethical standards and principles are shaped by the context of the research, the desired population as well as the desired contact with the population to be studied. Silverman (2016:33) asserts that different research fields have their own ethics boards who evaluate if the intention of the research is ethically sound. Such different ethics committees or boards have different ethics expectations. Some are guided by the specialty of that field, others are guided by the nature of the subject which the researcher intends to study. Russell Bernard, in his book titled *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative Approaches*, postulates that the biggest problem in conducting or undertaking research in social science or in anthropology is not about selecting or mastering the correct sample size or having the correct measurement, it is about being or operating within the prescripts of an ethical conduct. Such ethical conducts prepare the researcher to live with the consequences of his or her research while doing it or after he or she is through with data collection. Bernard further mentions that anthropologists and other fields in social science will not be able to escape ethics and its demands because "ethics is part of methods in science". All researchers are expected to ethically conduct research all the times. Sieber (2012), in her book titled *The Ethics of Social Research: Surveys and Experiments*, postulates that ethics and ethical dilemmas in social science continue to be an agenda that does not lose popularity. She postulates that all social science research have been and they will continue to be, ethically regulated because of the nature of data that the field is collecting.

This particular study was ethically cleared by the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (see the attached annexure). The clearance came with the protocol reference number HSS/1778/016D. I also report that this study did not attempt to collect data before the receipt of this ethical clearance. The attempt of collecting data before the study clearance would have been a serious ethical contravention. The ethical clearance came with the stipulations which stated that any research alterations must be communicated to the ethics office before being made. Data prescripts were to be stored in safe places for a period of five (5) years. Confidentiality was strongly emphasized. Lastly, I was encouraged to ensure that I collected data within the period of three (3) years otherwise the clearance will expire.

The study was not cleared at once, it took about a year to receive clearance feedback from the committee. This delay was caused by the sensitiveness of the group that was intended to be studied through the already mentioned data collection methods.

3.10.2. Confidentiality/ privacy and anonymity in research

The existing literature states that confidentiality refers to being considerate of the safety, privacy and identity of people who have volunteered to participate in the study. Confidentiality and privacy also refer to ensuring that all the research information embraces a high level of anonymity which means that responses should not be linked with the name and other physical descriptions of research participants. It also refers to ensuring that interviews and focus groups should be conducted in non-public spaces. Fox and Bayat (2010:148) purport that confidentiality refers to assuring research participants that no identity information will be made available or issued to people that were not directly involved in the project. Alderson and Morrow (2011) assert that confidentiality, privacy and anonymity refer to concealing the identity and other personal details about research participants at the time of data collection and when writing up the report. I made it clear from the beginning of the study that the endeavor was not focused on collecting people's names. I also discouraged the use of nicknames across all spheres of data collection as I intended to maximize confidentiality, privacy and anonymity. Private rooms were used for in-depth interviews and the focus group discussion. Photographs and recording devices were not used because those who participated in the focus group were not content to have their discussion recorded, even though the recording of the session was cleared by the research committee. I also assured that the supporting organization did not have access to any of the

collected information because that was not part of the ethical clearance. I also ensured that the supporting organization was not negatively implicated in this thesis.

3.10.3. Deception in research

In my own view, deception only refers to misleading research participants at the time of recruiting research participants. It also refers to mentioning wrong claims or intentions of the study. It refers to misleading those that you are targeting as your knowledge narrators as to the intentions of the study. It refers to being inconsiderate of people's rights either by virtue of their vulnerability category or because you know that you will get away with that unethical misconduct. It simply refers to providing the wrong information about the intention of the study from the beginning to the end. It also refers to writing and publishing wrong data about the subject. It also refers to being dishonest about incentives that volunteers will get either before or at the end of data collection.

I avoided any opportunities of deception from the beginning of the recruitment. I also avoided deception at the time of processing the collected data, as well in the complete write-up of this thesis. Informing the respondents of their rights at the beginning of every data collection session was with the intention of ensuring that deception did not find any space in the research process.

3.10.4. Informed consent in research

In my own reasoning, informed consent refers to when a person agrees to participate in the research project after they have been informed about the objectives and the rationale about the study that they are requested to voluntarily participate on. It refers to getting involved in the research with normal senses. It also refers to being aware of all the rights and the intentions of the entire study. All those who volunteered to participate in the study were given the opportunity to sign the consent that was approved by the ethics committee.

3.10.5. Harm or risk in research

Issues of harm or risk refer to maximizing the total safety of all those who have volunteered to participate in the study. Total safety is being considerate of the friendliness of interview rooms. It is being considerate of the physical or the psychological harm that might be induced by the study, which in this particular research would have been when participants

were narrating their life and experiences on the street. It also about being considerate about the implication of those who did not participate in the study for personal reasons.

The supporting organization assisted me in maximizing the safety of all those who volunteered to participate in the study. The interview room was safe and friendly enough for types of human physical abilities. The psychological harm of research participants was ensured not asking things that were never listed in the data collection tools. In instances where participants got too emotional, I afforded them the opportunity to leave the study if they felt overwhelmed, but I am happy to report that no respondent left. I also requested the supporting organizations to avail themselves of the professional social workers who were always ready to provide debriefing sessions. None of the research participants went for one of those sessions because all the questions and the probing techniques that I employed did not invoke bitter emotions.

3.10.6. Storage of information

The storage of information relates to minimizing access or discouraging unreasonable access by external people to all the research instruments. It refers to being clear about where all the data instruments will be stored from the beginning and right till the end of data collection. This ethical standard or principle was a serious stipulation that was emphasized by the ethics committee. I put all the data collection instruments before and after data collection in a locked-up cabinet within the department of anthropology where my degree is registered. No-one has had access to that cabinet other than myself. I am aware that I will destroy this information in the form of shredding after five (5) years as advised by the ethics committee.

This thesis reports that all the above ethical stipulations, standards or principles made me understand or define an ethical clearance as a license or a certificate that endorses the start of a particular research project. I also regulate the start of data collection, list limitations as well as determine the eligibility of data collection. It is a license that is issued to grant the researcher the ability to meet with the studied population while also maximizing the consideration of the rights of the sampled or the studied population. Such ethical stipulations remain a red flag under the research undertakings up until the dissemination of findings. The compromising or the infringement of one ethical stipulation could have resulted in the disqualification of the entire research output and an exclusion at university. The ethical clearance exist to guide the parameters of a researcher from the inception to the finalization

of the study. I find confidence in reporting that the entire research was conducted within the parameters of the ethical clearance (see the appendix). The study respected authors of knowledge as research findings are presented in Chapters Five and Six.

3.11. Conclusion

This chapter enabled me as a growing anthropologist to argue the relevance of qualitative research when studying people's life and experiences. The entire chapter also outlined the research methods and its strengths particularly on the subject that was studied, the relevance of data collection both in Social Science as well as in anthropology. It also list limitations were encountered during data collection. I also confirm that qualitative research remains the most scientific inquiry in the construction of new knowledge as well as the clarification of misconceptions. This confirmation is supported by the information that is captured in Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this thesis.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

4.0. Introduction

The niche of this particular chapter is firstly, the presentation of four theoretical frameworks that have been of sound relevance in elucidating conditions that propel or expose women and girls in particular to be much more vulnerable than any other gender as a whole. Secondly, the application all four theoretical frameworks is an indication that anthropology is a transdisciplinary field. It values the scholarly pronouncements and perspectives of other fields in order to correctly diagnose and soundly conclude. Chapters Two and Three delineated that women and young women's vulnerability is no longer a hypothesis but a confirmed crisis that calls for a direct confrontation.

Such theoretical frameworks delineate situated knowledge (exogenous and endogenous) factors that have encouraged different levels of vulnerability and show how these women and young women cope with such situations. The very theoretical pronouncements presented in this chapter guided the construct of a problem statement, the wording of research objectives and questions that are relevant and in line with the research topic. Listed theoretical frameworks will be used in the following chapter which will be the analysis chapter. Such theoretical framework have influenced the wording of the problem statement, to locate the study within its context, the wording of the thesis title, objectives, the development of a data collection instrument and have been used to interpret the collected data. The selection of the following theoretical frameworks was driven by a clear interconnectedness among the theories in the sense that they equally view women, young women and girls as facing a high level of vulnerability that is mostly not spoken about in their families and within the society.

4.1. Defining a theoretical role and its role in research

4.1.1. What is a theoretical framework?

Anfara and Mertz (2017) and Grant and Asanloo (2015) define the theoretical framework as the foundation from which all knowledge is constructed (metaphorically and literally) for a research study. It serves as the structure and a guiding support for the rationale for the study, the problem statement, the purpose, the significance, and the research question. The theoretical

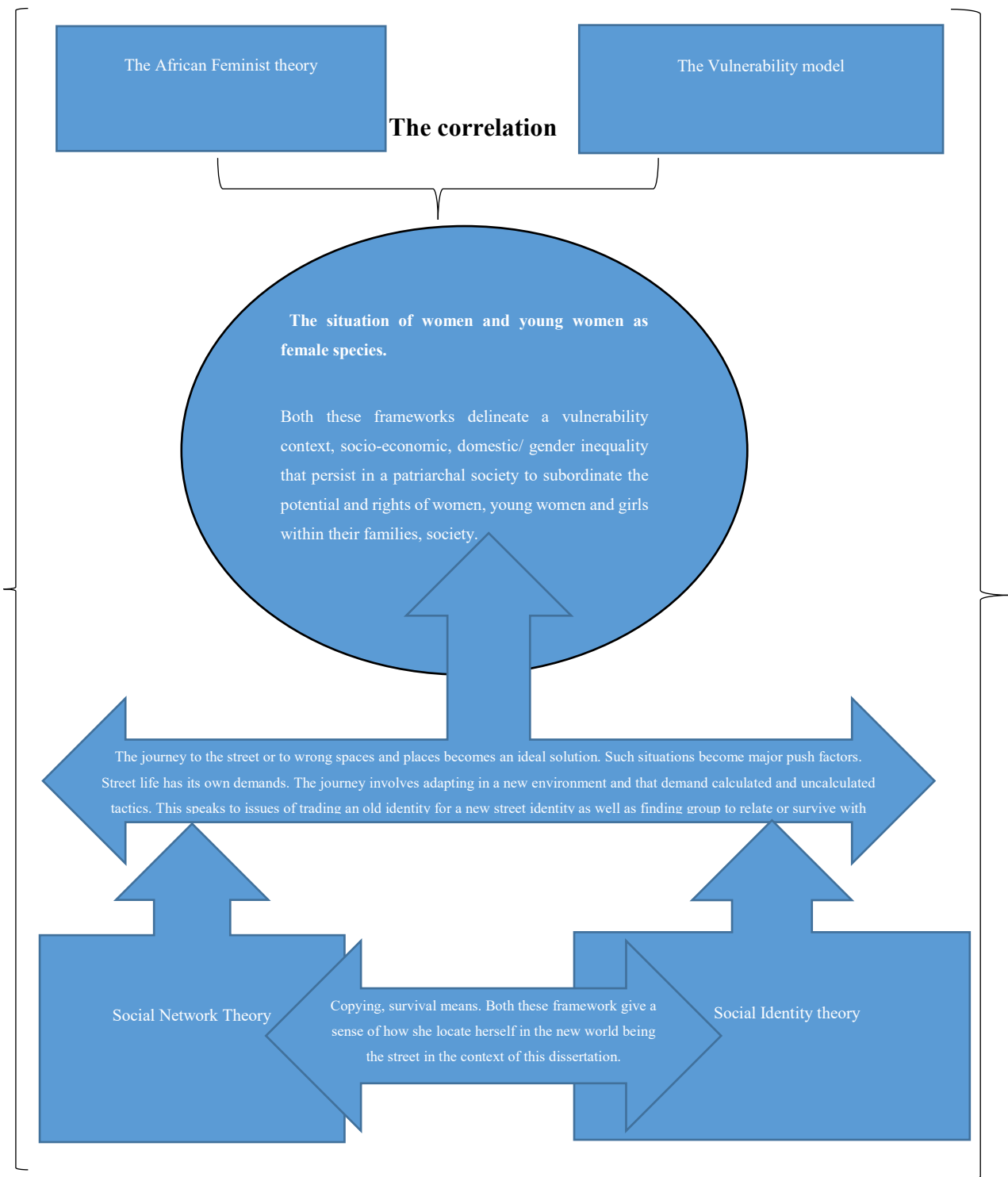
framework provides a grounded base, or an anchor, for the literature review, and most importantly, the methods and analysis.

4.1.2. The role of theoretical frameworks in social science research

Lysaght (2011) and Fink (2015) assert that a theoretical framework can also be used in drawing sound findings that have potential of shaping various literature sources. Theoretical frameworks can be used significantly to commend the soundness of research information and to determine the weakness of the thesis. It allows researchers to look critically at a subject through the lenses of interdisciplinary views rather than confined linear views. Grant and Asanloo (2015: 13) assert that without a theoretical framework, the structure and vision for study is unclear, much like a house that cannot be constructed without a blueprint. By contrast, a research plan that contains a theoretical framework allows the dissertation study to be strong and structured with an organized flow from one chapter to the next.

This thesis was guided by four (4) theoretical framework through which the problem statement was worded as well as other critical questions that I posed during the ethnographic phase of this research. The following is a framework that I designed to demonstrate how these theoretical frameworks fit in the collection of life and experiences of the sampled population.

Figure 6: The correlation of theoretical frameworks used



This presented situation requires a qualitative inquiry as a key method of data collection presented in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

4.2. The relevance of these theoretical frameworks as well as in the research method used.

This thesis argued in Chapter One that this study conducted was relevant in anthropology because anthropologists take an interest in collecting peoples' stories or narratives in their own natural space or in their living conditions. The already mentioned and still to be discussed theoretical frameworks were also finding fit in anthropology for the same reason that, they elucidate vulnerability, gender inequality situations that affect women and young women where they live either from their homes, societies as well as in the street. Chapter Three of this dissertation, provided a detailed qualitative research design that fit in anthropology, in the intended study as well as in chosen theoretical frameworks. These theoretical frameworks permitted the collection of narratives instead of taking interest in Likert scale answers. Collected narratives which will be presented in Chapter Five of this thesis validate that qualitative research (life history methodologies) is indeed aimed at collecting a deeper understanding of human experiences. These four theoretical frameworks also supported the undertaking of direct observations as a last data collection method, which enabled the validation of in-depth interview and a focus group discussion. It also allowed me to observe how the studied population lived on the streets, the day and night life, as well as their gang and inter-gang relations on the street. Through the use of such theoretical frameworks this study contribute a contextual analysis of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounding street life. These findings are not generalized to large populations but other people can learn from the collected experiences and also embark on other epistemological research inquiries.

4.3. Presentation of theoretical frameworks guiding this study

4.3.1. The African Feminist Theory

The study was conducted in Pietermaritzburg as already confirmed in Chapter One of this thesis. In this midst of all other theories that explain the unpleasant situation of a women and young women this study was embedded on the African Feminist Theory. This theory does not illuminate issues that are a specific experience of young women being the focus of the study but it was favored because the studied population are women or female offspring and their day-to-day experiences are same as the experience of a women being her mother or her guardian. Orakwue (2018) posits that African feminism is a form of feminism that is innovated by

African women who specifically address the conditions and needs of continental African women particularly those who live or reside in Africa.

This thesis favored to draw the perspective of the African Feminist Theory because for me, it remains a theory that tackles African women's issues. Naidu (2013) argues that the African Feminist theory speak about African women's experienced situations and realities. A broader view of the agenda or the advocacy content of the African Feminist theory is that it exists not to challenge men but make society aware of issues that a patriarchal society subject women under. The theory is advocating for a women's voice and identity in a patriarchal society. It exist to confront issues that compromise or infringe their rights such as their right to access education and employment. It also contribute by arguing that young women and women have the rights to be made aware or be empowered about their Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights. It also confront issues of gender violence/ domestic violence as a common experience of women, young women or a girl in the African society with the hope of rooting them out. Analyses and single out indigenous practices or cultural norms that condemn a women and young women in a pit of abuse. It also confront issues of discrimination and representation that is not a direct rights of women and young women. The rationale or the problem statement indicated that the conducted study was worth being conducted in Pietermaritzburg because the story of a young women living on the street was never recorded. This thesis disputed that their push and pull factor to the streets can be heterogeneously categorized. My defense was that each country has its own contextual issues which need to be intimately studied. The sentiments of the problem statement is also supported by the content of the African Feminist Theory which also acknowledges and agrees that women may possess homogenous features but their day-to-day experiences of sadness and happiness differ in context. They even mention that many feminist activists have risen because they stand to address and advocate for contextual issues and they posit that the agenda of Feminist Activists will definitely differ in context. Nkealah (2016: 62-63) in her journal article, asserts that the African Feminist Theory is firmly rooted in the experiences and realities of a women and young women in Africa. African Feminists analyses indigenous models and ways and culture to determine if they exert a negative impact on the lives of women and young women. The content of the theory also speak about issues that question the role or the power that women have in negotiating sex or their sexual pleasure. This is also supported by Naidu (2013) as she also emphasises that the African Feminist Theory provides a *situational sense of* women and African experiences. Such theoretical inputs

motivated for the wording of the research title as it was focused at collecting the studied population life and experiences on the street.

Drawing only on the African Feminist Theory would not in my opinion, suffice for this thesis. The theory was quoted because of its contextual contribution to issues that affect the studied population. According to Gunew (2017:17-19), the rise of the African Feminist Theory was to express and to confront mentalities of patriarchal systems and connotations that exist to dehumanize or encroach a women, young women and girls rights and images as well as their capabilities in their homes and within the society. I found comfort in proceeding with contributions of the mentioned scholar because, his angle seems relevant to the contributions of many scholars who largely wrote about the rise and the purpose of the African Feminist Theory.

In my own view, the thrust of the emergence of this theory was to correct the value and the dignity of women, young women and the girl child in their families, in society and in all other socio-cultural platforms; and to conceptualize and operationalize endogenous and exogenous factors that hamper or belittle the value and contributions of women or a girl child. In my own view, the theory existed to break chains that unfairly preferred men over women. It also existed to resurrect women's, young women and girl's voices and the dignity which was buried by condemnatory socio-cultural written and unwritten dogmas. Such dogmas suppressed the voice of women in spheres of representation. These socio-cultural written and unwritten dogmas had confirmed the positioning of women and girls in the kitchen rather than in other socio-economic platforms. This has transpired in Chapter Four of this thesis.

The theory scientifically constructs a sound lens that robustly outlines challenges that are faced by women, young women girls within societies and within their families. They advocate for a radical change in gender imbalances. Gunew (2017) posit that the theory does not misinterpret the situation of women and girls in societies and within their families. They expose the situation and operationalize factors that lead to the vulnerability of women and girls as it is. This interpretation of the African Feminist Theory is supported by Mackay (2015:11-13) who agreed that feminism is not afraid to name the perpetrators of violence against women or gender based violence by referring to their crime specifically as male violence against women. This theory assisted in shaping some of the key questions such as push and pull factors which lead

to women on the street which would not have been asked if the content of the theory did not speak about such possibilities being encountered by women. Moreover, they exist to deconstruct unsound muscularity or the monopoly of men over women and the rearing of a girl child.

Mackay (2015) further states that they advocate for the inclusion of a women and girls in all matters that affect them directly or indirectly. The shared sentiments are supported by Nnaemeka (2004) as well as Nkealah (2016) as they state that the rise of the African Feminist theory from the time of its recognition until to date has shaken a lot of patriarchal structures and systems. Tangible outcomes relate to the profound influence on, how the society must value women, even though it has not been completely achieved. There are recognizable shifts in gender norms, the oppression of women is being confronted and openly discussed by many sectors. They have a robust manner of confronting societal structures or hierarchies which condemned the rightful image of women. They encouraged platforms for African feminists alone to discuss their specific existences as well as their advocacy agenda on issues of equality.

4.3.2. The Vulnerability Model

Chapters One and Two confirmed that *streetism* exposes young women and girls to more vulnerability. The African Feminist theory also delineated issues that condemns the happiness of women, young women and girls within a patriarchal society. Hence, their advocacy is around the liberation of women and girls as well as their voice in the family and within the society at large. The relevance of the Vulnerability Model by Tallis's (2012) confirmed that young women share the same struggle that their mothers go through. Their socio-economic, domestic and other sexual ordeals are also confronted by the perspectives of the African Feminist Theory as well as the Vulnerability Theory. Tallis's theory was valued because the author's theoretical contribution articulate that societal structures have a responsibility to subvert the power that promotes the vulnerability of women and young women. She authored a vulnerability model that outlines various types of interlinked vulnerabilities that are largely borne by women and young women within their families and within societies as standing institutions. The model lists vulnerability contexts that negatively impact on women, young women and girls. The societal vulnerability is listed as a vulnerability context that has a negative impact on the lives of women, young women and girls and it includes economic means of production, poverty and other experienced gender inequality experiences. The second

vulnerability context is the personal vulnerability. This vulnerability context outlines cognitive, behavioral and biological factors that put women, young women and girls at risk.

The content of the theory allows relativism to take place when qualitative researchers embark on thoroughly diagnosing of issues that continue to affect women and young women and that which have largely motivated street life. Tallis (2012) the theoretical author, was recorded saying that research on the subject of women remains biased if it does not allow women to narrate their story without being allowed to tell how the society has encouraged their vulnerability and also to tell how such experiences have contributed to their personal vulnerability. The relativism that Tallis talks about in her theory allows women and young women to tell of their daily vulnerability realities within their families and societies. Tallis's vulnerability (2012) theory has been recommended by many scholars whose interest was on understanding what contribute to the vulnerability of women and young women within their own families as well as with in their societies. Various fields of specialty like sociology and social work have also relied on the model in order to thoroughly diagnose factors that affect people.

The critique that this thesis poses against the African Feminist Theory and the Vulnerability Model is that the content of such frameworks happen to illuminate issues that affect a women or a young women in an ordinary households or in a particular society or village. These two theories don't speak about a women or a young women who could be for some reasons be living on the streets or in any peripheral spaces like the studied population. For me, this is a skewed analysis of the situation of women and young women. This means that both these frameworks lack a thorough conceptualization of women as well as spaces that they possible opt for when running away from various vulnerability context.

4.3.3. Social Network Theory

The theory is said to have been the product of the scholarly ventures of Emile Durkheim and Derdinand Tonnies in the late 1890s. After the introduction of the theory, many branches of social science – anthropology, biology, communication, economics, geography, organizational studies, social work and in psychology – have institutionalized the theory in their research and other scholarly inquiries in order understand how people being observed adopt, socialise or establish relations with other people in different environment. The theory concedes that the

connection of people is mostly purposefully and the network gradually increases in number. The social network could start with two people and it could end up with more than ten (10) people. Chapter Five of this thesis provides a detailed account of the formation of networks or groups on the streets where the study was conducted. The only thing that this thesis did not capture is the number of group/ network members in each group. This was purposively avoided because counting of network members would have involved those who were not part of the study because of their gender, age and those who did not consent to be part of the study by choice.

The social network theory is important because it is an indisputable fact that human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. Historically, the literature in anthropology informs that, hunter-gathers were the first people that were observed to be living in camps or in groups. Even that time, anthropologists took an ethnographic interest in learning about the formation and the relations of group members. Teachings of such anthropologists have encouraged me as a researcher in this study to thoroughly understand what connects and disconnects groups/networks that the studied population narrated to be affiliated under. Muthuki (2010:56) asserts that “social network theory allows researchers to study social structures, in-group bonds/ ties, group conditions and dynamics that shape the beliefs and as well as the behavior of those who belong under. The social network theory affords scholars, researchers and ordinary people to have a great understanding how groups of people live or relate to one another. It also allows the researcher to learn and observe their group cultures and be able to make clear correlations or distinctions, if needed. Perspectives of the social network theory relate to relations as well as to the establishment of networks and social ties. It is also an element of belonging or of affiliation. Ethnographic findings which have been shared by proponents of anthropology put forward that social networks are key where there are more than two people sharing a particular space. Contributions of political and economic anthropology say that people of the same network work out different strategies to face living. Hunters and gatherers relied on egalitarianism which encouraged the equal distribution of any wealth that had been collected by the network. Some networks succeed through various types of reciprocity (generalized, balanced and negative) which are governed by goodness, kindness or overt and covert expectations. They note that social networks are also diverse; some are governed by or rooted on egalitarianism as an element of the network. They also mention that the establishment, success or the dissolution of such networks are directly attributed to the

power and the authority that exist amongst members of the network. The literature states that networks are either formally or informally governed. The literature on political anthropology empowered me to understand that network ties are motivated by the absence of care and the yearning for care, security and protection. Some network members are motivated by experienced or envisaged vulnerability and destitution, the fear of being lonely and the fear of having nothing. Such governance structures support the commemoration of special events and making and taking decisions because of the level of power and authority they possess. In some networks the management of power is shaped by gender attributes. Group leaders also resolve warfare or any disputes that might exist within the network. Such power and authority attributes could prioritize some people as key actors of the network. The governance structures on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings will be delineated in the following chapters.

In addition to what has been shared above, Papacharissi (2011) states that people of a particular social network share a particular culture; they have their own language which may not be known by the entire communication or other networks, they strive to have a unique identity, and trust remains key even though it is not guaranteed. What interested me about Papacharissi (2011) is that she notes that benefits attract people to become members. What should also be noted is that people come and go in social networks because of the many clashes and feuds that have been observed in the majority of networks. She notes that those who decide to leave are ranked as enemies of the network to the point that it becomes difficult to accept them back. The existing body of knowledge acknowledged the establishment of social networks as one of the games, copying mechanisms, or strategies that children of the street survive by as they survive on the streets (Muthuki: 2011). The theory satisfied the following question which this study intended to solicit information about: What is the structural composition of the network? How do they relate to one another? How did they come together?

The Social Network Theory has guided me in making sense of the real street life that shape the identity of the studied population. Before the collection of such nuanced reality of street gangs/networks where the study was conducted, the theory shaped the wording of questions which were key in understanding the life and experiences of the studied population. It was important to collect information about how the studied cohort establish or are assigned to existing social networks when they arrive on the streets; how they understand what defines a group/network

image; how trust is developed in a network, how they assess the benefits they get by virtue of being a group member and how they establish levels of dependency or independency once they become members and to also understand what defines and strengthens the inter-connectedness within the groups.

Additionally, the analytical aspect of social network theory was used in detecting the language that network groups on the street use and to learn the issues that the studied population discussed in their networks. The recording of street language is mostly appreciated because of the content of the Social Network Theory which gave an indication that most networks exist distinctively from each other. This content encouraged me to probe for features that keep or make groups on the streets distinctive or separable from each other. One of the distinctive features was their group codes as well as the use of language which has some similarities as I observed that people of different group networks were able to communicate with clear understanding. A detailed contribution of the theory is presented in Chapter Five and Six of this thesis.

This study intends to expand the content of the theory by mentioning that the formation and the leadership of social networks can also be influenced by external forces or agents. This means that they are not as autonomous as they appear before the eyes of people. This theory is also appreciated as it is through it that this study was able to record that some young women on the streets have roles and statuses that come with an amount of responsibility which comes as a benefit of dating a network/ gang leader. It is theory that has enabled the collection of network dynamics and the mission that they exist to fulfil on the street where the study was conducted. Recorded hierarchical leadership statuses and roles are reported a new contribution that no other research has contributed when telling the experience of the street both in Africa and internationally. Chapter Four of this thesis proves that social networks on the streets where the study was conducted are influenced or shaped by prison life.

4.3.4. Social Identity Theory

The mention of identity changes and falsification amongst street children, street youth or adults was noted in Chapter Two for reasons that relate to them not wanting to be traced by their families. It was also a strategy of becoming a new person and forgetting their past lives; and as a way of protecting themselves while living and surviving on the streets. The literature also

stated that social networks/ groups/ gangs existing on the streets shape their identity and how they behave. The theory was coined by Herin Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s and 1980's. The theory did not emerge as a critique of the social network theory but more of a continuation or a further interpretation or a detailed analysis of how a person's identity socially constructed, alternated from time to time and how social networks contribute to ones' identity while surviving in varying social platforms. A sound understanding of why the social identity theory emerged is quoted from Haslam et al. (2010:341-356) who collectively say that "it emerged to afford a general theorization of human social selves". For Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity theory refers to the person's sense of who they, as well as on the basis of a group identity and traits. It has an element of affiliation and belonging which enhances pride and self-esteem. According to Markus (2014), social identity theory speaks to the self-actualization which refers to the individual definition or reference, the discovery of the "self", the social categorization and the group affiliation. It also refers to social identification and social comparison that people use to define themselves on the basis of being distinctive or unique from other groups. Giddens (2011:26) states that the existence of the theory confirms that people organize themselves in social groups and they define who they are according to the approved identity that the group favours. A social group is a composite of individuals who hold and share a common identity or who share a common image that is not the same as others within the geographical setting. Social identity is a symbolic construction, which helps people to find their own place in time and preserve continuity. Markus (2014) further asserts that social identity is the individual's self-concept derived from a perceived membership to certain social groups. Moreover, social identities are always constructed and modified in relation to the identities of other groups and living conditions. It has been mentioned by many scholars who focused on migration patterns that, when people migrate from their own places of origin, some forfeit identity labels or references that were socially constructed by the family as well as by their societies. They further state that what remains ideal is to gain a new identity and affiliate with groups that somehow share similar traits and gain a new social identity. Others join particular groups for purposes of security, safety and to gain some charisma or even become charismatic in the new environment. Panter-Brick (2002:147) indicates that people choose to join or affiliate with particular groups based on having calculated the value and emotional significance attached to that group and its status. The group status is measured by the level of recognition it holds being higher or lower to that of other existing groups.

This thesis does not pose any critiques against this particular theory, instead, it actually commends the content of this theory as broadly relating to different circumstances that can encourage a particular person to opt for a particular identity instead of the other. A detailed collection of the studied population identities and their categories of their appearance of the studied population is appreciated on the explicitly content of the Social Identity Theory. Because of a broaden content of this theory, this thesis was able to collect new categories of the street population that are presented in Chapter Five of this thesis. Such categories inform the diversity of street life and the dynamics that comes with surviving on the streets.

The following chapter (Chapter Five) presents the themes and findings of in-depth interviews. The content of all cited theoretical frameworks will be used to analyse, interpreted, to critically engage with collected narratives and to highly contributions that this thesis is introducing.

4.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this particular chapter was intended to delineate only those scholarly perspectives that have been pronounced by the founders of knowledge around a particular field or science. Perspectives of quoted theoretical frameworks were valued in this research project as they have shaped the content of the questions that were to be asked by this particular study. Such theoretical pronouncements will be used to analyse subsequent chapters. It must also be noted that were critiques that this study posed against few theoretical frameworks that have been mentioned. The African Feminist Theory and the Vulnerability Model were critiqued in this study for not including the vulnerability of a young women or women who could be living in peripheral spaces as an escape tactic from a severe vulnerability content that was somehow unbearable. The Social Network Theory was critiqued for not including that the formation of groups/ networks can be a result of or can be in the hands external forces or agents elsewhere. This Social Identity Theory is theory is appreciated because it was because of the content of this this theory that this study was able to collect a detailed culture of the street and also contribute new categories of street life recorded in Pietermaritzburg.

Chapter Five:

The young women on the street “Speaks”

5.0. Introduction

This chapter contributes an empirical account of the life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings through thematic analysis. Episodes of her life and experiences on the streets were collected by means of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions held with the studied population. Themes were developed to represent narratives through which the studied young women tells her story that most people have never heard before. The analysed data will be presented in seven parts. Part one (1) introduces the young women taking part in this study. The content of this part is inclusive of push factors that drove her to the street. Part two (2) covers her drug experience while she was still staying with her family. Part three (3) talks about her education levels before joining the streets and while living on the streets. Part four (4) she speaks about pull factors that landed her to the streets. Part five (5) speaks about the construction of her street identity and how she has survived with it. Part six (6) tells about her day-to-day experience/ survival on the street. Part seven (7) tells about her coping strategies on the street. The content of this chapter will be cross-referenced or validated by theoretical frameworks as well by other literature sources that were quoted in the previous chapters. Findings from direct observations are presented in the following chapter.

5.1. Data analysis in anthropological research

In anthropology, data analysis is important in two ways: it allows subjectivity where the narrator voices (translates the reality, truth and feeling about a particular situation) their experience to be presented in the analysis. It also allows anthropologists to engage with the phenomenological data (the kind of information that is based on the reality experienced by the studied population) for further interpretations and meanings. This data is synthesised through the narratives of the sampled participants and it is thematically tabulated to tell the story about a particular subject or a phenomenon that the study looked at. It is through a thorough data analysis that inferences can be made which could be either generating a new theory or which could be confirming or critiquing the relevance of the existing literature hub. The use of narratives to tell someone’s story is also supported by Tallis (2012) the author of the Vulnerability Model presented as a theoretical lens in this thesis. She asserts that narratives

should be used when studied women oriented issues because they give an insider perspective on their daily situations and realities.

A hidden critical contribution of Tallis (2012) in favour of using narratives when conducting women oriented situations and realities is that, they are mostly not allowed to express how they feel and this is the condition set by patriarchal systems that subjugate their voice. This is what the African feminist theory is advocating against that it has emerged to listen to the voices of women who have been subordinated by factors that do not maximize protection and care. That do not consider them as normal human beings, whose voices and cries must be heard. The African Feminist Theory create a space where women and young women should find comfort to narrate how they have been treated in their own families, within the society or in all other spaces that they may be seen occupying or dwelling.

These two theoretical frameworks find fit in anthropology because anthropologists collect narratives or thick descriptive data which should come through the application of narratives. Such thick descriptions were encouraged by open-ended questions which are recommended in all anthropological research endeavours. Thick descriptions through narratives allow anthropologists to collect people's contextual experiences and also write from the perspective of the narrator. In anthropology, narratives allow the true applicability of relativism and the phenomenology which anthropologists are known to favour in their research. Data analysis allows both the emic and the etic perspectives to be presented and be further interpreted by the researcher. The Vulnerability and the African Feminist Theory has encouraged the collection of that that contribute both the emic and the etic lens or perspective. Such collected narratives will contribute what remains unknown in social science about the studied phenomenon. The etic perspective stems from the word phonetic which refers to the inside information which are meanings and beliefs. The emic perspectives stem from the word phonemic which refers to the information that is externally gathered and interpreted.

According to Reid (2014) and Cortazzi (2014), the use of narratives as a data presentation method is said to have the result of the shift of traditional ethnographic or participation observation to ethnographic dialogues which encourages the voice of an interviewee. For Scutt and Hobson (2013), data analysis allows the research to tell the situation as it is and this is within the contribution of the Vulnerability and the African Feminist Theory. The situation

gives a contextual experience. The contextual analysis of the studied population which is follow has been solicited by the perspectives of the Vulnerability Theory as well as the African Feminist Theory. These two mentioned theoretical frameworks as presented in Chapter four (4) all the researcher the get the opportunity to probe and even learn from the body language as well as the facial expressions of the studied population to thoroughly understand the context from which the studied population has run from before choosing the street as an alternative and allow anthropologists to seek for further clarity. Lastly, the data analysis chapter allows for the interpretation of the collected data. In the context of this study, the sampled young women is given the opportunity to narrate her journey as outlined in the introduction of this chapter.

5.1.1. Wording and the analysis of themes

Thematic analysis as defined in Chapter Three of this thesis was used to present and analyse the collected data. Analysed themes were developed before or after the data collection. This was done in the interest of collecting data that was worth being analysed and further interpreted. Worded themes were intended to tell the story of the sampled population which is presented in this chapter.

5.1.1.1. Part 1: Who am I and my journey to the street....

5.1.1.1.1. The introduction of a young women on the Pietermaritzburg CBD streets and surroundings - “Born of a women but raised by the streets.”

This theme introduces a young women on the streets as already mentioned. It gives a biographical scope of where she comes from and who she really is. Kottak (2012: 2) state that “anthropologists study human beings wherever and whenever they find them. The anthropological research is conducted to tell the social reality of the subject”. Put simply, anthropologists study people in their own natural settings using various qualitative research methods. I spotted young women between the already mentioned ages living on the streets of PMB CBD and surroundings and I wanted to record their story which I believe will influence development programmes and policies amendments which were someone now including the rights of a young women growing or living on the streets. Chapter One of this thesis, explained that their visibility means different things, that they are vulnerable to the street day-to-day demands, that these young women are not part of the dawn of democracy or benefits that are to be generally enjoyed by a young women in South Africa. Within the same chapter, the

justification or the relevance of conducting this research was substantiated by many researchers. Ndlovu (2016) and Hills et al. (2016) have argued that research on the street experience of young women remains thin on the ground in Social Science. I also argued and the contribution of other researchers confirmed that they are not direct beneficiaries of what is promised by the Bill of Right (Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, no. 108 of 1996). These rights come with the benefit of living under a proper shelter and being cared by biological parents, caregivers, extended family members, shelters as well as by foster parents. Families, in Chapter Two, were noted as institutions of care and protection. The Vulnerability and African Feminist Theory cited in Chapter Four (4) outlined that young women are mostly ill-treated or made vulnerable within their own families. As a result, this study also confirms that families have become weak and no longer fit to respond to their obvious roles of caring, nurturing and of protecting their off springs hence one see the millennium of street life being an ideal break away from families. Chapter Two also confirmed that they (those who live on the street) mostly come from families that have socio-economic challenges or that have been dismantled by the death of parents, other writers authored that the death of extended families who were supporting nets is also listed amongst the reasons that have led them to the street. Other writers argued that families, societies as well as the state has not prioritized to protect young women and girls in the families and within the societies that is why they fled to unsafe spaces. The very same Chapter Two outlined pull and push factors that have drove some young women in other parts of the world which was appreciated as it presented a picture of why some of the young women are on the street. The very same chapter confirmed street as unsafe spaces which exposes young women to various types of vulnerabilities. Contributions of the African Feminist Theory presented in Chapter Four of this thesis posited that women, young women and girls are in most times dehumanized by patriarchal systems that are not sensitive to what sabotages their rights, image as well their potential.

The content of the chapter proceeds to say that, young women are voiceless and their cries go unheard that is why they may even opt for foreign spaces which they call as their homes. The Vulnerability Model confirmed that a proportion of vulnerability that overwhelm women and young women is a result of a patriarchal system which excludes them from being active agents in socio-economic means of production. Such systems expose them to rife poverty and exacerbate gender inequality experiences. Nnaemaka (2004) and Nkealah (2016) who are

prominent African Feminists argue that women and young women are denied room to grow outside the domestic space being the kitchen. They list this experience as one of the social exclusions that conform women and young women in most African countries.

This part of the thesis introduces a young women that was snowballed and volunteered agreed to participate in the study. This thesis introduces who they are in terms of , local municipality, village/township name, geographical category/ classification, traveling modes, number of years on the street not using their original names. This reasoning is guided by ethical considerations in research explained in Chapter Three of this thesis.

The study confirms who participated in the data collection. Twenty (20) young women which were initially sampled recruited and participated in the study even though not all age categories within the specified age were snowballed. The above paragraph gives a clear picture of the age group that mostly participated. The age gap should not be taken as a data limitation. The specified age bracket was developed to recruit any young women falls within it not below or above. The age bracket also does not report that street life begins only at 19 years because the literature has confirmed other early ages. This study report that those who are 19 years old participated more in the data collection. The thesis also note that young women between the ages of 21-23, 26-26 and 33-34 did not participate when the data was collected. They were snowballed but did not consent to participate in the study. These are experiences and limitations that comes with data collection especially when participants are snowballed. This one major data collection predicament that anthropologists come across when conducting ethnographic research.

What remains significant for noting is that, this is where the studied population begins to speak and to relate who she is, her age, how she came to the streets, where she comes from and the number of years she has spent on the streets. The context of young women street life in Pietermaritzburg is recorded for the first time. It is notable that most of them come from places that are geographically classified as squatter camps as well as rural communities. They also confirmed during data collection that they came to the street in their early formative ages of their development or their childhood and they were coming from different categories of families. These categories are societies with different times of family households with different types of parenting systems. This is confirmed by them confirming that they were *born of a*

women but raised by the streets. It is evident that this young women is longer in contact with her family but grows alone on the streets. This is a life transition which informs that this young women was someone pressured by some pull and push factors which encouraged her to close the family chapter and begin to write a street chapter. This particular information is intended to update any demographics that may have been collected by other researchers on the streets. Anderson (2015) notes that to understand the birth origin enables researchers to make connections with the roots of the studied population in relation to the number of years on the street. The recording of the period or the number of years that the girls had lived on the streets was motivated by the life history research methodology that I choose, as indicated in Chapter Three. For me, the period determines their history on the street and informs the richness of data. The recording of their years on the street was intended to know her better. The other interest was to continue writing from a well-informed perspective. The content of this thesis validates that the gathered information is drawn from a profound and a comprehensive experience. In anthropology gaining and giving a full description/ understanding of a particular group increases the understanding of one's situation and the life lived by those groups or people. It clears misconceptions that any uninformed person could be holding about particular groups of people. The data is presented to erase the stigma and other misconceptions that often surrounds the population of the street.

The presented table provides demographical data which contributes to the scope of urban anthropologists, applied anthropologists, cultural anthropologists, policy custodians and other networks/NGOs having interested on young women issues. With this codified information, all these specialized fields will begin to have a well-informed picture of who are the young women living on the mentioned streets and where they originally come from. Urban anthropologists will gain insight on new pull and push factors that fuel people to the streets. They will also begin to analyse how the population of the street can be protected while living on the street. They will also analyse how living and sleeping on the street pavements affect the business sector in making profits that boost the economy of PMB. They may be interested in analysing how the business sector can offer young women who possess a significant level of formal education some form of employment while on the street. Applied anthropologists will also make use of information to advocate for their rights and to develop policies that respond to their daily issues. Cultural anthropologists can begin to research if all streets groups in Africa share the same culture. They can also further prioritize research which investigate if the

population of street somehow lose forfeit their ancestral protection and luck while living on the streets. They can investigate if there is no ancestral wrath that they have felt while living on the streets. Medical anthropologists can conduct research will get to record unrecorded epidemiological patterns that are endemic to street life. Policy custodians will begin to check if the content or rationale of their policies is inclusive or it responds to the studied population. This information will be valued by networks/NGOs who take time to visit the population of the streets. Because of this information, their support to the population of the streets will be in line with needs that come with a person's age.

The thesis fundamentally notes an element of migration from the distances that have been travelled by these young women to the streets. The information presented indicates that research participants have come from different local municipalities around the province of KwaZulu-Natal while others come from neighbouring provinces. One can now agree that migration/ human movement is always motivated by a purpose in mind. In the context of this thesis, the migration is encouraged by push and a pull factor which was concluded because of the perspectives of the Vulnerability and the African Feminist theory. Ndlovu (2015: 157) agree that anyone who decides to migrate to the street permanently or temporarily usually analyses his or her situation and then takes a decision. The migration purpose within the context of this research was to find relief from the experiences that the studied population could not endure any longer. Other writers say migration is informed by an interplay of pull and push factors. Such push and pull factors will be explored as this report progresses to understand what really motivated street life other than any other possibilities in life. Williams (2010) along with Abrams and Gosnell (2011) agree that people migrated from their places of origin with the hope of earning a good life in the hosting country. Such people experience both push and pull factors. This means that there is always a migration drive that is either forceful or voluntarily. The contribution of this author further states that migration sometimes becomes a solution for some, depending on their push and pull condition. Gonsell (2011) further note that migration becomes a terrible decision if the intended experiences does not fall into place. William (2010) further notes that migration has diasporic effects which relate to becoming homeless, facing extreme poverty, and losing familial ties and care. They also experience slavery and exclusion in the hosting country or place that they don't originally belong to. Migration has exacerbated vulnerability levels for many that have tried it as an ideal escape from their painful situations. Abrams and Gosnell (2011:309) mention that migration propels migrants to become self-reliant

and to face daily demands as they come. Proceedings of this thesis will outline experiences and shocks that have been borne by the studied population while living on the streets. Other research interests can focus on the transporting systems that leads to street life and explore the experience that becomes part of transport negotiations

Furthermore, the data presented captures information that propel, policy custodians to admit that there are people who are not direct or indirect beneficiaries of democracy in South African particularly in Pietermaritzburg and this is not say street life is only the experience of Pietermaritzburg. That there are people who are not sheltered by a proper infrastructure but sheltered by street shelters and supermarket verandas. They spend all weather seasons in such unprotected spaces. Auyero and de Lara (2012) and Ndlovu (2015) are amongst the scholars that have mentioned that street life involves not living under a proper shelter and also become victims of heavy climate changes. They, in their independent studies, mention that supermarket verandas, bridges and old scrap yard cars used by the street population must be listed as shelters. The society at large must also realize that families are no longer units that were confirmed by many writers in Chapter One and Two of this report to be ideal for nurturing and socializing its own members. Society leaders and policy custodians must admit and devise strategies of assisting families to regain their strength and to regain the fabric of the society which is confirmed to be torn by the appearance of the studied population on the street. The South Africa government must realize that some of their citizens are not direct beneficiaries of chapter two of the constitution as already mentioned in Chapter One and in the introduction of this Chapter.

5.1.1.1.2. Lineage traces (family configurations and parenting customs)

The lineage line or trace matters cross-culturally. And cross-culturally families exist to enculturate their off springs along their lineage teachings. Furthermore, in anthropology, an individual is understood through a particular lineage line which is why I argued in Chapter One of this thesis that no one was born on the streets; if that happened he or she has someone being raised or socialized through the teachings of a particular lineage line. This theme is not foreign in anthropology as a broad field. Cultural anthropologists of the past as well of contemporary times continue to learn lineage lines in order to understand the person from his or her roots. The essence is to understand a person through his or her descendent line. The first segment of this chapter explained that the studied young women is born of a *women but raised by the*

street. Tefera (2015), Tyler (2006) and Wakatama (2007) asserts that streets are the wrong place because young women are to live in a family settings not alone and away from family and adult control and protection”. Armstrong (2013) asserts that biblically, the family is the cradle of life and love where they are born and grow. With this being said, understanding their lineage traces was a way of knowing completely and to understand how they have been nurtured and socialized.

Chapter Two delineated that family structures are collapsing and they have weakened due to poverty, unresolved family conflicts, parental death in nuclear families and the absence of extended families who are safety nets (Cas et al., 2014). Society is critiqued for failing to mend the fabric of families. Other writers noted the absence of fathers in most female headed families. This signals that families are no longer living up to the responsibility and the expectation that it is known to specialize in. Affandi and Habibah (2016) and Conger et al. (2010) again in their independent studies, asserted that contemporary families are wounded by multi-phased socio-economic challenges or factors which have encouraged streetism or street life. In the same vein, many writers and scholars writing about families, the state of them and their structure, have said that the presence of young women on the streets confirms that the fabric of families is torn beyond recovery. Some families and parents were judged on the poor socialization and the upbringing of their children and young women. Nuclear families were critiqued for prioritizing employment over the rearing of their off springs. The Vulnerability and the African Feminist Theory mentioned that women and young women are mostly hurt within their own families.

Moreover, the chapter listed factors that motivated young women in the world to flee to the streets. The noted literature gap is that, research on the subject has been largely focused on studying street life with minors. This is proved by the use of the Children Act as a theoretical framework that most scholars have used when trying to understand their situation on the street. This literature gap necessitated the collection of the life and experiences of young women in Pietermaritzburg. This research interest was made complete by having an interest in knowing about their families in order to know them better. Their family structures and parenting types are presented in their age groups. Pseudonyms were used for confidentiality and to present their narratives.

Six (6) girls reported to be nineteen (19) years old. Their family structures and parenting types are as follows:

Amahle reported to have come from a squatter camp known as France under a typical nuclear family. This squatter camp falls under Umsunduzi local municipality. She walked fifteen (15) kilometres to get to the street where she has stayed for one (1) year.

Siphosethu reported to have been raised and parented in a youth headed family. She comes from a rural community called iXopo which is under Dr Nkosazana Zuma Local Municipality. She travelled 85.6 kilometres using truck-hiking as a way of coming to join the PMB streets and this happened five (5) years ago.

She narrated that the death of her unmarried parents left her and other siblings to be parented by her big sister who was also very young to become a parent.

Apula shared that she from a squatter camp called Raisthobe which falls under the demarcation of Umsunduzi Local Municipality. She comes from a family where she was parented by her late mother's boyfriend (step-father parenting). She was not comfortable to share how she got to the street but confirmed that she has been on the street for two (2) years.

She narrated that life became difficult while she was parented by her late mother's boyfriend because he had the responsibility to prioritize for his own children.

Zinhle shared that she comes from woodlands squatter camp located within the demarcation of Umsunduzi Local Municipality where she was raised and parented in a nuclear family.

She narrated that she walked about 5.7 kilometres three (3) years ago to join the street

Gugulethu reported that she comes from an extended family in Gezubuso which is a rural community under Umsunduzi Local Municipality where she was cared for by her father's mother "mina ngakhuliswa ugogo" meaning "I was raised by a grandmother". She took a bus which travelled 20-22 kilometres to Pietermaritzburg where she is currently living on the street.

She narrated as follows.....

Mina angibazi abazali bami. In English she meant to say...she does not have a picture of her parents because they died when she was young.

Zethu reported that she was raised in a youth-headed family.

Only two (2) young women reported to have been under the age of twenty (20) years.

Mpumza reported to have come from an uncle-headed family (extended family) from her mother's side. She reported that she comes from eNdaleni which is a rural village under Richmond Municipality and confirmed to have travelled close to 50 kilometres by means of truck-hiking and has stayed on the street for the past six (6) years.

Nonhle shared that she came from a nuclear family and her family is in Tamboville a squatter camp located within Umsunduzi Local Municipality. She informed me that she took a taxi which travelled less than 6 kilometres to town where she lives on the street for five (5) years.

She narrated as follows:

Ma'am....I don't want to talk about those people. I probed: Who are those people? She responded, *"My parents - they failed me"*.

Four (4) young women said they were twenty-four (24) years old as they lived on the street pavements.

Sphume said she came from a youth-headed family located kwaMpande which is a rural community falling within the demarcation of Umsunduzi Local Municipality. She took a taxi to street which travelled 33 kilometres, three (3) years ago.

She narrated that she was raised by her brother. I probed to confirm if she came a youth-headed family. She responded as follows:

Yes, I come from that family...I was raised by my brother who was less than 35 years when our parents died. He also ran to the street as an attempt to find survival means but he never returned home. That's how I was left alone".

Amanda also mentioned that she came from a single parent family structure which is located at Sweet-waters a rural community under Umsunduzi Local Municipality. She travelled 30 kilometres through taxis and confirmed to have been living on the street for the past 5 years.

She also narrated that she was parented by her mother before coming to the streets.

Blondy informed that she came from Ingwe Local Municipality but she was not comfortable to give the name of her village or community. *She further narrated that she was raised and parented in a nuclear family and parented by both parents.*

Luleka informed that she comes from the Buffalo City Municipality and she travelled 86 kilometres to the PMB streets and reported to have come from foster parenting.

Nox was the only young woman who was twenty-five (25) years old and has stayed on the street for the past three (3) years. *Her narrative informed that she travelled 14 kilometres from a rural community called Willowfontein which falls within the demarcations of Umsunduzi Local Municipality. She said that she was a product of a grandmother-headed household where she was foster parented by a granny that she was not related to.*

Spin was also the only young woman that was twenty-nine (29) years old. She reported to have come from a rural community under Umsunduzi Local Municipality which is called Azalea where she travelled only 22 kilometres using a taxi eight (8) years ago. She narrated as follows

I come from a child-headed family where I was raised by a cousin before coming to the street.

Three (3) young women were thirty (30) years old at the time of data collection.

Sunshine came from a rural community under Dr Nkosazana Zulu Local Municipality and has stayed on the street for six (6). She travelled 114 kilometres hiking in different trucks and she eventually landed on the PMB streets where she intended to be. *She narrated as follows*

I... come from a youth-headed family where she was parented by her brother.

Thembeke comes from Bruntville a rural community under the Mooi Mpopana Local Municipality. She travelled 62 kilometres hiking from trucks different trucks which landed her in Pietermaritzburg and started to live on the street nine (9) years ago. She reported to have been raised and parented by a step-mother.

Mpumy travelled 25 kilometres from Gezibuso a rural community under Umsunduzi Local Municipality where she was raised and parented in an extended family. She narrated that she lived on the street for the past twelve (12) years.

Two (2) young women were thirty-two (32) years old during data collection.

Funani informed that she came from a rural community called kwaMpumuza which is located under Umsunduzi Local Municipality. She travelled 30 kilometres to the streets where she has stayed for 5 years. She came for a nuclear family.

Phumlile had grown up in a youth-headed family located at Imbali Unit 14 a location under Umsunduzi Local Municipality where she was responsible for the care of her siblings. She has been on the street for 10 years and she took taxis to the street.

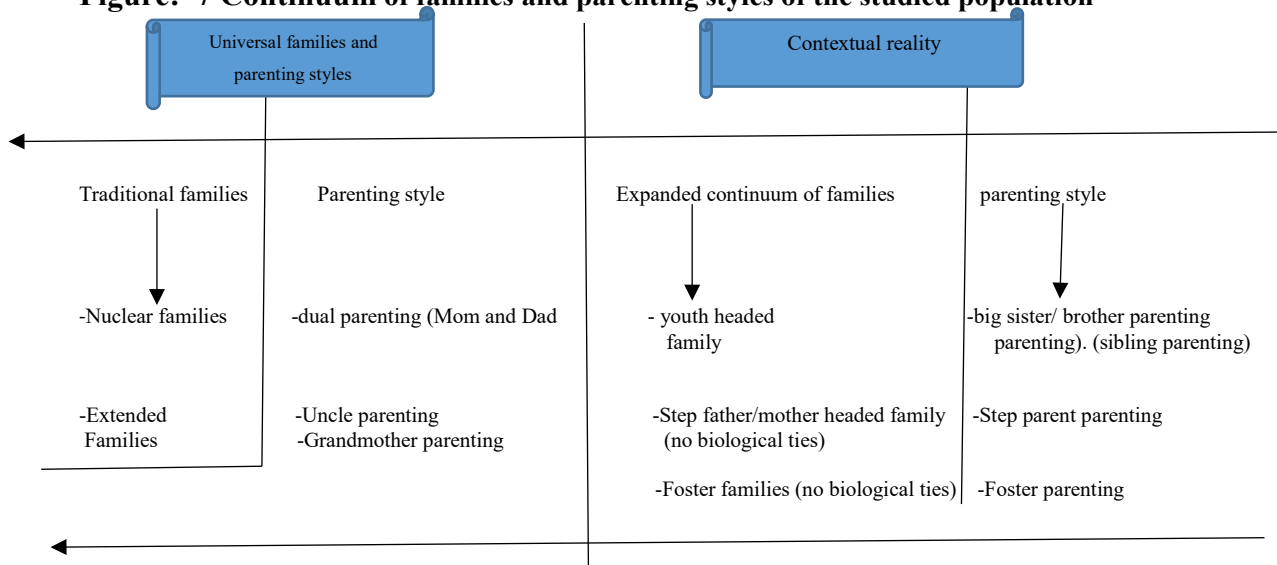
Londeka was the only young women who was thirty-five (35) years old amongst those who volunteered to participate in this study. She reported to have been from a grandmother-headed family (extended family) where she was parented by her uncle. I asked her to be specific about a grandmother headed household. She explained this household as follows:

A grandmother headed household is a household that is headed by a grandmother in the absence of biological parents. This grandmother takes the responsibility of providing all the essentials that are needed by grandchildren.

Londeka was also not comfortable to divulge where exactly does she come from. I did not probe further than this in order to contravene with stipulations of the ethical clearance that I was made aware about.

The summary of family types and socializing parents that the studied population left at home when deciding to choose street life.

Figure: 7 Continuum of families and parenting styles of the studied population



The above narrative presents the nature of family structures and types of parenting that had shaped the studied population. This narrative also reports that societies no longer hold nuclear and extended families as traditional families. This on its own confirms the expiry of lineal identity. This finding tells of an era where young women are raised in context that this thesis believe to be displacing their lineal roots. This also confirms that there is a proportion of the population in Pietermaritzburg which will grow up not being linked to their own lineal roots because of having been displaced by their parents through cohabiting. The presented figure along with the narratives confirm a dimension that families and parenting styles have undergone. It is notable finding that there are those who were raised and parented by step fathers and mothers who were lovers of their late parents. This type of parenting style is a new contribution that this study is making in the cultural anthropology and this study informs that the generation raised in such non-lineal families stand a chance of losing identity and personal history. Contemporary cultural anthropologists can further learn if there are ancestral anomalies that come as a result of being parented outside your lineage line. This study could not answer the question that comes as a result of having listed step-father parenting as having being an experience. Future researchers can investigate what happens when the step father passes a couple years after the biological mother has passed. Who is the young women left to live with? Such research findings could help in understanding what elasticize the vulnerability of a young women growing in a family that she does not even share family ties with. While Chapter Two of this thesis noted the absence of extended families, this study notes the contribution of grandmothers who are seen resuming the immediate role of parenting in the absence of parents. This finding confirms what was raised by Backhouse (2009) as he noted

in his thesis that, grandmothers are lumbered with the responsibility of appearing as parents instead of being grandparents. He continues to state that the traditional role of grandmothers seem to be fading away in our society and this is a burden that elderly people don't need as they are old. They should instead be used or valued as indigenous teachers of good parenting not as immediate parents.

While this thesis appreciate the role that grandmothers have taken, this thesis also notes a parenting gap that has been experienced by the studied population, hence they chose to go and live on the street. It gives an indication that grandmother's families are no longer fit to raise and socialize children as well as youths. The society and state must note grandmothers are no longer fit to provide emotional comfort and support especially on issues that such young women could be going through. The other reason for an emotional comfort gap could be a result of a huge age gap between the grandmother and a young women. The mention of uncles resuming parental duties in extended families was significantly recognized. The role of uncles is appreciated by this thesis however this parental continuum is seen weakening the strength of families and the policies that the state can enact to restore the fragment scope of families. Again, this thesis also notes that this parenting type can still be seen taking advantage of young women through which uncles could be seen sexually molesting them.

This thesis reports that where the study was conducted, street pavements are emerging as another unrecognized spaces that are taking over as homes for the studied population. They (those living on the street) have turned street families into their homes. This finding was also confirmed by Dryjanska (2014: 1) in the study conducted in Rome, where research findings reported that streets pavements are slowly becoming spaces that perform home and family functions for the population of the streets. Street pavements are also seen taking the role of socializing the studied population in order to adapt to the daily demands of the street. This confirms that families have indeed broken down, it also confirms that the society and the state is at a distance from these citizens. This thesis confirms that families are confronted by issues that they could or cannot resolve on their own, possibly because of a lack family policies that they could benefited from. This study also reports a societal demoralization which late Nelson Mandela listed as he was listing issues that will destroy image of an ideal society. Applied anthropologists can embark on evaluating the contributions made by the Department of Social Development as a policy custodian of policies that are to strengthen families in

Pietermaritzburg. If no research is undertaken, there is a strong need of a round-table discussion which will be giving parents a greater support and information which parents and any young women can benefit from in order to lower the number of young women opting for street life.

This study advances that big brother or big sister parenting is becoming an apparent style of parenting that needs to be recognized by scholars and by public policies in Pietermaritzburg and this is not say it remains the endemic experience of the mentioned locality. Youth- and child-headed families is another family dimension where big brothers and sisters are expected to assume parenting roles in the absence of biological parents. This thesis is acknowledging that such families and parenting dimensions have encouraged young women to opt for street life. Findings on the diversity of families could also enhance the public policy scope of family,

The following themes and narratives were generated as a result of asking the sampled cohort to narrate the push and pull factors they had experienced. The uniqueness of this research project is that I have included the push and pull factors that have been experienced by the studied population. The question around the listing of push and pull factors was based on the critical justification that the experiences of girls on the streets are not homogenous. This study also gathered that there are similar push and pull factors which have been listed by other scholars but they were presented in a different context. It was part of my deliberate reasoning this thesis must be positioned to capture the push and pull factors that have never been written about by any researcher in order to enhance the scope of the existing literature on street life.

5.1.1.1.3. From a particular family to the street corners and pavements “Push and pull factors”

Chapter Two of this thesis listed push and pull factors that researchers and scholars listed as part of their street life findings. The content of the existing literature is presented as if street life and its experiences is homogenous. This is a literature critique that I pose against the existing literature hub. In my own opinion, reasons for street life are contextual, hence recording of push and pull factors will never reach a saturation level. This study disputes that young women in Nigeria and young women in South Africa are motivated by the same factors to flee to the streets. Researchers must be discouraged from categorizing push and pull factors as a homogenous and fixed experience of all young women on the street. For me, this is a hypothesis that is critiqued by this thesis. Push and pull factors were asked and probed because

I wanted to investigate deeper than any other researchers and to reveal the Pietermaritzburg context, as already mentioned. The following data proves that the situations of people or reasons for *streetism* can never be homogenised or be taken as common experience across the globe.

5.1.1.1.4. Push factors: “what pushed me as a young women to the street?”

The following data provided a sense of family based factors (psychosocial issues)/ family environment leading to street life. The presented data reveals how young women have been treated in their own families. The presented content also shows that families have been destroyed by drugs, hence some of the young women have descended to the streets.

5.1.1.1.5. Amafufunyane narrative

The mentioning of amafufunyane narrative as a push factor during the in-depth interview session was a recording that was the first of its' kind. These narratives recorded this contextual push factor, and sheds new light on this factor as a push factor. Medical anthropologists and psychiatrists would agree that amafufunyane/ *schizophrenia* experience is classified or is categorised as an epidemiological mental, somatic, neurological experience which most writers have confirmed to be a village experience. Hence it is known or listed as a culture-bound syndrome. Zethu a young women is the one who reported to be on the street because of this following narrative:

.....sisi [meaning sister referring to me at the time of the interview].....I....[stuttering] ...remember when I was about nine (9) years old doing Grade Three (3)...I heard voices of unseen people calling me...Such episodes would happen when I was both at home or at school...Sometimes I will be told that I just stormed off in the middle of the subject and run around the school yard...educators would send strong boys to catch me. I used to feel embarrassed because I was not aware of such things such that at home they thought... I wanted to skip school...at school ...educators would think that I'm disrupting lessons and I will beat them up...I shared such visions with my biological mother...who straight away said I'm possessed by evil spirits...I need prayers...She never took me for prayer sessions up until I ran away to the streets. I wanted to be free of such voices...I was angry and beaten because both my parents did not take me seriously...Coming to streets does not mean that I still not hear such voices...I still do [crying] ...posing to her narrative pace...I asked her if we could continue and she said yes...I ran away...because I was tired of being beaten up at home as well as at school...

I probed by asking her if she was given a proper name or a reference of what she was suffering from. She responded by saying: ...my friends and some of my classmates use to

say...*nginofufunyane* or *nginezizwe*...she said *I don't know what these two references mean all I know that I still hear voices that call me to a place that I've never been...and I am so scared.....*

Mingoia et al. (2016:140) mention that “*amafufunyane* is an aberrant behaviour often recognised as illness by most participants of a particular culture. It is a *multistratified* reality or amalgam state of sanity which confirms a person to be delusional or possessed by some spirits which are commonly referenced as ungodly”. Sehoana (2015) confirmed that *amafufunyane* is a syndrome that is commonly experienced by girls amongst the Zulus and Xhosas in South Africa but this study did not link this culture-bound syndrome with factors leading to street life. Collected findings listed that symptoms are related to the hearing of voices of unseen people. Sufferers from this syndrome are usually chained because of their tendency to storm off and they may find themselves in untraceable places. *Amafufunyane* is recorded as schizophrenia or being schizophrenic in America or *saka* in Kenya. *Amafufunyane* or schizophrenia or *Saka* is a mental condition where the affected person is referenced as being possessed by evil spirits. The affected is said to hear things that are not seen by the next person. Family members or members of the society claim that this person is possessed by evil spirits and could be taken to a shaman or *umthandazi* for a spiritual cleansing or debriefing (Keikelame & Swartz, 2015; Bhugra & Malhi, 2015).

Zethu's narrative also brings to the study that families with different religious beliefs respond differently to family members' state of illness. This study notes that Zethu was raised in a family that did not believe in such mental states, hence they classified her as being possessed by the devil himself. This also note that religion takes place in defining what remains a godly illness and a devil illness.

5.1.1.6. Idliso/ food poisoning

Ethnographic studies in anthropology have reported that families and village members explain situations differently. There are those who associate misfortune and death along with sorcery and being bewitched by a jealous person. Contrary to this belief, there are those who believe that gods are always behind what a person goes through. In some villages, cult and sorcery don't have a space in the explanation of their pleasant or sad situations. Those who believe in sorcery believe that a person can kill you because of jealousy and hatred through food poisoning. Those believing that sorcery does not exist will believe that death is part of their

god's plans. To them, food poisoning will not lead someone to death, unless his or her time on earth was over. Again in the context of medical anthropology, collaborations of medical anthropologists and psychiatrists have listed food poisoning as a culture-bound syndrome which is an endemic experience of those believing that food poisoning is a reality. Food poisoning is also listed as a culture-bound syndrome because the person having this belief is believed to be having mental issues, seeing and believing things that no other person is seeing. The girl by the name of *Apula* also narrated that she was told by a sangoma after the death of her mother that her step-mother was going to poison her food. She decided to run to the streets before she could be poisoned. She narrated as follows:

My mother was friends with a particular sangoma...after the death of my mother I visited her house as a usual routine. She told me that her ancestral bones told her that my step-mother that I was left to live with, was planning to poison my food. I trusted her because she was my mother's friend...I chose the street where I met my boyfriend and it's been almost three (3) years now. I live, bath and get sick on the street pavement which I call my home.

The food poisoning theme emerges as a new contribution reported by this thesis. It is emerging as a new push factor that also leads to street life but is not new in medical anthropology. In this thesis, it is recorded as new contribution to the list of existing push factors as no other researchers have reported it in the context of *streetism*. This is an experience that added on her vulnerability which started when she lost her mother. Many medical anthropologists have collaborated with psychiatrists to understand bio-psychological and biomedical factors of *idliso*/food poisoning not as a superstition but as an experience of people in their societies. Such findings have confirmed that *idliso*/food poisoning is still the experience of both the western and the non-western countries. Those believing in the power of ethno-medicine use traditional or indigenous medicine. Traditional ways of cleaning one's immune system become the advice of a sangoma or a shaman. Those believing in biomedicine consult medical doctors in order to clean poison traces in their immune systems. It must be noted that *Apula* consulted with a sangoma that told her about the food poison experience. Owen (2014:9) in independent research, asserts that *idliso*/food poisoning still a common belief and practice in African countries. The writer of this study explains that the context of Africa shares that *idliso*/food poisoning is said to be an act of a witchcraft or an act of sorcery which is linked to the intention of harming someone. It is an act of putting or adding certain toxic substance – *umuthi* – in someone's food or drink with the intention to poisoning that person to death or to compromise his or her health. The sorcerer traps the person to eat the food that is already poisoned with the

hope that the bewitched person will eat or drink the poisoned food without noticing. Owen (2014) continues that non-western people discover this when consulting with the fortune tellers or *izangoma*. Most people discover the food poisoning before it happens while others are alerted before it happens to them.

5.1.1.7. Becoming a sangoma was a nightmare – *ukuthwasa/ancestral call*

Kottack (2012:348) state that families and villages hold or believe in different religions. Religion remains one form of a spiritual belief that comes with strong personal attachment and explanation. Cultural anthropologists have often reported in their ethnographic studies that villages and families believe in different gods; some are Christians believing in Christ and some are African Traditions Churches whose religion is strong linked to their ancestors. To them, death is a just a passage that removes someone from peoples' lives but that dead person continues to live in spirit and can communicate with his or her family at any given time. They believe that dead people visit their family members mostly while sleeping and through dreams. Some of these dreams are easy to comprehend, but some can be comprehended by local shamans or any other fortune tellers. They hold a strong belief that, any ancestral communication must be honoured and failure to do so can bring misfortune episodes/ bad luck in the family. During an in-depth interview session, Nohle narrated that she is on the streets because she couldn't become a *sangoma*. *Isangoma* or *Ukuthwasa* is another culture-bound syndrome that is being reported for the first time as a push factor to street life. Medical anthropologists and psychiatrists have reported it as a culture-bound syndrome because of its context. It remains a village/ family case and its explanation is often based on what was experienced by a family member or a village situation.

Nohle chose the streets instead of full filling an ancestral calling:

Please note that I am Zulu speaking person..... (she was confirming her ethnic group language and prepared me for an emic perspective as a well as a relativism experience) My family is rooted in traditional beliefs and ceremonies. My family believed so much in ancestors...They base all their success on the ancestral response than fate or God. For every misfortune they consult a traditional healer or a sangoma who they trust that will be able to tell why ancestors are angry. One day this sangoma came to do a ritual at night where we were all invited to sit where the impepho/incense was burnt....In our family, impepho incense is used to communicate with the ancestors...My parents were even capable to read the incense flames, out of such flames they will tell if ancestors came when invited to come or if they were sleeping at the time of consultation...This was all superstitions to me

because they sent me to a white school and the culture that I was used at did not value this. The incense smells terrible and it does stick on the school clothes and I use to feel embarrassed when my friends at school would ask if there was a sangoma at home just because of the incense/impepho smell in my school blazer... To cut the long story short... [pulled a sad face] ...I asked what was wrong.....she continued as follows.....

One day this man [sangoma] told my family that my ancestors wanted a family member that would resume the task of being a sangoma...I did not have a problem because I was young and never thought that ancestors would choose me for whatever delegation...He spilled his bones on the floor and pointed a particular bone which he said was communicating that I had to be a sangoma and I needed to start the ukuthwasa process very soon. Both my parents were convinced that ancestors had spoken and they had chosen because I was still young and innocent...From there...I was never a normal child at home...everyone asked me if I had strange visions which I did not have...My parents arranged that I start with my ukuthwasa process promptly so that ancestors would not be angry....This meant that I had to be sent to this sangoma house and be trained on how a thwasa behaves...I lost my name....as I was commonly called “thwasa” rather than my Christian name. I was eventually taken out of school without being consulted...I loved school but my family wanted me to become a sangoma when I was very young and in need of their love and support not as a sangoma but as a child whose vision was to become a nurse...I nodded as a probing strategy which encouraged her to continue as follows:

One day I told this family sangoma that I wanted to visit home...he approved my family visit...I did not go home but I ran to the streets because I knew that I would be free from being converted into something I did not like...My family searched for me but I would keep on changing my street spots and eventually decided to come to Pietermaritzburg where I did not have relatives.....

The theme also emerges as a new contribution to the field of street life. It was only mentioned by Amin (2013:8) as an experience that set living conditions of women and young women but not as a push factor to the street. This study conducted in Pietermaritzburg confirms that it does not only become a family condition but it has led the studied population to the street. There is no other researcher that has mentioned it as part of push factors, not unless the publication was made after the review of existing literature sources. The theme has been the interest of anthropologists in the context of culture-bound syndromes not in the context of street life. Many anthropologists have written about *ukuthwasa*/ancestral calling in the context of accepting a gift of wisdom from ancestors through a dream. Different literature sources on the culture-bound syndrome list *ukuthwasa*/ancestral calling as an experience that does not discriminate a particular age, race or gender. It was interesting to learn from the narration of Nohle how she ended up choosing street pavements as her home.

Many literature sources pronounce that *ukuthwasa* goes hand in hand with the belief of what it is can only be seen by the person who is in that situation. Emin et al. (2013:8) assert that Southern African villages strongly believe in religious beliefs and ideologies that excluded women and young women in taking an active role in leadership. Their role is usually defined by males who assume leadership roles without any completion. They continue to state that women are always seconded below the leadership of men. Moreover, they mention that some villages believe that religious beliefs such as *ukuthwasa* or being an ancestrally called *isangoma* is a calling associated with non-Godly beliefs. Many Christians even referenced it as being possessed by the devil himself. They strongly believe that it is through prayers that the person can be delivered from such a demonic position. Those who are deeply rooted in traditional customs believe that *ukuthwasa*/ancestral calling is not a demonic thing. It is gift that ancestors give to those they trust. They choose someone that they trust and believe that she or he will be able to listen and do what they communicate to him or her.

This thesis acknowledges that there are recognized institutions and organisations in South Africa that exist to advocate for *ukuthwasa* as well as the operationalization of *ukuthwasa* in order to broaden the understanding and to loosen the stigma associated with it. The Umsamo Institute article released on 21 October 2011 delineates that African *ukuthwasa* has been misconstrued and misunderstood for many years and this misconstrued thinking is linked to the belief of western researchers and to some people of Africa, reason being that it has never been something taken as a special gift to those who happen to be victims of it. *Ukuthwasa* and to be possessed by *idlozi* has been taken as something evil by its own people and even those who happen to be possessed have tried in many ways to escape from it by denying it.

As an upcoming anthropologist I have been observing that people who are classified or categorized as undergoing *ukuthwasa* process become strangers in their own communities and in various public spaces. They also dress and behave differently. This *ukuthwasa* comes with demands that if you are identified as fit for it, you need to undergo a proper initiation which could be far from your family and you could be gone for years. This calls people to drop out at school and even to terminate their employment.

The given narrative says that *ukuthwasa* is an initiation process that involves the acceptance of an *idlozi*/ancestral calling. This study has learnt that this calling does not have an age specific

category or an age restriction; that symptoms could be identified within a couple of days of the birth of a baby; and that symptoms can be observed early, especially when the baby is born with a white veil which indicates that the child needs to be given a name of his or her ancestors. This veil could mean that she or he stands a chance of receiving a special calling from the ancestors. It could also mean that the ancestors want him or her to be given a name of a particular ancestor which would not lead to a calling. If the desire of the ancestors was to pass on an ancestral calling, the specific person born with a veil will start to have visions and begin to see images in his or her sleep. Such visions and images could start at a very young age, but the child would understand she begins to attend her initiation school. An older sangoma takes the responsibility of coaching the young person how to listen to ancestors when they speak and how to respond as a symbol of respect. Ancestors could talk to him or her even when that person is not asleep. This calling could make children become constantly sick. Their sickness is not healed by western medicines but eased by the burning of incense/ *impepho* which is an indication that ancestors have chosen that particular child or grown up person. Adults could become thin, others too fat and others could suffer from strange diseases. All these illnesses are cured when the person has accepted his or her ancestral calling.

The collection of culture-bound syndromes confirms the vulnerability level that Tallis (2012) postulated in her theory. This theory posits that the fabric of families and societies is grounded on cultural beliefs. What transpires from a presented narrative is that, such cultural beliefs condemn one's ability to withstand things that have been decided on her behalf. They exert pressures that sabotage the voice of young women as well the kind of women she would have wanted to become. In this regard, cultural beliefs are seen distorting her self-actualization and her rights to choose what she is comfortable to do and not comfortable to do. The African feminist theory postulates that such cultural beliefs usually exert pressure on women and girls because patriarchal societies demand them to conform to such cultural pressures. This is where the voice of women and girls is less considered. It is during such cultural customs that the family or the society is seen taking less interest in what troubles a women or a girl in particular. The mentioning of these culture-bound syndromes as push factors, postulates that the welfare of the girls in the study was not a priority of their families which is an indication that the families are really weak.

Nonhle's narration brings forward that she ran to the street as a way of gaining independence and this study also notes that it was the first time that she took a decision for herself. The report also notes that families exert unnecessary pressure on their youth and this has a detrimental effect. Such detrimental effects also affect their education.

The branch of cultural anthropology have prioritized to learn cultural specific culture-bound experiences with the interest of explaining village illnesses and pluralistic models that they employ to respond it. Collaborative studies conducted by psychiatrists and medical anthropologists have revealed that people in their families undergo illnesses (culture-bound syndrome) whose explanations may not necessarily require biomedical interventions but also need to be analysed through a biopsychosocial model/ approach. Pow Ming Yap, the psychiatrist, is a prominent writer on this subject coined a framework around 1962–1969 which provided a contextual understanding or narration of delusional states/ culture-bound syndromes.

In medical anthropology, culture-bound syndromes are an illness defined as folk syndrome, dramatic behaviour, a combination of psychiatric mental stress and somatic symptoms. People who suffer from this state of mind are often not trusted by any one unless there is a strong belief that this experienced illness has been the experience of a family member or a village illness. Some families and villages understand it from a religious point of view. Those believing in Christianity consider a person experiencing a culture-bound syndrome as possessed by an evil spirit who needs to be spiritually delivered. Those who strongly believe in African Traditional Religion consider this a ritual related case where ancestors are communicating their anger to the family or they are communicating a calling that one should initiate on their behalf. The biopsychosocial model/ approach analyses a web of issues that could be engulfed by it. It is through this model that one's explanation becomes important.

The existing literature capturing street life which listed pull factors does not mention factors related to culture-bound experiences. *Amafufunyana* (schizophrenia), *idliso* (food poisoning) and *ukuthwasa* (ancestral calling) culture-bound syndromes remain a new anthropological contribution that this study is reporting and listing as having been push and pull factors that have led some sampled young women to opt for the street life.

5.1.1.8. Clashes between parenting and human rights

Chapter One explained that the visibility of young women on the streets is a result of poor parenting and that street life give an indication that their human rights are violated. Chapter Two captures that, families have become weak that is why they cannot look after their young women who have opted for the streets. Chapter Four, presented the African Feminist Theory as a Vulnerability Model which agree that young women endure situations that don't allow them to express how they feel. Their cry an unheard cry. The first narration depicts that the parents' decision to hold Christian values, compromised the healing of visions that the girl said she felt. The second narration tells that the girls rights as a child were infringed because her parents were not concerned about her feelings with regards to being *ithwasa*. Both their parents' decisions added to their vulnerabilities that have been listed in the feminist literature. This study sees these girls being failed in family spaces by their fathers and those who resume the role of parenting after the loss of parents. Narratives of *ukuthwasa*, food distribution and arranged marriages brings forward that young females are growing up in a gloomy world. This world is defined and directed by a male figure which suppresses her value in the family. They are born to accept decisions of their fathers. No one cares about how she feels.

The vulnerability of girls is a concern to many international writers. The earlier UNICEF (2013) publication on Adolescent Girls' Vulnerability Index is not the first publication to delineate and operationalize the situation of girls, but it is relevant in the context and for the content of this thesis because it acknowledges that the challenge that is facing Southern Africa families relates to families and household environments that have, and still continue to, fail or have widened the vulnerability levels of girls even though many policy mandates have been granted and endorsed. This also questions the strengths of parenting skills and relations that exists between parents and their girls in order to minimize the vulnerability levels that girls continue to be confronted with. This particular study therefore recommends that there should be an urgent *iNdaba*/conference that will allow girls of the studied population to be thoroughly schooled on how they have been shaped by parents' decisions as to where they are in life in order to determine sound and weak parenting skills. The *iNdaba* could be made up of young women on the streets and off the streets. Such deliberations or dialogues will create a space where policy custodians and service providers will get to know and understand the population of the street better not from the misjudging and misrepresentation angle that they may possible have. Recorded dialogues will be included on the agenda that Pietermaritzburg policy

custodians as well as the South African government is expected to take seriously in order to support parents in raising their girls and young women. It would also allow parents to learn how they have failed their daughters and even get to be acknowledged in case there are good stories to be noted about the parenting skills of others against all odds. This study believes that such dialogues and narratives will shed more light on issues that push and pull young women to the street. This is how the government/ state will strengthen families as well as societies/ villages and prioritizing the rights and the protection of these young women. This is where the solution and other responsive strategies and solutions to street life will be illuminated and implemented. Ndlovu (2015: 25) supports this view by stating that the voice of the population should be heard and acted upon.

The questions that I recommend for future researchers to ask are as follows. How do parents relate with their young women? What are the issues that are open for parent-child engagements? What are girls' feelings on particular decisions considered? Are the young women and girls' voices tabled? Or what will it take for the young women's' voices to be taken seriously? These could also become conference issues that need to be tabled for the benefit of other young women whose voices and feelings are not taken seriously by their parents.

In relation to the above theme, it is safe to conclude that some parents' decisions and the denial of their rights does lead to street life or *streetism*.

5.1.1.9. Arranged marriage (forced or early marriages)

Human abduction for early marriage remains a structural issue in most Southern African countries and this noted by organizations that advocate for women and young women rights. African Feminist activists such as Nkealah (2016) and Nneameka (2004) have categorised it as a chronic issue/ structural factor that no amount of policies and advocacy has confronted successfully. Various literature sources in anthropology and in social work have noted that human abduction and force/early arranged marriages is mostly the experience of most Southern African families who strongly believe in this cultural custom. The UNFPA (2012) report states that forced or early marriages is a brutal custom that removes the value of women or a young women as it is always initiated by those who are not concerned about how they will feel or their consent on the matter. The context of such sources postulate that it is experienced by

young women and girls coming from rigid patriarchal societies where the rights and the will of females is hugely disregarded. The literature further informs that is no day that passes by with this case being reported to those who are advocating and protecting the rights of young women and girls. Other writers express that episodes of arranged marriage are planned by men and exclude women to consent or to oppose what will affect their sexuality as well as rights as women. According to the UNFPA (2012) situation of young women and girls report, human abduction, forced/ early or arranged marriages remain a serious violation of human rights. Occurrences of such marriages put young women and girls in gloomy situations. Article 16(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights state that “marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses”. Article 16 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against women (CEDAW) (2011) state that women should have same right as men to “freely choose spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent”.

The UNFPA (2016) report brings forward that it is common in some parts of Southern Africa that a women’s husband preference is not observed by advocators of this type of marriage. Arranged marriage is usually a reciprocated transaction that a male family member engages on with an intention of making a profit in the exchange of a young women or girl. Forced marriages distort their smooth transitions into adulthood. The African Feminist Theory agenda as depicted in Chapter Four exists to challenge such indigenous cultural patterns which look at women and young women as objects of market and exchange. What becomes evident is that such structural practices or beliefs keep them in the cycle of vulnerability as they are married before they could intellectually, emotionally and physically develop.

The level of vulnerability is confirmed by Tallis’ Vulnerability Model (2012) as a theoretical framework presented also in Chapter Four where she confirms that a lot of vulnerabilities facing women and young women takes place in their families and in their societies. Mestry and Schmidt (2012) argued that the African Feminist Theory confront pervasive gender norms that misrepresent women. This is where this study agrees that a gendered-patriarchal society treat young women as objects for commercialization instead of being treated or recognized as human beings whose feelings and emotions are to be considered. Cultural anthropologists have reported this human violation as an act that undermines a young women’s choice to marry a man of her choice. It is a form of gender based voicelessness through which a young women

or a girl is sexually vandalized by being forced to get married and eventually have sex with a man that she did not consent to be with. Sunshine is a young woman in Pietermaritzburg who escaped this sexist-gender based violence. She went into more detail about this experience during the focus group discussion and her narration is as follows:

I am 30 years old this year but I was 17 years when my mother died. After my mother's death I struggled because my brother who resumed a parental role became extremely abusive. My brother was the only one working at 25 years when my mother died. Life became difficult [and he] started to put conditions on who will get food when and how. He eventually stipulated that I will get morning breakfast after having cleaned the house before going to school. He also stipulated that my older sister and I will only get dinner or supper after having cooked supper. [This meant that Sunshine and her sister who is not part of this research only ate two (2) meals a day.]

Hunger became our best friend because the two (2) offered meals were not enough. We never had two (2) meals when our mother was still alive. We stayed under this condition up until our brother organized an arranged marriage for both of us (referring to myself and my sister) without any exchange of lobola. She defined lobola as a reciprocal practice amongst her Zulu culture.

[She continued. She was sobbing in tears but she insisted on carrying on with her narrative.]

Ma'am... [referring to me the researcher].

.....the wedding went through. The brother also tried to organize a wedding for me and that's when I ran away. This marriage arrangement was a level of cruelty from my brother who knew that I wanted to finish my matric. Street life was not the first option because I first went to stay with my biological sister who approved the organized or arranged marriage. My stay at my sister's place did not work because I was not free to live as I pleased because my sister was seriously not cared for and respected by her husband. My sister wanted to assist me to finish school but she couldn't because she was being supported by the arranged husband. I ran away from my sister's house because I survived many traumatizing environments up until I decided to flee to my sister's house, that's where the sister's husband tried to force himself on me. I escaped the rape and went to cohabit with my boyfriend who also abused me so much that I eventually opted for the street in 2011 till to date, 2017.

What saddens me the most is that, I left my son with my brother and I am told that he is abusing him... I don't want him to give up like I did because I don't want him to choose street life.

This research thesis report maintains that this gender challenge still remains a relevant issue even during contemporary times. Arranged marriage impinge young women's happiness. The above narration indicates that the agenda of feminists delineated in Chapter Three of this thesis in the quest to question situations and terrible experiences of women and young women. This

thesis fearlessly reports that the content as well as the advocacy of the African Feminist Theory has not yet yielded results that it intended to realize if a young women in Pietermaritzburg continues to be a victim of a brutal custom (being forced into an arranged marriage to the point of running away from home). Gender specialists located in the Department of Social Development and in the Office of the Premier are encouraged to roll out advocacy workshops that empower communities about the violation of human rights experienced by those coerced to marry out of their own will.

Again, this finding also reveals that the death of parents reduces the family strength, brings family confusion, and exposes family members to unbearable poverty that propels them to find solutions that disadvantages young women at most times. Death also disorients families and parental roles. Faith based organisations must also take or take an active role in supporting families before and after the passing of parents. This must be done for the purposes of providing faith based therapy so that death and arranged marriages will not be used as an excuse of getting young women out of poverty. This narrative outlines the situation that belittles the image of women and girls and that limit their rights and preferences for an ideal husband. Sunshine's narrative also brings forward that her brother lost the spirit of brotherly caring which most African societies are expected to have for their sisters. This thesis also notes that the death of parents had robbed Sunshine of the right and freedom of growing up in a protecting and caring family institution. Sunshine is very hurt by her brother parenting role which he resumed after the death of their parents. Her brother is seen losing the responsibility of being Sunshine's shield and protector but giving her to the hands of an older man because of their family situation. The death of parents had widened her vulnerability levels and had coached her to be a decision taker. This was evident when she protected herself from two painful episodes. The first one was being handed to a man without consenting to that process. This is a serious invasion of her individual rights. This participant had also survived being the subject of rape. The death of parents and the brotherly parenting reduced her to being a marriage object that does not have any *lobola*/dowry value; this is not the pride of an African women. This is clear when her brother arranged her marriage without being worried about *lobola* which is the pride of African societies. Her brother is seen breaking the essence of *lobola*.

Posel et al. (2011:104) asserts that *lobola* or the paying of *amalobolo* has existed in Southern Africa to formalize or create a bond between two families. The context of this writer articulates

that *lobola* negotiations were listed amongst the treasures of the bride's and groom's families as they reciprocated what they valued the most. The groom's family would take pride in having paid cows for the bride. The ability to pay *lobola* through cows was a symbol of wealth and it is how the men gained recognition within the society. The bride would be proud knowing that the family received cows as a token of appreciating her value and dignity as a woman.

This study brings forward that arranged marriages are not to be categorised as superstitions of the past but a reality that continues to affect the dignity of a voiceless girl. This is one of the cultural issues that the African Feminists Activists like Nnaemeka (2004) who have listed as persisting issues that only affect a young woman in Africa not in the west. Arranged marriage was an act of traditional societies which was not welcomed by many human rights campaigners because it perpetuates gender inequality and diminished the image of females as rational thinkers.

Bunting, Lawrance and Roberts (2016:1-8) in their writing, acknowledge that forced marriage is not a fresh crisis but an ancient tradition that has cost the happiness of many women and young women, even in Africa, in the past. They further state that contemporary recordings of arranged or forced marriages reflect an ongoing struggle in Africa over patriarchy, patrimonialism, power, and control over women's and girl's bodies. Nnaemeka (2004), within the lens of the African Feminist Theory, posits that these are issues that are nicely tucked in the patriarchy bed that violate the will and rights of women and young women in Africa. They continue to note that most writers have gone silent about such issues that are still persistent in our modern societies.

Bunting, Lawrance and Robert (2016: 8-15) further state that the rise of modernity and transformation era has hidden such practices as if they are not present in Africa. The mentioned scholars accept that forced marriages come in different forms by capture, servile marriage, forced conjugal associations, war brides, and marriage in absentia. Their emphasis is that such marriages still affect millions of Africans predominantly women, young women and girls. This study holds that such marriages remain a gross experience and a serious continuation of the violation of human rights demanding immediate action from national governments and the international community to continue with abolishing and outrooting its causes where it is still being practiced. The African Feminist Theory categorizes arranged marriages as an act of

forced marriage, women's sexual slavery, an expansion of gender-based violence, gender stratification and a serious crime of humanity against young women. The practice is counted amongst the factors that violate the right to keep their virginity and they are not taken as human beings but as objects of bridal-price wealth.

In the above narration and along the shared scholarly sentiments, arranged marriage is a factor that overlooks the person's preference of an ideal marriage. Nkealah (2016), also an African Feminist Activist, also noted that such brutal customs violate the freedom to choose a husband which is believed to be a right that is hindered by the effects of patriarchy. From the recorded narrative, this study notes that some households recognize girls as objects that have no lobola value. They are simple "*give aways*". Them being "*give aways*" continue to keep them in a "bed of slavery" and as voiceless African citizens. This "bed of slavery" also confines them to be sexual slaves because they usually get married to older people and these are challenges that come with intergenerational sex that persist in Africa. Sex in such marriage arrangements are mostly enjoyed by these old man. Young women become "sex slaves". They must be on stand by and be ready to meet their husband's sexual drives. It is a serious violence of the freedom of expression that is promised to all South Africans irrespective of their age, gender or race. Their expressions or voices are disregarded in decision making platforms. The dignity of Sunshine is seen as being regulated by her brother and compromised by hers brother-in-law with several attempts to rape her. The narratives present this participant as trapped in a cycle of misery which was caused by the death of her parents, her brother forcing her to marry some she does not love and being subjected to attempted raped by her brother-in-law. Further research questioning this practice is recommended to growing researchers in Social Sciences. This custom and its roots need to be critically interrogated. Research findings will be expected to shape policies that advocate for sexual and reproductive health and rights in Africa or in South Africa or here in Pietermaritzburg where the study was conducted.

5.1.1.10. Death of parents muddled my childhood

Cas et al. (2014) and Austin (2007) are amongst the writers that have noted that the death of parents confuse the socialization of children's. This theme reads slightly the same as the one presented above. The difference is that Spin is narrating the pressure that she had to assume after the death of her parents. Her narrative confirm that death weakens the strength of families. Death scrambles up families and parenting roles. The death of parents has been mentioned by

many researchers as being the experience the majoring of homeless children and youth. The mentioning of such factors validated the disseminated information written by many writers and made it relevant. Spin mentioned that the death of her parents broke the strength of her nuclear families and distorted her childhood because she was expected to play a parental role to her siblings. She narrated as follows:

My parents died when I was about nine years old. My mother passed away earlier than my dad but they both died in the very same year. Life changed completely.... [she looked down and began to cry.]. I sensed the pain that she felt after the loss of her parents...I realized that death comes with unfathomable pains that really raids young women and girls' love and comfort when losing their parents.

I asked her if she wanted to stop relating her story. She insisted on continuing with her narrative. She further narrated with a [sad face] *I miss my parents...Life would certainly not be like this if they are still alive.*

She covered her face and stopped her narrative for a moment and continued as follows...
...indeed life changed. It was clear that no one in my extended family was willing to take us. [her voice was cracking, trembling and stuttering] I asked her to explain "us"...she continued...I'm referring to my other siblings.....Just after the funeral of my father his family did not spend time with us. I knew that my parents did not get married but we all had the same dad. I thought that my dad's family was going to take care of us. We were left alone. Life became hard because I was expected to provide for my other siblings because I was the older girl. I felt pressured and I decided to escape the responsibility...I was not ready to be a parent. My friend was also living in the streets for her own family reason. I did not feel stranded when I first slept on the streets.

I made a follow up in relation to what did she mean by "provide".

...I had to start cooking from that young age. In the absence of food...I was expected to make sure that at least my young sister was not affected. This meant that I had to go around neighbours asking for any food that they were willing to give. Other community members were willing to support but others made it clear that they are also economically pressured they cannot be always supporting us. This other women use to say...intandane ehle umakhothwa unina...I was still young to understand this cliché up until I was told that she meant to say...the best person to provide for her children is the mother not any other person. This was an unfair statement Ma'am [referring to me].

Spin's narrative confirms that the death of parents puts young women in awkward positions. Life does not change for the good but for the worse. It robs them of the right to be happy, young women. Their development stages are invaded by demanding responsibilities and expectations from their siblings. Being a big sister becomes a heavy task as it subjects them to assume

parental roles. Death put them in a position that they are too early to take on and they often feel despondent. This gloomy state often overwhelms them to a point of blaming themselves for everything that doesn't go right amongst their siblings. While trying to adjust in the new portfolio of being parents to their siblings they find their identities changes to being labelled as orphans. This is a stratification that excludes them from being normal children in their immediate family as well as in the extended family. They are also being disowned by the society as some society members made it clear that they cannot always provide for them because they are economically pressured. This expression by society members responds to what Chapter Two captured in relation to the society – that society does not support its young women and children. This narrative reports an economic challenge that thwarts societies' ability to execute its role over the care of needy, stranded or destitute young women and children. The absence of economic opportunities disrupt the essence of societies. It divides people of the same society. Government must make or boost the socio-economic opportunities of societies in order to have a country or villages that have less challenges and incidents of young women choosing street life.

Spin's narration proves that she was pressured to become a responsible carer without any form of experience whatsoever. She was expected to think and behave and provide like parents and that is where the pressure built up. Boyd-Franklin (2013) assert that death leaves teenagers or young women being mostly unwanted by extended family. Extended families are often unwilling to foster or shelter them in their time of need. A historical trace that she brings about the extended family confirms that an extended family is supposed to be an extended safety net for family members that shelter family members in times of need, of immediate care, support and protection. She mentions that research endeavours report that extended families are currently diminishing, if not dead. Those who are still surviving as safety nets are also heavily burdened because they are unable to meet the financial demands of family members whose parents died and did not leave them trust funds or any financial support. Such economic challenges have diminished the essence of contemporary clan ties. Families are no longer growing as trees where one is able to trace family lineages and identify immediate and extended family to find comfort in the times of need. She noted that this has been the result of nuclear families existing in isolation from their extended families due to socio-economic opportunities and other resolved family matters. Such has torn the essence of nuclear and extended family. This then imposes a parenting burden that young women are faced with in contemporary

society. Increasing numbers of children and youth growing on the street in my own view confirms the dissolution of nuclear, extended families as well as societies. The society will eventually have people who will not be able to define their '*self*' through their own cultural roots but will only define themselves within the space of the village or the continent (Eddy and Holborn, 2011)..

5.1.1.11. Self-defence and protection

This theme is a family based factor relating to the hostile environment that Funani, the leading narrator in this theme, escaped to the street from. The theme also echoes that young women are growing up in families or in societies that does not prioritize protecting them, hence she had to defend herself from a particular act of gender violence from her own family. She was a victim of constant rape by her uncle. According to Jone et al. (2010), it is highly probable that a young women in Southern Africa is a victim or survives domestic violence issues such as, rape which is reported as a violation of one's sexual orientation. It is listed as act of gender violence which leaves the victim being emotionally, psychologically and spiritually damaged. The context of such literature sources report that is an experience of a young women and girls in most families and in most societies. Rape is defined as a sex habit that vandalizes young women. This becomes evident in reported cases of young women and it continues to be part of agenda items that are always abhorred by gender networks and other recognised bodies. Rape is listed as a criminal act and a structural issue that is mostly enjoyed by those who see young women and girls as sex objects. Akinyemi (2010, Tyler (2006) and Barons (2003) listed this experience as gender violence in the form of sexual harassments, emotional and physical abuse that is common amongst many females. Rape is also listed as incest, which is taboo in the family Mashologu-Kuse, 2014). It is culturally wrong but times have proved that despite this, it is a structural issue that continues to be discussed under the veil of secrecy. Most young women and girls continue to be raped by their own fathers, uncles, brothers as well as other prominent community members but only few cases are reported or recognized. Most are discussed in community moot courts where the penalty is a cow which cleanses the family and the society. Rapes committed by family members are not even reported in such community moot courts but dealt in the manner that does not consider the pain and the bitterness of the rape victim (Lerclerc- Madlala, 2000). This is a family situation that was reported by Funani during an in-depth interview and the accuracy of this narrative was confirmed when she repeated it during the focus group discussions.

The above theme arose as a result of a sexual abuse case that she experienced in a place she called home. The narrative does not confirm that a family as a safe space that protects the rights and dignity of young women. In this writing context, the family is seen as a victimizing space, a space that maximizes the vulnerability of young women. Again, the family is presented as a space where rights of young women are wrecked by people they trust. The following narrative shows the level of anger that unprotected young women have within their families. In this regard, the following narrative expresses that young women continue to be voiceless and give men the opportunity to ill-treat them.

It is important to note that this push factor is also recorded for the first time in the literature of *streetism* or street life. It remains a new anthropological contribution as anthropologists strive to learn or collect peoples living experiences and situations. This thesis reports that Funani is on the streets for having defended herself from the situation that she could not bear anymore. She protected herself from repeated episodes of sexual abuse within her family's premises. The question is, where should they really be cared if they are not cared in their own families? Such questions can be tabled by applied anthropologists and feminists when lobbying and advocating against the voiceless. This is an indication that families are no longer safety nets for young women as once assumed by many writers in Chapter Two of this write up. She defended herself and fled to the street and therefore has claimed street pavements as her safe home.

Funani narrated as follows: *Mina [meaning I as she was referring to herself], I am on the road because I stabbed my uncle who repeatedly raped me...I killed him because my mother did not believe because we were staying in the extended family establishment where we were cared by many people because my mother was not working. I stabbed and killed my uncle in front of my relatives but I was not jailed because I told policeman bout how this man [pulling a sad face] took my virginity. I came to live in the streets because my family did not sympathise with me...I was blamed for having protected myself. Ma'am [referring to me] can you believe that I've never been raped since I ever came to live in the streets. I don't want to go back home. They failed me [tears pouring down her face].*

The above narrative supports what Olorantoba-Oju (2011) mentioned in the literature review of this thesis where she said most young women in our African societies experience sexual injuries. UNFPA State of the World Population (2016) report explains that girls and young women are rattled by a web of challenging events and sexual episodes because they are not socialized and empowered to protect themselves. They bear so much that it compromises or

undermine their self-esteem. They often wish to be helped or protected but most remain uncared for and unprotected by their families, society as well as by the state. In most cases, they escape unpleasant situations to live in the most dangerous places just to find or get some form of relief. This is an indication that the agenda of the African Feminist Theory presented in Chapter Four which largely speaks to the protection, liberation and the empowerment of young women and women, is still very far from being realized when young women are still being abused in their own families. Nkealah (2016) asserts that the purpose of the African Feminist Theory is to advocate for a society that protects the rights of women and young women - a society that collectively confronts gender violence against women, young women and girls. She advances to note that women and young women should not be forced to do things that falls out of their will and will exploit their happiness. What has transpired from this theme is that masculinity through rape compromises the sexual reproductive health and rights as well as the dignity of young women. From the agenda of the African Feminist Theory, this is a violent society and its ways must be rigorously confronted. The narration also reveals that rape is another form of gender hatred, discrimination and forced pain. This narrative presents a picture of a lonely young women, desperate to be voice her anger, but not being heard to the point of unleashing her pain and anger through the murdering of her own uncle. Glick (2015) mentioned gender-based violence which manifests in the form of rape and sexual trafficking, persisting issues that denies far too many young women and women the opportunity to live happy, healthy and fulfilling lives. Fuentes (2014) further states that there is a growing number of women and young women being raped by a person/persons they trusted or an intimate partner and that compromises her rights as a human being. This in indication that families do not prioritize the protection of young women. Further anthropological research is needed to analyse the level of readiness that the family, society and the state (being the district and the local sphere of government) in KwaZulu-Natal in order to determine whether DSD, whose other mandate is central to encouraging sound and healthy families has sound and responsive policies to strengthen families and other households. Another study could look at how the Directorate of Women and Gender within the Office of the Premier in KwaZulu-Natal has done in order to empower girls and young women on various issues and in various ecological spaces. In the case of an urgent intervention, this data can serve as baseline information that can inform policy objectives as well as development initiatives to benefit young women where the study was conducted. Another study can focus on evaluating the net effects of the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights Policy (2011) which was endorsed to respond to issues or the

experiences of sexual and gender-based violence which undermines the health and the well-being of young women.

5.1.1.12. Gender inequality: the distribution of meat and corporal punishment

The majority of literature focusing on issues of gender-based violence have acknowledged that much of the mistreatment experienced by women and young women stems from family codes, such as the allocation of domestic chores for women and other socio-economic rights for men and boys. So much blame is centralized on what and how the family, society and the state has done to maximize socio-economic issues that benefit women and young women. Jones et al. (2010:54) contends that young women are growing up in families and societies that don't consider them as full human beings. They further state that this becomes a reality when men and young boys are prioritized as first food eaters, rather than food preparers. They also state that this is what the patriarchal society has turned into a reality. Most families and villages perceive identities in relation to food. Such identities prioritize men, not women and young women. Food identities also become family and societal norms that impinge on young women and their rights and access to food. This thesis is emphasising that gender inequality unveils itself everywhere and anywhere where there is a distribution of something. This gender inequality continues to find relevance because all researchers attempt to confront with the hope of listing factors and also sharing what can be gathered from best practices of the past. In the past centuries, anthropologists wrote much about the egalitarian experiences that were observed amongst bands and tribes. This egalitarian experience allowed the distribution of band food and resources without the authority of a hegemonic gender. This thesis reports a scenario where egalitarianism has vanished in most households and its disappearance has opened a "door" for the abuse of young women who are also being excluded from eating meat in the family. This confirms the death a male as traditionally known to be the food hunter. The existing literature on hunter-gatherers provides a sense of an ideal world that this study contemporary desires. The distribution of meat is seen a push factor that has widened gender inequality which has pushed the studied population to the street. This study notes that this is a gender inequality which is an experience that was never recorded in the times of early people being hunter-gatherers. Our contemporary times confirm cases of gender inequality are reported to be widening rather than narrowing in contemporary times. All reported cases reveal men unfairly taking advantage over a women or young women. It is often a case that men dictate what is to be done by a women or by a young women. This is an indication that the

battle is still a great public concern. This thesis does not intend to go deeper because the research is not about gender inequality. However, the theme is highlighted to present the context that one of the research respondents mentioned to have pushed her to the street life. Much literature exists to present contextual factors that motivate gender inequality (Lerclerc-Madlala, (2000), Naidu and Ngqila (2013) and Nnaemeka (2004). The stratified, patriarchal society, as well as masculinity, remains amongst the enhancers of gender inequality. The hope of many writers is to contribute towards resolutions that could affect the realization of gender equity.

From the writing sentiments of different scholars, gender inequality belittles the image and the voice of women and young women in their domestic spaces such as the kitchen, in our society and at all social levels. This study's report discusses gender inequality within the space of the distribution of meat and the extent to which corporal punishment has been the experience of some girls who are currently on the street. This is another finding confirms what other writers have written about as they confirmed that most young women and girls are deprived access to food. Williams (2010) agree that what is currently experienced by women and young women is shaming. This shame comes with the belief that patriarchal societies have developed family codes and metaphors that ill-treat women and young women even in the kitchen as their domestic space. They are ones to cook for the entire family and distribute food, as culturally expected, but they are not food consumers in most times. Some food types such as meat are culturally regulated which disadvantage women and young women from eating such. This thesis reports that food access and distribution has become a gender dimension that has harmful effects on young women and women. They are food preparers, food managers but mostly not food eaters. The report closes by saying that

Mpumza narrated as follows.....*Sister* [referring to me]...

I come from a rural community where the entire community is led by the chief who takes the responsibility of being a formal leader, who is also responsible for the collection and the distribution of resources within the community. Bonke abantu bayamhlonipha [everyone respects him] ...our fathers and young boys look up to him....I'm not sure but were told that in his household he is the one distributing meat...[they all laughed because this narrative was captured during the focus group discussion]...

I asked how true this was...*she insisted that we are told by those who have been to the chiefs house.* I further asked if the chief was responsible for their street life. Mpumza responded by saying *NO...*

I further probed her to say more... She stopped and went silent for about three (3) minutes. This confirmed the validity of her story and that what she was about to say was really a feeling that changed her life. She continued...

...at home I was socialized to do specific tasks which is to clean and cook. I did these chores every day after school. My mother appreciated how I did my chores but I was always worried that my dad is responsible for the distribution of chicken parts especially when we had slaughtered a chicken for supper...This kept on happening up until I concluded that I would slaughter my own chicken on the side because there would be days where my dad will not give us a share of any body part especially when he is drunk or has the company of his friends...He noticed that his chickens were decreasing in numbers and he set a trap that I was not aware about...One day he observed me when I first grabbed the chicken, slaughtered up to the point of cooking it in the separate kitchen called kwarondo "rondavel kitchen" which was separate from the main house. At supper time...he asked me about the chicken that I slaughtered...I denied the claim...he took me to the rondavel kitchen and showed me proof...I guess I was not smart to clean all the slaughtering traces...He asked how my mother has been socializing me...My mother couldn't account for what I did...My brothers spoke harshly to me...My dad concluded that I was capable of many wrongful things...He took me to a separate room which he locked and begin to beat me up...I still have permanent scars on my body that's why I don't wear revealing clothes....I was admitted into a hospital where I took a decision that I won't go home after my discharge...I escaped hospital and went to a particular shelter (NGO) here in PMB but did not stay for too long because I needed some freedom.

The above narration shared the context that Mpumza was provoked by her father to steal food. The question is how? This appears when she is only a meat preparer not a meat eater, like other family members. This food restriction or deprivation eventually provoked her to steal food and this is what got her beaten up by her father. This is one of the agenda items that the African Feminist Theory presented in Chapter Four felt there was a need to confront. This theory also confronts the allocation of such chores which are not intended to benefit women and young women, but to regulate their access and impose restrictions that lead them to be victims of gender based violence. In this regard, Mpumza's father is not only a food hunter but a food dictator. This illustrates that contemporary male figures did not or have forgotten the teachings of the hunter-gather society from which the men's role was to go and gather food for the family and ensure the equal distribution of gathered items. This research thesis elucidates that family

structures are patriarchal structured to the extent of putting men at the centre stage of food distribution.

I probed for further clarify in relation to why food distribution remained the responsibility of her father rather than her own mother.

Mpumza narrated that.....*the reason is that the practice is learned from the current chief, as already mentioned. I also think that my dad is responsible for the distribution of meat in our family because he is the head of the household and that he is the only person working. This should be the case because I remember that my mother used to encourage me to cook well for my dad so that he will be happy. My cooking interest was never about enjoying the meal but to please my father.*

Fathers and husbands are seen dominating the distribution of food because they are food providers. This socio-economic conditions compromises women's right to have a voice over the food they are preparing. The women exist to please the will of men rather than putting their food needs first so that they may continue to provide for the entire family. Tallis (2012), the author of the Vulnerability Model which is presented as a theoretical framework, confirmed that food production and accessibility remains a terrible gender inequality experience borne by women and young women. This thesis resolves to say, food security and food distribution should continue being amongst issues that confront the roots and the walls of masculinity and gender inequality. It is such structural experiences that make the African Feminist Theory and the Vulnerability Model the ideal critical perspectives when writing or reporting about domestic issues that continue to trouble or affect young women and women.

5.2. Part 2: My drug experience while staying at home and on the street....

This theme entails narratives of a *whoonga/nyaope* experience that the studied population narrated as having being another push-pull factor that drove them to the streets. It will also give a detailed understanding of the drug addiction and its side-effects and how it is merchandized on the streets where the study was conducted.

5.2.1. Whoonga/nyaope addiction and side effects while staying at home

This theme was generated out of a drug that has galvanized the streets of Pietermaritzburg and other streets in South Africa. This study report that *whoonga/nyaope* has become the king or the notorious of all other drugs that were ever recorded in the streets. This *whoonga/nyaope* drug remains black market business like all other drugs. This thesis remains the first academic

piece that gives a detailed account about it because while the media has spoken about it, no one according to my literature search has ever scientifically or empirically written about it. If it has been conducted, it has not been conducted where this particular study was conducted. This theme was generated to share stories allied with this drug through the narratives of young women who reported to have been driven away from their families because of this rapid drug addiction. This theme appears as a finding that most writers have not reported or could not present clearly as a push factor.

The following narration gives a contextual experience of Pietermaritzburg, not any other city. In the context of this research, this drug is listed as a push factor. Amahle and Sphume, being foremost narrators during the focus group discussion, (and their narration corresponded with their in-depth interview responses) confirmed that this *whoonga/nyaope* has a rapid addiction as have voiced that it demands so much from the person who has started it. Their narrative presents it as a push factor rather than a pull factor. They both confirmed to have been hooked on this drug while staying at home and confirmed that they were hooked/addicted and eventually chose the streets where the drug was easily accessible.

Amahle narrative is as follows....

I tasted whoonga/nyaope once, I was craving for it the second day. I asked Amahle to explain how she discovered or identified her own addiction. She responded by saying...I was not aware until a friend told me that the persisting stomach cramps are amongst the addiction effects. Ma'am [referring to me] such stomach cramps are extremely painful. You feel your intestines swaying like a rope. This pain takes longer to subside and there is no medication for it. It subsides after having smoked a dose of whoonga/nyaope. Others get to suffer from painful cramps as well as other effects such as sweating and having an itching skin.

Sphume is the second narrator under this theme. Her narrative confirmed that *whoonga/nyaope* addiction is confirmed within the second or the third day of having tried it out. Her narrative is also appreciated for bringing an in-depth understanding of this black market that grows uncurbed in the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. Her insight reveals how this drug is commercialized and lists commercializing agents on the streets....

Ma'am [referring to me in the focus group discussion] what Amahle is saying is true. The whoonga/nyaope addiction kicks in in less than three days then after such days you are totally controlled by the drug. Without it in your body... you become sick...this sickness comes in unbearable stomach cramps. Such cramps or drug effects leave you with no choice but find or make ways of responding to it. You start by stealing things from own family in order to be able to buy it because it is cheap. It cost between R17-00 to R20-00 only.

I probed....what do you steal...*they all laughed in the focus group discussion and she responded as follows...you steal money from family members wallets, purses, you progress to stealing and selling expensive decorations. Maam...all that we steal is sold very cheap...the goal is to attract buyers so that it will be easy to buy this drug. This is what landed me to the street...I was addicted and had lost my family trust...My drug habits destroyed my family. There was always noise after a stolen purse or a missing money. I use to deny this even when confronted with facts...I was eventually left with no options because they were aware that I was hooked and almost hide anything and everything in front of me. Roosta dealt with me even though I had friends but it was difficult for them to always rescue me out of this side effect.*

I probed by asking what happens if someone is attacked by *roosta* in the absence of this drug.

Amahle responded by saying that we back each other up. *We have established friendship on the street. When a roosta attacks you, your friends come to your rescue with this drug...they quickly burn it for you, you inhale it twice or thrice and doze off. You sleep for more than two (2) to (3) hours and then you heal from such side effects. After healing, you are expected to raise money in order to pay them back the drug they rescued with. Sphume narrated that it becomes easy if your boyfriend on the street is also smoking it because he provides and you don't have to pay him back.*

Karlsson (2015) and Embleton et al., (2013) confirmed that times have changed where the population of the street will work and save money for food. Recent findings reveal that they work in order to get money to buy their drugs. This is a result of being highly addicted to drugs. Amahle's narratives confirm the culture of care and unity that Farnandes and Vaughn (2008) confirmed when studying the interconnectedness of the children and the youth that survives on the streets in Brazil. Hecht (1998) and Farnandes and Vaughn (2008) concluded in their independent studies, the use of substances on the street is a chronic experience because there is no child or street youth that is not dependent on any form of drug or substance. Both independent studies confirmed that the use and share of drugs on the street confirm or establish in-group bonds. This becomes the condition of surviving on the street (Hills et al, 2016) because street live is rough.

5.2.2. *Whoonga/nyaope* lured me to the street

This study also captured pull factors that related to those presented in Chapter Two. However, this report takes interest in presenting only new contributions to the existing body of knowledge.

Amahle, Gugulethu and Sunshine voiced in their narrations that they joined the street because they could not keep up with the demanding addiction of the whoonga/nyaope drug while living at home. Their narration was never about being worried about how expensive the drug was. They were adamant that their addiction would be satisfied on the street. I made a following probe in relation to the mentioning of a cheap drug. They responded as follows ...*this drug costs less than R20-00. We ask R5-00's from the public, once such coins make R20-00 we prioritize whoonga/nyaope more than food.* Sphume emphasised *whoonga/nyaope is much cheaper than other drugs such as mandrax which we also take on the street.*

The cheap cost and the availability of *whoonga/nyaope* makes it easy to keep up with the addiction and its demands. Narrators confirmed that there was never a minute that passed by without seeing one of their fellows with it.

This study values this new pull factor but it also reports that the rise of this cheap drug also poses challenges to the stability of families and the strength of parenting. The swift addiction that is aligned to it will still draw the youth to the street if the production of it is not halted. This study also reports that the cheap rate of this drug remains the strategy to lure many young people. It also appears to diminish the market of other drugs that were known to be on the streets as mentioned by many writers (Hills et al., 2016 and Kassay et al, 2017).

This thesis also reports the selling price of this drug which happens to be lower than other drugs on the streets where the study was conducted. This drug is to be reported as a family invader - it intrudes, it derails young women from continuing to live with their families. It is testified to have turned young women into unrecognized criminals who snatch money from family members. This experiences is described to have exterminated family trust and stability. The drug users becomes outcasts/ criminals and forbidden in their families and this confirms the death of trust amongst family members. The absence of trust is reported by this thesis as one of the factors that weaken the strength of families. The role of the state in this regard, is to enact responding policies and programmes that will root out this black market syndicate so that this drug does not continue to interrupt the strength of families and push more young women to the street. This drug needs to be rooted out if there is vision to rebuild the fabric of our families and societies.

The mentioning of being rescued by friends when experiencing *roosta* confirmed unity and interconnectedness amongst drug users. Their use of drugs cannot be celebrated but one can note that the society at large can learn about how to stand up for each other in the times of need and desperation. This is what remains absent in contemporary times. The street population is seen standing up together and for each other in a time of severe drug addiction. The mentioning of boyfriends portrays a sense that the street houses boys who exist to provide for their girlfriends. The society at large can also learn from what these boyfriends do for their girlfriends on the street. Contemporary recordings have postulated that our societies exist without responsible boys and men. Captured narrations give a sense that boyfriends on the street embrace the pain that their girlfriends go through when hit by *roosta* and he takes the responsibility of being a side effect reliever. We need such men in this highly patriarchal society which will strive to alleviate the pain that a young women can possible go through instead of being an inflictor of pain.

Just when I was about to end the focus group, I was encouraged to ask about other side effects that could possibly be linked to this agonizing addiction. The following sub-theme explores a narration of other side effects of *whoonga/nyaope*.

5.2.3. Other Side effects of *whoonga/nyaope*

The interest was not only to write about *roosta* to know how this drug affects a young women's anatomy. Their narrative revealed that their menstruation cycles have stopped and they suspect it as one of the side effects of this drug being written about. I asked if this is true. A young women who was mentioned to be free from *whoonga* confirmed that "*I'm the only young women who gets her monthly period as we live on the streets...I get my monthly periods because I only sniff glue not whoonga. I am suffering on period pains as we speak, ma'am*". I further probed to understanding if they are now taking this *whoonga* drug as a contractive strategy since it somehow terminates their menstruation cycle. Their collective voice disagreed and showed concerns as to why their menstruation cycles had stopped. They are worried about unknown yet terminal health challenges that could be a result of this hazardous drug.

Phumlile being the third narrator confirmed that *our menstruation periods have clogged and heaven knows what has swallowed up this blood. Secondly, we are no longer our normal weight sizes, were a losing weight and our hair is also growing light and even changing the rough texture that a Zulu person would normally have. It worries me so*

much... We look sick and I can't tell much but we definitely look differently than the first time we started to smoke this drug.....

I asked...do you have more to say.... Zethu and Nonhle *bravely responded and said yes Ma'am continued to say [referring to me] this drug.....[she stopped]* I probed...what about it ...*This drug has so many too many dangerous ingredients. They collectively reiterated the concoction is too dangerous.* I probed...how dangerous is this concoction? They also echoed that one of the ingredients is the Ratex which is poison used to kill rats...can you image [some of them pulled a traumatized face]

The side-effects comprehensively explained got me realizing that this *whoonga/nyaope* drug seriously destroys one's human system. This thesis treasures such detailed inform about this drug as it clears misconceptions that the public has concluded without an emic perspective. This is another fresh contribution that this study is adding to the existing body of literature. This finding encourages a medical anthropology study which will examine the biological effects of this drug in the bladder of these young women. This biological investigation is of high importance because, medically, a women's menstruation cycle is only stopped by medically classified contraceptive strategies not by *whoonga/nyaope* as an illegal drug trending on the street.

I asked the following question, even though it was not part of intended questions. However I was intrigued to record other ingredients they possible did not mention.

Nonhle said.... *we are told that....those who mix it up grind Ratex as well as ARV's and some other stuff...Zethu expanded by saying Maa'm...others say ashes of burnt dead bodies are part of this concoction too.* I asked...is there a special benefit from this drug... They all echoed no...there is no benefit.... Amahle further mentioned that...*you become stupid, you become useless...* I probed....what do you mean... She responded....*you don't get high which is the experience that come with smoking insangu [weed/marijuana]. Whoonga/nyaope is a controlling drug...you become weak....you sleep for hours.....before you notice you are sick with roosta...* I further probed...why do you continue to smoke it? *They collectively said....it is controlling us and we don't have money to buy methadone...what is methadone? Methadone is a white pill or a syrup that fights the drug addiction in one's body. We happen to know about it because it has been tried by those who once tried to quit the drug addiction but could not last long as it continued to haunt them. One can say that this methadone gives temporary relief.*

Before the end of the focus group discussion, I gave Sphume the opportunity to speak as I noticed that others kept on interjecting her every time she wanted to say something. Her narration shed light on other terrible experience that comes with being a *whoonga/nyaope* user

and being a dirty young women on the street. She said they are often forced to smuggle *whoonga/nyaope* by drug lords and this narrative motivated the development of the following sub-theme.

5.2.4. Forced to smuggle drugs

The recording of the smuggling of drugs from and to different points is concern for all countries. Some writers have categorized this unlawful conduct and a black market that is not easy to root out as it permeates many facets of society. The study will also be appreciated for having noted that the smuggling of drugs is not only limited to prostitutes and those abducted, but it has also victimized young women in the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. This important finding was recorded during the focus group discussion. The studied population shared that they had been forced to smuggle drugs, not for money, but for access to the drug as and when they needed it. The common smuggling route is from Pietermaritzburg to the local townships. The longest distances is from Pietermaritzburg to Durban and Johannesburg. They also narrated that their boyfriends had also been victims of drug smuggling and they had also worked as drug merchants on the streets. Sphume narrated as follows:

...We are victims of smuggling drugs and that put us in a very huge danger...we smuggle drugs because no one could notice us as we are known as dirty girls. Our boyfriends are also drug smugglers and they are also merchants. It becomes our responsibility when smuggling drugs to make sure that we don't get caught because no one will bail you out.

I then asked about the benefits that they get out of smuggling drugs. Londeka also narrated as follows. *The drug lord gives you an extra quantity which becomes yours. There is no drug lord that gives you food, money or clothes before or after having successfully smuggled drugs.* How do you smuggle this drugs...I probed.... *These people put us into taxis or bus and tell drivers that they are sending us to unit with our relatives since they spotted us on the street.* I further asked...do you guys carry big bags while smuggling drugs...the all said...*No...no..no..we carry reasonable drugs.....these drug lords are very smart...we think they know that big bags could raise suspicions. Ma'am you must know that this whoonga/nyaope is a whitish powder not in the form of capsules. They pack it nicely in small transparent plastic packs...it becomes easy to pack in with our dirty clothes. These drug lords are adamant that the South African Policy Services dog unit has not trained their dogs to sniff search the location of this drug. They know that even if there are roadblocks, policeman won't be interested in searching dirty clothes of street people being assisted to be re-united with her family.*

Gugulethu, Sunshine, Londeka and Amahle further narrated that their boyfriends also smuggle this drug in and outside Pietermaritzburg. Some of them have been so unfortunate

as they get caught either while selling or smuggling...*it becomes very painful when our boyfriends get caught with the drug because they are sentenced without mentioning drug suppliers. Such drug suppliers don't bother to give them bail money. Life becomes very hard because we also don't have money to bail them out. They stay in prison up until the prison sentence is over.*

I asked them to narrate consequences that come with smuggling drugs outside Pietermaritzburg or the province. Amahle narrated as follows

..... it is usually difficult to come back because drug lords don't take the responsibility of sending to send us back to Pietermaritzburg. It becomes your responsibility to find ways of coming back. As we speak we have friends whom we don't know whether they are still alive or not. They were forced to smuggle drugs and never returned.

The above narration explains that any person who lives on the streets survives a form of vulnerability and confirms that drug lords or suppliers are not visible on the streets, yet their drugs are sold on the streets. Moreover, the study confirms that the vulnerability of smuggling drugs is associated with the state of being unclean, which allows drug lords or suppliers to take advantage of the studied young women on the streets.

I lastly asked them to talk about the person responsible for the manufacturing of drugs and the selling. *Sphume said ma'am some men are responsible for the manufacturing. We know who they are but we don't know where they stay.* I did not probe further as I was avoiding getting her into trouble. Protecting their rights was part of the ethical clearance conditions that I had to constantly adhere to.

This last theme must also be appreciated for reporting how drugs are transported in and out of the province. This thesis still holds that men not only disregard women and young women in normal spaces such as in households and even in the bedrooms, but they still take unreasonable advantage while living on the street. This theme confirms that some men don't seem to be striving to protect the visibility of these young women but they instead exacerbate their vulnerability. This is the same vulnerability that the African Feminist Theory along with the Vulnerability Model outlines as a standing structural issue. Such perspectives provide that men force women and young women do things that expose them to a greater risk than to protect them. The smuggling of drugs deports them to where they have no relatives. The mentioning of "forced to smuggle" drugs gave an indication that this black market transaction is not something they enjoy partaking in. I observed their body language and their facial expressions

which communicated that they are usually coerced into doing this because drug lords consider them as useless things. In their faces there were traces of pain that were not verbalised. Nnaemeka (2004) is one of the African Feminist Theory writers who has argued that the African society must stop treating women and young women as objects that could be exposed into vulnerability. She perceives a society that exposes a women or a young women in danger as a violent society which the African Feminist Theory exists to abolish. She hopes for an African society that will deconstruct patriarchy for a women's benefit.

Recorded narratives delineated an empirical experience that comes with being hooked on this drug. Mentioned side effects warrant medical anthropologists to partner with medical practitioners in understanding the effects of not having menstruation as a result of this reported drug. It is destroying family trust, it isolates drug users from their families, it has painful side effects and it also exposes them to life of danger that especially comes with smuggling drugs. This drug is a threat to the families as already mentioned, a threat to the society because the society will eventually be without a young population that is not hooked. It has weakened the state because is an unrelenting market that proves the state not fit to respond to the drug syndicates. This drug syndicate warrants forensic anthropologists and South African Police Services (SAPS) in KwaZulu-Natal to embark on forensic research which will defy manufacturing as well as commercializing spaces. Findings of this crime syndicate and this biological analysis should recommend a multi-sectoral approach so that this drug will be rooted out across all angles in Pietermaritzburg and its surroundings.

5.3. Part 3: My education levels

Education demographics in most developing and underdeveloped countries indicate low figures of young women with formal education levels. Such poor figures of low or no education levels remains an international concern since access to education is not only a South Africa Bill of Rights commitment but a universal right embraced by all international countries. The Bill of Rights chapter of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No.08 of 1996) advocates that everyone has the right to basic education and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible. South Africa has reached a dawn where some levels of education are free as we have schools that are known as 'no fee schools Humanin (2016). Current deliberations indicate that some tertiary levels are being engaged into talks with intentions of exempting university fees. Education is

not considered only as a universal right but listed amongst measures of success. Education is also listed as a strategy that is intended to liberate women from the systems of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity which maximizes opportunities for men and boys only. This theme was motivated by literature review presented in Chapter Two of this thesis. This chapter reported that most households have prioritized education for boys, rather than girls or young women. Where they are allowed to go school, there are always domestic chores which somehow prevent them from going to school every day and they eventually drop out of school. This theme presents education levels that also explain why they dropped out of school and what education attempts they tried while living on the street. Perspectives of the African Feminist Theory presented in Chapter Four of this report show that most young women are without any formal education or without a high education standard because of a patriarchal society that continues not to support the education of young women. They believe that education remains an urgent emancipation that young women need in order to correct or to withstand the subordination set by patriarchal institutions and spaces. Their agenda lists and advocate that domestic chores should not prevent a young women from going to school as they confirm that being denied access to any level of education is a universal human right infringement. The Feminists theory advocate that there must be education double standards provided for both boys and young women. For them, this advocacy is a corrective measure and an inclusive approach which maximizes opportunities of young women and girls to be given the same education like any other boy in the world. UNFPA (2012) report state that rural communities are said to be leading with statistics of young women that have never been to school or who did not complete the highest school education levels because they prioritize arranged marriages which don't prepare young women for education opportunities but prepare her at a young age to be a future wife (UNFPA, 2016: v). Feminist's advocators critically state that denying young women the right to education remains a significant human right infringement that public policy custodians and the state need to urgently respond to. According to the Humanin (2016) report, the deprivation of children and young women access to education is a notable persisting inequality and the continuation of the marginalizing of their rights as future leaders. The originality of this inequality and marginalizing is strongly linked to sex, cultural beliefs and customs which regulate the composition of their family structures. Almost all UNICEF reports have noted that South Africa as a patriarchal society has resulted in many girls to being without any education which has accorded them the lowest social status because of their low education levels. The mentioned society is said to have slave girls under the control and the authority of

men hence there are many incidents of intergenerational sex relations because the absence of education create a dependency syndrome.

It is also important to note that there are international attempts that have been put in place to respond to the gap of formal education experienced by most young women. Latest reports make note that South Africa has been ranked among the countries that are geared to realize the African Union (AU) 2063 declaration, ensuring that children young women and girls have uncompromised access to education. The ultimate goal is cultivate a society with children, young women and women that are empowered and educated enough to become active agents of their growing economies. The recording of their education levels as already mentioned was also within the scope of either validating or to disprove that all the girls that are on the streets fall in the category of school drop-outs or with no level of education as mostly assumed by those who don't know their stories. The following data does not capture education levels of all twenty (20) young women but only those whose narratives entailed catching experiences.

Apula nineteen (19) came to the live on the street when she dropped out of grade 3. She dropped from schools because her mother passed away. She was left with a step-father who eventually found a new lover and never took care of her. Her narrative follows: *I dropped out of school when I was in the middle of Grade 3. Youth for Christ (YFC) located me and took me to school. I remember attending school in Sobantu but I dropped out again because I wasn't coping and I missed street life. She hid her face and said: Ma'am...I was very old for Grade 3. I also did not cope because I had not been at school for so many years... [she laughed] ... kwakuduma upotiyane...meaning I seriously did not cope.*

Zethu, nineteen (19) years old, narrated that she dropped out of school when she doing Grade Four (4). She mentioned because she was troubled by *amafufunyana/schizophrenia* which were not ritually attended by her parents. She narrated as follows: *I dropped out when I was doing Grade 4. YFC took me to school but I did not complete the year in the grade...It was embarrassing to do Grade 4 with kids...Ma'am...those kids in my class were very young. Ma'am, I had been on the street for too long that is why I found school life boring that being on the street for too long. Secondly, I had started my periods...I did not fit in that Grade 4 class.*

Gugulethu, nineteen (19) years old said she dropped out of school when she was doing grade 4. She narrated that: *I was accused of having stolen colouring pens from my educator's desk...The educator severely punished me using a whipping stick ...My hand was swollen... The following day my granny visited the school and the educator insisted that I stole such pens...I was afraid to go to school because I was known to be the thief...Eventually granny passed away and life became hard and I opted for the streets. YFC took me from the streets and enrolled me in one of the schools in Sobantu where I did Grade 6...I did not finish the grade because I could not cope because of the number of years I had been out of school.*

Funani narrated that she dropped out of school from grade 5 after having protected herself from an uncle who repeatedly raped her. I asked her to explain the kind of protection she was talking about. She took a deep breath: umhhhh [breathing]...*Ma'am...I stabbed my uncle to death.* I further asked what grade was she doing and she responded by saying: *I was in the middle of Grade 5. I was blamed for having stabbed my uncle and I ran to the street. I did not attempt to go to school after joining street life....Ma'am [referring to me] have you ever seen a street person going to school? Street life is not for school children...this is the world of amapanta. If you are not a panta uzolamba.* In translation: Funani was saying that street life demands people who daily fend for what they will eat, otherwise someone will go hungry.

Amahle narrated that she dropped from school because of being addicted to smoking whoonga/nyaope. 6. Mbili continued.....*Ma'am [referring to me] ...this drug demands a lot from a person. The addiction motivates you to look for money more than anything. You must have money to satisfy roosta which is an addiction otherwise the pain that comes with it will deal with you.*

Amahle further narrated not to have pursued any education level on the street. She said *[laughing....ma'am it is not practical to be a school learner while being a street person. I knew that it was the end of my school journey the day I decided to join the street.*

Phumlile narrated she dropped from school when she was doing grade 5. What is interesting is that she said she is responsible for dropping out of school. . *Ma'am...[referring to me] [rubbing her hands and avoiding eye contact] I succumbed to peer pressure. My friends and I used to bunk school just to drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes and marijuana (weed). I failed my grade and run away from home. I did not attempt any education level while leaving on the street.*

Nonhle dropped out of school because she was told that she had to become a sangoma. I ran away from home while I was in the middle of my initiation/ ukuthwasa process. My school career was ended by my family when they forced me to become a sangoma. I did not attempt schooling while on the streets.

Blondy was another young women who reported to have dropped out of school because she started smoking ganja/ weed and she never pursued school while living on the street.

Thembeke dropped out of school because her step parent did not treat her very well. I probed: how did your step mother treat you? She responded...*Ma'am [referring to me] she deprived me of food and other things that I needed as a school learner. I must say that I was not well cared for. There were days where I couldn't go to school because of house chores that I had to complete. She did not show care, not to me alone, but to her own children.* I further probed: why was your step mother not caring? *Woooooo [her expression]. My stepmother was a heavy drinker. She use to drink from the early hours of the day till sunset. There was no love... I decided to join the street hoping that I was going to live a better*

life....I asked what better life and she responded; *I thought that street life would give me a relief only to find that it demands me to be my own protector which is sometimes difficult because some days are more difficult than other days.*

Grade 12 shattered my goal of becoming a professional nurse. I asked her how she continued

Sunshine reported as follows.

My mother died...soon after that my brother abused me and even arranged marriage for me and that's when I escaped. with Grade 12 when she had left home with Grade 10. She said, *Sister* [facing down to avoid eye contact] *I tried* [what do you mean? - me probing]... *I..I...I..* [her stuttering] ... [me: relax I won't judge you] ... *it's okay then* [her expression].. *I met someone who sold me a Grade 11 report... I then raised money through prostitution and went to register for Grade 12 in one of the finishing schools here in town. That's how I did Grade 12.* She cried, her hands covered her face. [Do you want us to stop? -me asking her.] She responded *No...* She continued to narrate: *I did not fail matric because I am not capable. I couldn't balance prostitution and school work. There are days where I couldn't go to school because I needed to raise money for my school fees and that compromised my matric performance.*

Sphume narrated that: *I came to the street with a bachelor pass that I got for my matric. Life became too difficult after completing matric sisi wami [meaning my sister and referring to me] as there were days that passed without having food at home. There was no other way....life was too tough [that's what she keep on repeating] i-awuthi bekumele izibheke [slang/tsotsi language].* She translated that she meant - *a person needs to fend for herself on the street.*

I noticed that Sphume used slang language in her narrative more than other young women that were also in the focus group discussion...I asked her to explain why she uses boy's language. She narrated as follows:

Ma'am....I am a lesbian street person and ngi skeema nama awuthi [meaning I spend most of my times with boys on the street] that's why I reference myself as i-awuthi [boy]. Yes kumele ngizibheke [I have to fend for myself and my girlfriend [she laughed and covered her face]. I came to the street already smoking whoonga/nyaope because I wasn't doing anything with my time at home. All my friends had started to smoke it and I found myself smoking it as well. I got hooked and came to street to work as a car guard and that how I make a living on the street.

Londeka came to the street already having matric. She also narrated that....*life was difficult being unemployed after completing matric. At home, no one was willing to even buy me sanitary pads and to provide me with cosmetics. I became a burden...going to the street was strategy of being an independent girl....ma'am [referring to me]...street life demands more..... but I have peace of mind because I am with people whom we share things with.*

The interpretation of presented narratives expresses the education experience of thirteen (13) young women who were willing to share their education history. This thesis captures a story that presents the family as having been directly responsible for the termination of a young women's education and this is not a new finding. It is also crucial for noting as it remains an antagonistic issue that needs to be dethroned in order to maximize access and achieve complete liberation of young women education. According to the UNFPA (2016) report, many families are still keeping or prioritizing chores that keep their young women away from school. If families are not directly responsibility for their school termination, there are issues that distract them from finishing their formal education system. This report also entails that families must learn to educationally invest in their young women and girls' education as it is the smartest thing to do (UNFPA, 2012). This is because today's young women and girls will be tomorrow's adults, but investing in them offers returns that will go to all of humanity. This research study also spells out that some of these young women dropped out of school because they were already addicted to *whoonga/nyaope*. This drug must be classified as a human attacker, as it exists to kill the future of young women who it has taken out of school. Hills et al. (2016) argues that *whoonga* is a dangerous drug that has had bad effects, particularly on the youth, both living in family homes and on the street.

The presented data reports many drop outs and also lists a young women with matric living on the street. She is being wasted by street life as well as by *whoonga*. The status of the education of girls without matric gives an indication that the Bill of Rights chapter which confirms access to education in the South African Constitution will never be fully realized. This is translated by the number of young women will forever be confirmed as a proportion that is without formal education accreditation being matric, a certificate, a bachelor's degree or a post graduate qualification. This is one structural exclusion that will forever entangle a women in the wrist of men either being a husband or a boyfriend. The question that future researchers need to investigate, how can this evident education gap be mitigated? These young women without an accredited level of education may appear as a minority when compared with those who have accredited education. The reality is that they will always encourage researchers and policy analyst to query or critique the responsiveness of education policies and the provisions it has availed to respond to the education levels of those living in destitute places or conditions. This study also appreciates the attempts made by Youth for Christ a shelter which some of the young women ran away from. This nongovernmental organization was mentioned by the studied

population to have enrolled most of the sampled population back in school and eventually they dropped out for reasons that were linked to not been treated well by some of the educators. Others mentioned that they could not resist the drug addiction that haunted them during their school time. This study records that drugs should also be listed amongst negative factors that if not addressed, will continue to defeat the purpose of ensuring that every young women has an accredited level of education. The study also notes that the realization of the Bill of Rights chapter is also compromised largely by those girls who quit school after having been enrolled back in school by Youth for Christ. Contributing factors are being too old in the grade and having been away from formal education which makes it difficult to cope. This study further recommends that the Department of Education must consider the reopening of adult education classes or vocational skills centre that will respond to the education needs of those who dropped out of school because of age and poor coping levels, as well as those who did not pass their matric.

Coming across a number of sampled young women who confirmed to be living on the streets with a Grade 12 education was a research shock that I experienced. I immediately realized that South Africa does not have possibilities for everyone. I also realized that international attempts to maximize education opportunities for young women and girls as committed to in the UA 2063 declaration will not be fully realized if the street has swallowed such people. The reasons for choosing street life were blamed on two things: she couldn't register at varsity because she came from a poor family, secondly this poor family did not have money to take her to any higher tertiary institution. This got me realizing that people from rural communities or living in quarter camps are mostly without information that maximize their opportunities. Most of the young women thought that furthering a tertiary education is based on having money which is what their families did not have. This is a knowledge dissemination gap that the Department of Higher Education should bridge. This department must revise the conceptualization of their policy beneficiaries and that is when they will realize that there are those who wish to benefit but living in environments and situations that deny them knowledge. Where the policy talks about maximizing access, they should operationalize who that access is intended for, where that person is and how much information that person has. Furthermore, universities should not only have open days in their premises but they must also conduct road shows which will also benefit such young women living on the streets. In this way, the university will not only be accessed by those who are well off, but it will be maximizing opportunities that could have

been impossible for a young women living on the streets with a bachelor pass for her matric. The Department of Education must be seen investing on young women possessing matric while living on the streets. This thesis hold that, if they can be enrolled in tertiary institutions, they will stop being slaves of commercialized sex. They will eventually be employed and possibly receive high wages that will also help their families living below the poverty line. Education will empower them and they could be mothers in the future. They will be freed from drugs and from being victims of domestic violence both on the streets and in their homes. They will be empowered to make and take wise decisions about themselves. The UNESCO (2013) report support this analysis by stating that educated women tend to improve the daily lives of families. This education opportunity will weaken the systems of patriarchy as well as hegemonic masculinity and this on its own will be celebrating the strides of the African Feminist Theory. Investing in educating young women where the study was conducted will also confront multi-layers of vulnerabilities and they will be free agents. The Umgungundlovu District or the Umsunduzi Local Municipality could or in the commemoration of June 16 which is an annual holiday, can use the day to advocate or deliberate on how a young women or girls on the street can be rescued from the chains of chronic poverty. The theme for the day can be drawn from this research or other stakeholders from local institutions can be asked to present papers proposing sustainable ways of prioritizing young women on the street. This thesis holds a view that these young women on the street, will begin to have a story to tell about the democracy that the other young women living in a household and having attended tertiary education and are now employed may not have experienced or heard of.

5.4. Part 4: Pull factors to street life

Chapter Two of this thesis explained what other countries have listed as pull factors to the street. Early researchers are appreciated for writing about such experiences, however this thesis brings forward that, there will never a time where countries can entirely agree on having homogenous experiences that lead to street life. It is within my view that people's experiences are shaped by a context which could differ from a person to person. Street life appears to be an international phenomenon but pull factors can never be homogenised, hence researchers will continue to write contextual experiences of pull factors to street life.

5. 4.1. What lured me to the street.....

Chapter Two of this thesis presented factors that early researchers in the field have listed as pull factors of street life. Such pull factors were recognized but this thesis critiqued them as assuming a homogenous experience for all countries or for all young women and boys living on international streets. The content of Chapter Two brought forward that factors associated with *streetism* in general relate to the glitter of urbanization, peer pressure, hope for employment, as well as false information about city life. In the same vein, Mangesha (2011) noted that street children are encouraged by services that are offered by NGOs to street children. Ward and Seagar (2014) blamed the weakness of public policies which should exist to strengthen communities and families. Mashicolo (2016) states that street life is enhanced by the media and technology. Alemona (2012) stated that the non-visibility of DSD to ensure child-care and welfare was to blame for the result of *streetism*.

This study also investigated pull factors with the intention telling a story that is inclusive of factors that attracted young women to the streets which have never been listed by other writers. There is no tangible evidence of street studies conducted in Pietermaritzburg. If they have been conducted, little is known because such research sources are not part of internet sources or of credited library sources. Amongst factors that were investigated, the study noted the following factors which other writers have never reported in their early contributions in the subject. This is another contribution that this study is making to the spectrum of existing literature.

5.4.1.1. Love and street life

This above theme proves that *love is really found in mysterious places* as often quoted by music writers. Ndlovu (2015) Fernnanders and Voughn (2008) and many others have in their studies mentioned that this the experience that comes as a package of living or of surviving on the street. Bender et al. (2010) and Flower (2010) also confirm that there is no love on the street. This theme also emerges as contrary to the contribution of early writers. Zinhle shares how she found love on the street and ended up choosing street life. She confirms the emotional loneliness that she felt or experienced while living with her parents in a nuclear family. This emotional absence in most families was confirmed by Diriba (2015) in Chapter One of this dissertation. This thesis lists this pull factor as a new contribution to existing listed factors associated with street life. This theme remains a new contributory factor that motivates street life.

Zihle referred to having been raised in nuclear families, an ideal family institution endorsed by many writers and ordinary people. This family type has influenced many writers who have concluded that it is an institution that is ideal for the socialization of its offspring. It has been mentioned as an ideal institution for loving and caring for children to an extent that the literature around nuclear families have overshadowed what other families could offer in the process of socializing their offspring. This study reveals that love pulled Zihle to end up living on the streets. She daringly narrated that:

...I fell in love with a guy that was already living on the streets and that's how I also ended up living on the streets. He fends for both of us. We smoke and we eat together. He calls me his Queen [she pulled an amused face].

The narration caught me by surprise because I never thought that one could join the streets just due to having found love on the streets. This study reveals that love is powerful enough to change one's identity. Zihle's narration silently echoes that she comes from a family that did not embrace her and did not assure her of the love that she needed. This study sees Zinhle's parents being visible in the space of the family but being absent in the actualization of who she is, which is something that she needed. This becomes evident when she joins her boyfriend on the streets. It filtered into her narration that he fends for them in the provisioning of what they smoke and eat and that he calls her a queen.

I persuaded her to say more as she seemed amused when giving her narrative. She explains a follows:

...my boyfriend treats me well [smiled] ...I asked how? She continued...he takes notice of my body particularly amahips. I asked what amahips is and she blushed...I nodded as an attempt to probe for more...she continued, I'm referring to my body curves. He even 'fends' for the drug that we smoke [whoonga] that demands a lot from a person. Roosta does not affect me because he always provides this drug. He calls me his Queen. This is a symbol of respect that I only get from him, not any other man. He also appreciates my body which no any other man has ever echoed.

Did your father call you a princess or his queen? Did your mother called you her Angel? She raised her voice and said *No...No...No...My parents do not express their emotions easily. My dad used to call me by name and there was nothing special. This remained a gap because other fathers express their emotions for their children. I can't recall having any special moments with my dad...*

Zihle's narrative shows that girls are not appreciated in their own families and that remains a gap that boyfriends are beginning to fill. It becomes clear that her boyfriend makes her feel content and blissful which is an ideal appreciation for girls. This is emphasised when Zinhle mentioned that her boyfriend notices her body curves and calls her "queen". This narrative makes one conclude that some parents do not relate or even spend time with their daughters. If this is the experience that other girls experience in their families, this is an indication that families are seriously lacking in the role of nurturing which was mentioned in Chapter Two of this report. This thesis also finds that Zinhle was growing up in a very cold and uncaring family. She found love on the street which gave her the warmth that her parents could not provide. Future researchers must question what compromises parental love towards their daughters. In relation to the Zinhle's narrative, Mosman et al. (2015) admit that numerous studies have proved that, young women and girls often experience poor relationships with their parents. They lack the love, support and the nurturing from their parents. What they have is memories of rejection than love. The feeling of being rejected keeps them in the dark and alters their identity. They grow up lost and try to find love where love and support avails itself. The lack or the absence of love broadens the vulnerability because they seek love and support even from dangerous people and conditions. These writers further mention that young women grow up with a very low self-esteem, self-worth and they tend to seek reassurance and validation from other boys. Mosman et al. (2015) further state that young women who have been rejected by their parents can't sustain or prolong relationships. They are often troubled by social anxiety and they also don't turn out to be good mothers. Additionally, these researchers assert that, the absence of love, care, affirmation and support within families where these young women grow from also twist their identity (they grow up with a lower concept of self) as young women. They lose control of who they are, mostly engaging themselves in self-defeating behaviours as a result of having being less loved by their parents. A parental guidance that these researchers offer to all parents is that, parents must express their love for their young women. They must be role models of an ideal identity so that young women will not lead them to maladaptive behaviours. Another significant analysis of Zihle's narrative is drawn from the writing of Holmes and Johnson (2009) and Noller and Callan (2016) mention that young women who are have not received love, care and support are hurt and they are heavily burden by unexpressed anger. This anger came through in Zinhle as she acclaimed NO! NO! NO! as part of their narrative. These researchers also mention significantly that lack of love occurs from infancy or it is affected by family issues that are mostly unresolved. They expand to state that

the responsibility to love and care becomes the responsibility of mothers who are also heavily burdened by domestic, socio-economic challenges as well as other psychological experiences that she does not speak about as a women in a patriarchal family or society. These mothers then don't become 'good' mothers. The identity of 'father' is always associated with bulls in this research. Fathers are mostly viewed as scary by his offspring and especially by his daughters. The only time they get to meet with their fathers is when they are to be reprimanded for their wrong doings. In this context, the father is not a lover but a monster. This void of affection is usually filled by strangers. They grow being from their parents and parents are also at a distance from building the identity of their daughters and the confidence that they would need. Such young women are usually or overly sensitive, they often doubt themselves and their own identity.

5.4.1.2. Family connections on the street

When presenting the problem in Chapter One, I mentioned that no one was born on the street. This presented theme must not be confused with being born on the street, but being pulled to the street because a family member was already surviving on the street. This chapter has shown that the studied population came from specific families with different parenting techniques or strategies which they say led them to the street. This theme gives a sense that street life is not only dependent on push factors but some of sampled young women were pulled to street by some family connections. It was during a focus group discussion that Spin narrated to have been pulled by a family connection. Her narrative informs a new contribution on the list of early recorded pull factors.

Spin narrated as follows.

...Ma'am [referring to me] ...I came alone to the streets to join my brother who was already on the street... My brother came first to the streets. He then invited me because he wanted to provide for me. I went to the streets and he is living his word. He is fending for us. I only fend to support him. Luckily, we don't smoke heavy drugs.

I probed as follows...why was your brother on the street?

...Ma'am (smiling but at the very same time hiding her face)...I smiled and encouraged her to say more...and she continued...my brother whom I just come after...came to the street a long time ago...it think it was just after the death of our parents. He started by working on the street and coming back home with whatever money and eventually never came back. I remained the only orphan with no one to look after me and he invited me to come and stay

with him on the street so that he can provide for me. So does he provide for you on the street? [me probing further] ...oohh yess ma'am [this expression came through her response].

The above narration is also a fresh contribution that this research study adds to what already exists in the body of knowledge. Spin's narrative shows the deep bond that orphans have with their siblings. This is what early writers have not brought forward in their writing. They mostly write about what troubles orphans and overlook the good narratives about them looking out or caring for each other in times of need. The narrative shows the love and care that orphans have for their siblings. It confirms that orphans trust themselves and foreign places or spaces like the streets more than their extended families. Spin's narrative also introduces the street as a space for making a living in the absence of willing and caring extended families. What is mentioned above confirms the argument in the literature that I presented in Chapter Two of this report, where I quoted writers who have argued that the strength of extended families has become weak and that the society is no longer a caring society. My analysis will not continue to talk about the death of extended families but it will focus on highlighting the confusion that follows the death of parents. Avoiding writing about the death of extended families does not mean that there is nothing to say, but it is because I believe that families, society and the state must embark on resuscitating the strength that this particular family was known to provide.

The death of Spin's parents did not only deprive her family of the emotional cord that parents have or should have with parents, but it also affected their well-being such as their psychosocial health, aspirations for the future, education patterns and taught them to be hooligans as they opted for the street. Death displaces the family and creates the pressure to assume new responsibilities that young people are often not ready to take on. Cas et al. (2014) agree that death becomes a severe experience especially when parents are confirmed dead or absent in children, teenagers, and young people's lives. In most families where parents were the only source of income, death confirms household poverty. Death isolates orphans from their friends, and worsens the family's economic status. Orphans are most likely to quit school because of persisting poverty after the death of parents.

The two presented themes under this part of the analysis led me to wonder about their first experiences on the street. The first two presented themes somehow seem misleading as they present a well-protected space, even though other scholars have theorized that street life is

dangerous. How they coped when they first came should be part of questions that future researchers ask when conducting experiences that come with street life in PMB.

5.4.1.3. Picked on the street and went back where I was picked from

The problem statement explained in Chapter One argues that no one was born on the street. This exhortation was also used to justify the rationale of this study by arguing that being seen on the street raises vulnerability concerns because no-one was born on the street. Siphosethu's narrative says that it is possible for one to be haunted by a hereditary recurrence. She gave birth while living on the street which is a reoccurrence of her birth history. She also has no trace of the whereabouts of the baby's father because he was not a man of the street. The baby is also fostered like she was fostered.

Siphosethu provided the following the narrative...*it is not by mistake that I am living on the streets...I'm told that I was picked [up] on the street pavement when I was only six (6) weeks.*

I further asked to explain being picked from the street and she responded as follows... I observed that her face was filled with sadness and rejection. These feelings were evident as she wanted to demonstrate how who picked her up....

I'm told that my mother conceived me while living on the street.....she probably gave birth in one of the local hospitals and left me on the street. I further probed...have do know or have you ever saw your mother? She replied....No..... No one seems to know her whereabouts as I also don't know her. She continued.... I was picked up by someone who sent me to a particular social worker in one of the nearest departments. It was through this social worker that I was fostered by a women in Eastern Cape. She did not raise me well because I was then removed and placed in a particular child and youth care centre in Port Shepstone. She came looking for me and that's when I escaped to the streets of Durban... I met the father of my baby. I fell pregnant while living on the streets but the father of my baby was not living on the streets and he has never been on the streets. After that I came to occupy PMB streets and I lost contact with him... I'm told that he is in Johannesburg. When I came to PMB I traced who I could have belonged to...I did not locate my biological relatives. I was fostered by a loving grandmother who also took me in with my baby. She took good care of us and introduced me to the family that welcomed me. Things went wrong when she died. Some family members reminded me that I wasn't part of the family. This other women within this family agreed to look after my baby girl when deciding to run away from that unpleasant family situation.

The above narrative presents a web of situations that Siphosethu had encountered in life. She previously reported to have travelled from Woodlands. Her narrative also give a sense that she

has been in too many places and even gone back to where she was picked up on the street pavement. The feeling of having been a fostered child as a result of not knowing her mother is the root of pain that came through her narrative. She does not have family relations with her biological family members. When her mother decided to leave her on the street pavement, it was the day she confirmed that she does not have no one to care for her. It became evident that she yearns to know her mother that she has been told about. Her mentioning that she does not know anything about her give a sense that she has experienced parental abandonment/rejection. Masoman et al. (2015) claim that parent-child relationship is important as it is a parent's love is a major predictor of psychological development that children need universally. The lack of love prepares one to be hostile, emotionally unstable, emotionally unresponsive and hold onto impaired feelings. It is clear that Siphosethu is fighting a battle of self-discovery and this is a personal battle that she does not share with other young women that were sampled. They all have a trace of their family threads, identity and origins but Siphosethu does not seem to have roots, which could be one of the reasons that she never settled with her foster parent. This study also shows that Siphosethu does not have a clear lineage trace as she was picked up from the street and she is deeply wounded by not knowing who she is. The narrative makes it clear that she has been foster-parented. Siphosethu's narrative reveals that there are people who are growing up without a traceable lineage identity. Her falling pregnant on the street and giving birth to a child whose father is not known broadens the cycle of an unknown lineage or identity. This child also fits into Siphosethu's lost identity as she was also picked up from the street. Chapter Four of this thesis presented an Identity Theory which confirms that a sense of belonging builds or breaks a person. It is through the content of this theory that this thesis holds that Siphosethu is troubled by not belonging anywhere because she does not have a clear identity trace. Her not knowing who she is has exposed her to the kind of life that is clustered with difficulties and many of vulnerabilities. The UNICEF (2014) report mentions that having an identity remains a fundamental human right and human fulfilment. One's identity encompasses the family name, the surname and a date of birth to mention but a few. A child without a clear trace of his or her identity and a lineage grows into being a lost youth and then becomes a lost adult. Such people often fall out of the family/ community circle and become prey to a host of vulnerabilities.

Within her narrative, the role of a foster parent is appreciated both in her life and in the life of her child that is also being fostered. The literature on families and parenting skills and strategies

delineate that the fostering orphaned children and kinship are criticised because it falls outside the kinship line where the proper socialization and enculturation of children began to be skewed. Other writers note that foster parents are not able to achieve the Maslow's hierarchy of needs such as assuring fostered children's and youth's belongingness, providing according to their love needs and ensuring a sound self-actualization of their potential (Givertz and Segrin 2014). These writers also note that fostered children are sometimes difficult and demand things that are unrealistic and could not be afforded by their foster parents. Other issues relate to the grieving process that children did not get after the death of their parents. Other issues relate to having foster parents without having consulted with the affected children. This is one of the main clashes noted by many writers.

5.5. Part 5: Construction of street identity, the “new self” and street dynamics

Van Blerk (2007: 15) posits that street life comes with a particular stigma. The particular theme gives a geographical/ environmental identity to the studied population. The geography is the street, which brings with it various dynamics that the women on the streets have become acquainted with. Narratives give a sense of who this young women has become while living or staying on the street. The Social Identity Theory explained in Chapter Four of this thesis, makes it clear that one's identity is important as it can indicate what a person is going through. Furthermore, the theory presented posits that one's identity is socially constructed and social identities are fluid. The above theme confirmed having an identity indicates one sense of belonging. In this thesis it appears that having an identity provides security and it is an adapting strategy in new environment. In the context of this research the understanding of a constructed street identity was important to know in order to extensively understand how their identities are sustained and changed, if ever. This research interest is supported by Van Blerk (2007) who assert that it is important to understand the construction of street identities because their identities are usually impacted by social and spatial influences. Their identity is also shaped by their nomadic life and the experience that comes with it.

The anthropological approach to understand their identity is necessary because this study intended to understand how they have traded or acquired their “identity” (either personal or as collective) as I also understand that there is no identity that is naturally “given”, but it is defined and constituted. It could also be linked to a particular environment that a proportion of human beings occupy. An environment makes an essential context of social life and of the personality

foundation. It provides the pattern of the common way of living and thinking of the communal experiences as a value-referential framework upon which definitions and interpretations of identities could emerge. Thereby, the environment on its own enables researchers to understand what identity (collective and personal) expresses in different conditions and ideological connotations, assuming that this concept is dynamic vs. the alternate ideology, e.g. national pattern of identity which is narrow as well as exclusive; and as a static category, it does not suppose possibility of change.

Correspondingly, Golubovic (2010) argues that anthropologists conducting ethnographic, direct or participatory observation research on human populations (individuals or groups of people) take great interest in understanding how one's personal or collective "identity/identities" are constructed. The premise is that anthropologists understand that life is a transition which mostly requires people to sustain or trade their old identities for the purposes of adaptation and survival. Again, anthropologists understand that one's identity is also shaped by numerous factors or dynamics. The environment, personal reasons, group life are always listed amongst factors that motivate for the sustenance or the trading of old identity/identities (Goldman, 2010). Anthropologists take interest in studying the construction of identity among different cultural groups. They collect narratives that give meaning behind the commonly shared identity and other dynamics that may not be evident to outsiders. Anthropologists collect narratives around the construct of identities because one's identity is not ascribed, but socially constructed. One's identity is shaped by how people define him or her; it is also determined by the situation that one is found to be living under. The following sub-theme tell how the street identity is chosen or considered as ideal strategy of coping on the streets; how a girl living on the street happened to lose who she really is.

The study noted that living on the streets has its own challenges. One major challenge that these women face as a group or as individuals is the loss of their clan or family identities and the process of gaining or of choosing the new "self". When they appear on the streets no one knows them according to their clan or lineage, but as the person of the pavement or of the streets. They happen to lose their true selves and old identities which were socially constructed by families as well as the societies that they initially came from. Chapter Two of this thesis postulated that street lives prune young women of their precious names and dignity. The following theme will elucidate the misconstruction of identities as a theme. This thesis also

notes that life is a transition that is full of demands as well as social dynamics. One of the social demands is that street life demands everyone who chooses this new life, loses their true self/ identity in order to earn a new street identity. It becomes a personal and a forced decision to be completely unknown or known by others in streets. Issues of anonymity and trust are explored in the process of trading an old identity for a new identity. This thesis finds that other young women were forced to let go of their selves because they did not want their families to trace and follow them. Others survive by using chameleon identities in relation to other street members because they don't trust each other. The chameleon identity is one surviving strategy that made it possible for most of interviewed girls to survive on different situations. The very same chameleon identity exposed them to various daily challenges which shed more light on their experience surviving on the street. This is one culture of the street remains that an open choice to most street survivors.

Ferraro and Andreatta (2013: 34) assert that "culture is a learned behaviour and it is not static". Hence, this thesis has reported that the change of one's identity is part of street life. A person learns to change her identity and also decides to change it like a chameleon skin which changes colours to accommodate different situations. Those who come to the street for the first time adopt a particular identity in order to survive on the street. The first identity changes the next day as they often don't want their paternal or maternal families to have a clear trace of where they are. The opted identity does not become permanent because of different activities that motivate the population not to stick with only one identity. Those who eventually possess a prominent identity are those leading particular gangs on the streets. There is a command to keep or maintain this identity because it is also recognized by other structures in prison which is also what this study has also learned and reported as the thesis unfolds.

Furthermore, it became very clear during data collection that their identity is shaped by the labelling of a group that one has affiliated under and this affiliation is also not permanent. Chapter Six of this thesis presents the context of street life and expands to report on the street gang life. The mentioned chapter will further elucidate conditions of affiliation and the interconnectedness amongst members of the gang.

5.5.1. Misconstruction of identity “dehumanizing identity”

The collection of the constructed social labels or projected identities of the studied population fundamentally validates that anthropologists study people for the purposes of knowing them better than what seems accepted within the broader society. The focus on the social identity or constructed identities of the studied population was to correct the views that were once raised by Sokefeld Martin (1999:418) in the journal publication where he claimed that “anthropologists write easily about the identity of those they study in the sense of something with others, but have much more difficulty in attributing a self of people to the people they are writing about”. This particular study criticises this as an unsound claim or a claim that was only relevant to the context of his writing. This particular study demonstrated that anthropology does not force the assimilation of socially constructed identity or projected identity, but anthropology expands to understanding the underlying factors of such labels or labelling, taking into serious consideration how such labels are received and internalized by the expected receiver. This particular study also demonstrated that anthropologists are interested in understanding the *true self* than claims that have been constructed by the society at large.

The delineated theme outlines another experience that is encountered by a young women surviving on the street where this research was conducted. The Social identity theory in Chapter Four claims that different identities are socially constructed and there are many factors that contribute to the construction of identities. Ndlovu’s (2015:166) research findings held that streets impose an indelible identity and reputation. He says this is a non-negotiated identity that one gets by virtue of living on the street. A notable finding is that street life is full of discrimination which is projected by members of the public. This discrimination is a result of living on the street, as most people believe that anyone who lives on the street is probably a bad person. This study noted that the studied population is given new identities by members of the Pietermaritzburg community which dehumanize them. This finding confirms what has been pronounced by the literature - that girls living on the streets lose their precious beings over unpleasant labels. This confirms that the identity of a person is also shaped by the environment and the image from which they appear to represent when meeting people who consider themselves as better because of the environment they come from or represent. They have adopted such dehumanizing identities because they come from the streets not fancy/descent infrastructures.

The society forgets that these young women were not born from the streets even though for some, street life happens to be a hereditary experience. Most of them were pushed and pulled by different factors as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. In relation to the effects of the period spent on the street, this particular research has also recorded new constructs or new labels that had not been codified by early writers on the subject. All twenty (20) girls that were interviewed mentioned and confirmed in the focus group that street life had replaced who they are and had attributed them new identities and new names. Their common names from the public were *amaphara/iphara* which is also known as *whoonga girl*. They mentioned that they were called *amaphara/iphara* or *whoonga* girls because they were known to be smoking *whoonga* which was a trending drug in the streets. The study noted that this label homogenously categorises every girl as a *whoonga/nyaope* addict. This finding shows that some of the projected identities could falsely categorise a person because not every girl on the street smoked *whoonga/nyaope* but the society called every girl on the street with this name.

The study captured that some of girls on the street did not like the labelling because they did not smoke *whoonga* but smoked what they said was lighter than it, such as weed also called ganja (slang word) or only sniffed glue. The following narration provide an explanation of how *phara/whoonga* girls are defined.

Ma'am...iphara/ whoonga girls is a name that other people use when calling or identifying us on the street...It is a fairly new name...In Durban it is used to reference a boy or girl who smokes whoonga/nyaope on the streets. Here in PMB everyone is called Iphara...How we are defined differs with the Durban definition...In PMB iphara is someone who lives, sleeps on the street for days and who doesn't bath, some people even mention that we fear water. This person is always accused of bad things like stealing and of hijacking people.

Other mentioned that they are called *obhejane (rhinoceros)* which is a wild animal that does not stay in one place. They all agreed that they did not stay in one place because moving from one place to the next is a coping strategy on the street. Some of them said they were forced to move because they were afraid of the police and officials from the municipality officials who were always accusing them or their boyfriends of wrongful doings.

This research write-up also discovered that young women on the streets were also called *osabamanzi* (dirty girls). They admitted going for days without having bathed because of the scarcity of warm water on the streets; public toilets are sometimes locked which they could use for bathing. Some mentioned that they walk to YfC where they are offered water to bath and to wash their clothes. The study also noted that a particular restaurant was praised for giving them warm water in winter which they use for bathing. I requested a further analysis of the *osabamanzi* (dirty girls). The following is a narration that explains how they define *obhejane* or *osabamanzi*.

They said “*we are called obhejane because we always migrating from this street to the other...we don’t stay in the same place because we don’t want people to take advantage of us. We also move from one spot to the next because we have to fend for ourselves.* Among all the names that this girl listed, she couldn’t conceptualize *obhejane*.

We are called.... osabamanzi/ dirty girls because we sometimes stay for days without having washed or changed our clothes. We sometimes don’t wash because sometimes the municipality locks public toilets that we commonly use. We also don’t bath if we can’t access warm water. It is difficult to wash in the river streams in winter because it is cold we are at the advantage of catching ‘flu because its cold...

The above narration confirms that the studied population is sadly rejected by those who don’t stay on the street. Collected identities around the street of Pietermaritzburg and CBD are a result of a Social Identity theory which illustrated that social identities are socially constructed. This thesis reports new social identities that no other researcher has collected and reported. They are not only rejected by people only but they are excluded from receiving or of having access to sanitation facilities (access to water to use for bathing). The absence of water for bathing contributes to the overall unappealing image on the street. The scarcity of sanitation measures divides people of the same ethnic group and of the same sex. If the studied population had access to sanitation facilities, they could have presented themselves in their true beauty or true selves. The population of ordinary people would have given them good or better names than the one that they have socially constructed and projected to them. Their true selves are being compromised by lack of access to and the absence of such facilities that benefit the stay of the studied population on the street. The recommended provision is not raised to promote a

permanent stay on the street but provisions must be made in order to civilize their image while processes of getting them off of the streets are underway. Another analysis of the in-depth interview responses raised that:

Members of the public also call us (referring to themselves) abadayisi/sex workers/prostitutes because we are visible in the street called emthoyi. Funani pulled a serious face and narrated as follows.

...Ma'am...we are seen on the streets or live of the street but that does not mean that we all do prostitution which is some that that is done by "some" of other girls who are our friends on the street...

The other respondent mentioned above was very adamant during the focus group discussion that...*I am not a criminal but other people call us iphara/amaphara/whoonga girls just because they think we are criminals or we are less human than them.* I further asked them to be explain what motivated such conclusions. They narrated as follows:

All those who pass by our pavements hold their bags, phones or any of their valuable gadgets which gives us an indication that they view or perceive use as criminals. We are often raided by policemen not only searching for drugs but search what we might be in possession of, which could be items that the public has reported to have been robbed of but people they assimilate with us.

The above narration brought to light that socially constructed and projected identities embrace an element of *generalization* and *inclusiveness* and they postulate a common identity, irrespective of the attributes that might not be same between people of the same population. This thesis reports that the studied population does not feel proud about such generalized identities because they are harsh and dehumanizing. This thesis confirms that generalizations avow *sameness* and that *sameness* is that they live on the street but they do not do the same things. It became a common cry that no-one calls them by 'good' names. It also became a collective concern that such identities embrace exclusion and they resonate with elements of being a criminal, yet these young women are not criminals. Their projected identities really confirm that the studied population remains excluded from the proportion of ordinary people.

Furthermore, the above narration was accepted without any level of doubt, however, I noted that the mentioning of “our pavements” resonated with an element of entitlement. This indicated that some pavements were already claimed as only belonging to the studied population. It made me wonder whether this claim does not pronounce that such pavements are their permanent spaces. I hoped that the direct observations that I conducted as a method of data collection, would respond to this research question.

These girls mentioned that there was a myth that was associated with such labels. Those who did not smoke *whoonga/nyaope* disputed that they went for days without bathing, but admitted that some *whoonga girls* sometimes went without having washed and with dirty clothes because of weather conditions. Those who smoked *whoonga/nyaope* confirmed that it was a misconception that *whoonga/nyaope* addicts feared water or they were choked when water was sprinkled on them and they actually poured water on themselves as a demonstration that they did not fear water. They said they did not bath because it was difficult to access water that they could use to bath.

This study also noted that such constructed labels or identity projects dehumanized the value of the studied population to the very lowest level of respect. The study also noted that the negative references of referral constructs are also derived from the state of wellbeing which the person puts him or herself in too. The scarcity of water on the streets has labelled such young women as *osabamanzi/ dirty girls*. This is an indication that if they were to have access to water they would bath and not be assimilated with such mislabels or symbolic references. In relation to the projected identity which some of the young women mentioned as not being their true self or identity, as a trained researcher in anthropology, I deepened my investigation as I asked for the specific *operationalization* of who was most likely to call the studied population *amaphara/iphara* or *whoonga girls*.

It became a common response that it was largely other women in Pietermaritzburg who were the ones who referenced the studied population like this. This particular study finding indicates that there is a stratification amongst people of the same sex. Essentially, people of the same sex do not assimilate or embrace the challenges of what other people of the same sex could be going through. I call this the politics of the same sex. I am postulating the politics of the same sex outside the context of the same-sex marriage which has been the focus of many writers.

My postulation of the politics of the same sex is that people of the same sex derogatorily *differentiate or categorise or discriminate against* people of the same sex by virtue of their social appearance. It destroys the *sameness* that in my own view should exist between people of the same sex irrespective of their geographical position. The mentioned identities create a stratification that allocates the studied population to the *other* in the ladder of normal people and in the ladder of social *representation and categorization*. If this is felt by the population of the street in Pietermaritzburg, how much does it continue to affect all the development endeavours that exist to empower women collectively? I also realized that the struggle or the sentiments of the African Feminist Theory must continue to rise as it does not only fight patriarchy but it also advocates that women must embrace each other, irrespective of their living conditions, circumstances or socio-economic levels. It emphasises unity amongst people of the same sex which, in this case, will be women being sensitive towards the situation of the other.

This thesis also collected narratives around the *conceptualization* of what is *whoonga/nyaope* and who is *iphara or whoonga girl*. I would like to believe that I for now remain the first writer within anthropology to write about *whoonga/nyaope* as well as about *iphara or whoonga girl*. This study acknowledges that different people have used such labels out of context and out of its proper meaning. The capturing of such narratives exists to correct the context and the application of these labels and to expose that these labels are also encouraged by people of the same sex, in line with “politics of the same sex”. This study also recommends that the content of the African Feminist agenda should include the discussion that will critically look at the hatred that people of the same sex project for each other. This discussion finds relevance because the studied population listed that much of the discrimination which come in the form of misconstrued identity comes from women and other young women who don’t live on the street. This is an indication that women on their own are not united. This thesis argues that if the agenda or the advocacy of the African Feminist Theory is to find relevance and make significant change, it must also focus at forging “unity among women”. This is another form of empowerment that women and young women need. They must be seen embracing each other and being sensitive to what they individually or as a collective go through so that they may eventually weaken or collapse patriarchal systems that continues to be listed as a dominating factor in their day-to-day lives.

5.5.2. Concealing identity

The study noted earlier that the studied population have confirmed to have been labelled by the members of the society. This theme takes a step further from the cycle of being socially referenced or labelled. The theme tells a story of these girls presenting themselves when they landed on the streets from their places of origin. Jenkins (2014: 1) postulated that is important to study or understand the persons “identity” (being the label or the image that a person declares as his or hers in different social spaces) before one concludes to know or not to know a particular individual or a group of people. The writer further mentioned that identity is not an ascribed trait. It is, rather, a socially constructed means of surviving in different contexts. It has a mathematical calculation because people change their identities like chameleons in order to accommodate and be accommodated in different living spaces and conditions.

The social identity theory as delineated in Chapter Four (4) contributed to the analysis of how each sampled girl defined her identity when she landed on the streets and also to the question of who she identified with as she continued to live on the streets. I also bore in mind that it is common to contemplate how one would introduce him- or herself when arriving in new avenues or social spaces. There is always a question of how one will be received, what will the conditions of acceptance be and for how long will the acceptance be sustained. I also asserted in my own scholarly philosophy that social identity comes with the sense of belonging or not belonging at all. Tilly (2016) further interprets that the social identity theory allows one to ask the following questions “who am I? why am I where I am? who do I identify with?” I add that the social identity theory allows the individual or group members to ask “why do we identify together instead of identifying with the other?” The theory is the mirror or a perspective of understanding or analysing individual and group behaviours and other aspects which may relate to the categorization and the characterization of groups and their interconnectedness or their contradicting or compelling dynamics.

The theory originates from the wisdom or the philosophy of Herin Tajfel and John Turner between the 1970s and the 1980’s. The theory defines how people behave and relate to other people or networks in different contexts. It also explained that different contexts demand different ways and means for survival strategies. Many writers have made inferences on the root of the theory but none have listed critiques, which means that lens of the theory is still relevant to learn more about the formulation of groups and gangs. This study makes use of the

roots of the theory in order to understand the social identity and group networks of the studied cohort in this thesis. As a researcher, I take pleasure in being the first one in the body of literature on the subject of *streetism* to understand the social identities and group networks of young women that live on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

The study noted different social identities on the streets which were translated by the narratives that delineated their places of origin as well as their confirmed categories. The study also noted that their social identities on the streets define who they are and who they are affiliated with. The first category of social identity depends on or is shaped by where the girl came from. Those who came from afar did not bother to change or falsify their identity when they came to live on the streets because nobody knew them. The narratives of girls that came from outside Pietermaritzburg (under the uMsunduzi Local Municipality) confirmed that they did not change their social identity. Their narratives are as follows: *we did not hide our identities because we were not bothered by being identified on the streets...nobody knows us here...we don't have relatives in PMB. We left our localities because we did not want to be spotted by our families and relatives...*

The study noted as well that some girls who were from the PMB surroundings also confirmed not to have hidden their social identity and they were even visited by their mothers while they were still alive. I also noted that some of girls who also came from PMB surroundings hid their identities because they did not want to be traced by relatives. I then probed more and the following narrative was codified...*I hide my social identity because I also do prostitution on the street therefore revealing my identity is a risk. My family does not know that I do prostitution while living on the street.* I asked them how they hide their social identity. In the focus group discussion they responded by saying:

We wear big clothes with hoods, have different names, move from one spot to the next, sometimes dress like boys especially when working as car guards, try not to be too visible on the streets as we sometimes visit our friends who are practising prostitution while owning flats around town. We stay in bars and that's where we get most of our clients.

The study noted that the maintenance and alteration of one's identity was psychologically calculated. Those that came far away from the neighbourhoods of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounding did not change their "true identity". This was because they knew that there had no relatives who could easily spot them on the street and possibly force them to go back home.

The second group is seen to be changing their identities like chameleons and this a psychological exercise that is a daily exercise of the studied population. My sentiment on the captured narrative is supported by Leary and Tangney (2012:79-81) as they assert that people's ability to retain or gain new identities or images is a result of what they called psychological essentialism which is the basic cognitive schema that is embraced by a particular people or member of a particular group who are highly cautious of their identity, image and behaviour. Ndlovu (2015), Morewitz (2016) independently posit that concealed identities are part of surviving on the street. Van Blerk (2007:10) further state that the population of the street has multiple identities. Street girls disguise themselves as boys to protect themselves from harassments by the police, welfare workers and from other street members. They mostly appear on the street at night as most of them are involved in prostitution.

Their multiple identities are contributed or dependent on the groups they meet. Such multiple identities confirm that identity is fluid. What these scholars say is in agreement with the Social Network Theory outlined in Chapter Four of this thesis. The content of this theory posits that groups have different identities which also become extend into an immediate identity of group members. Van Blerk (2017:10) also mention that some of the street identities are not by choice as some of the street people were coerced to take or accept that given identity. The element of coercion was mentioned as a driving identity factor in this study as most young women reported to have voluntarily joined their gangs.

5.5.3. Bruises of street life

The number of years that the studied population confirmed to have lived on the streets encouraged me to ask about the effects of these periods on their lives. I also needed to learn how street life had shaped their image or how the society constructs the identity of the girl that lives on the streets in the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. The interest in learning about self-constructed or project identities was the result of being empowered by the Social Identity Theory that I delineated in Chapter Four of this thesis. Moreover, the theme was motivated by the scholars, Markus (2010), as well as Leary and Tangney (2012), who in their independent writings mentioned that the self of a particular person is altered by inferences or references that are social projected by other people. What I have observed up as a commonality amongst such scholars is that they agree that such inferences are symbolic and they are a result

of the social stratifications that exist to categorize the normality of a person and the abnormality of a person.

The analysis of in-depth interviews as well as of the focus group discussion pronounced that there were indeed tremendous negative effects from being on the streets for longer periods. The first effect is that of losing one's "true self" and one's goal which is an indication that their dreams and hopes have somehow perished and they will forever be an excluded group from the ordinary population. The following are narratives that were spoken by the studied group which voiced the death of their envisaged dreams.

Sphume, a lesbian girl that lives on the street narrated as follows:

"Street life has stripped my future...angisenatwa ..." I asked her to explain *angisenatwa*... She laughed at me and eventually provided the following:

"Angisenatwa is a slang language that translate to having nothing at all...she added anginafokolo...". I probed further – *fokol* means what? They all laughed in the focus group...she continued *Mam...It means I absolutely have nothing [with a saddened face]. Look I have matric but I'm not employed...I only work as a car guard...ma'am ngizomfasa kanjani lomuntu meaning how am I going to marry my girlfriend [blushing]. Siphantela ukulala sidlile ne shandis meaning - we 'fend' just for food and for the drug addiction.....not for the future. There is no future on the street.*

Sunshine narrated that ... *Siyaziphantela*...I asked her to explain what she meant by *siyaziphantela*.... What do you mean by this phrase Sunshine... [she also laughed at me] ... *I am saying that we are responsible for what we eat and smoke ...but some don't because their boyfriends work as car guards on the streets. Some girls work at night to have money that they use to buy food and to buy cheap sanitary towels. I'm now a joke... no one believes in me...I recently went to a fruit and vegetable supermarket here in town...that Indian man said I must be joking...when asking for a piece job.*

The above narration validates the Identity Theory which is captured in Chapter Four of this thesis. This segment of the thesis also validates the contribution of other writers who have explained how the person's identity is shaped by a variety of situations and that the used language is part of one's identity. I also confirm along with other scholars that the identity and self of the person are shaped by one's physical appearance and daily livelihood as well how the next person sees one. The study also noted that societal references or constructed identity inferences really dehumanized, marginalized and pruned the branches of dignity and decency

of the studied population (Ndlovu, 2015, Tyler, 2006 as well as Tyler and Malander, 2015). This is an indication that the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings has two different populations. The first one is the majority of the population that does not live on the street. The second one is the population of the street who appear to be lesser humans in the eyes of the normal population.

The use of slang language/ *tsotsitaal* proves that street life has its own unique culture. A deeper sense that I got from observing their facial expressions is that street life did not serve them any form of relief other than being relieved from their family situations. Linguist anthropologists can also take interest in documenting more street languages in order to thoroughly understand the street culture. According to Mutonya (2007: 172), such linguistic study will be adding on to what other African countries have started studying or collecting narratives already e.g. urban wolf in Dakar, Peul in Yaounde, and Sango in Banjui, Camfranlgais in Cameroon as well as Sheng in Nairobi. What Mutonya (2007) explains is that street language is a reality and mostly used to communicate matters of the street and to convey feelings and hidden agendas attached to the street life. This thesis view is that it is through such linguistic studies that it can be concluded that street life is indeed contextual and street life means different things to different people. Researchers will also be able to get a deeper sense of its brutality. This thesis report that the used slang language in the narratives inform that street language identifies people of the same gang group. That they have established some form of interconnectedness which the Social Identity Theory confirmed to be part of any social network. The use of slang language also provides a sense that they share a unique or a particular understanding that an outsider does not share or understand. It is a group identity that separates the other from the other. It also symbolises intergroup relations as I learned that all gangs of the street are able to communicate without any difficulties. Within their narratives using slang language, it came as a collective lamentation that they will forever be jobless because of having been on the street. They collectively narrated that street life has tarnished their identity and reputation. Linguistic anthropologists can collect their street language and begin to analyse a deeper understanding of what they through which no other anthropologists can be able to detect.

5.5.4. Obscured future

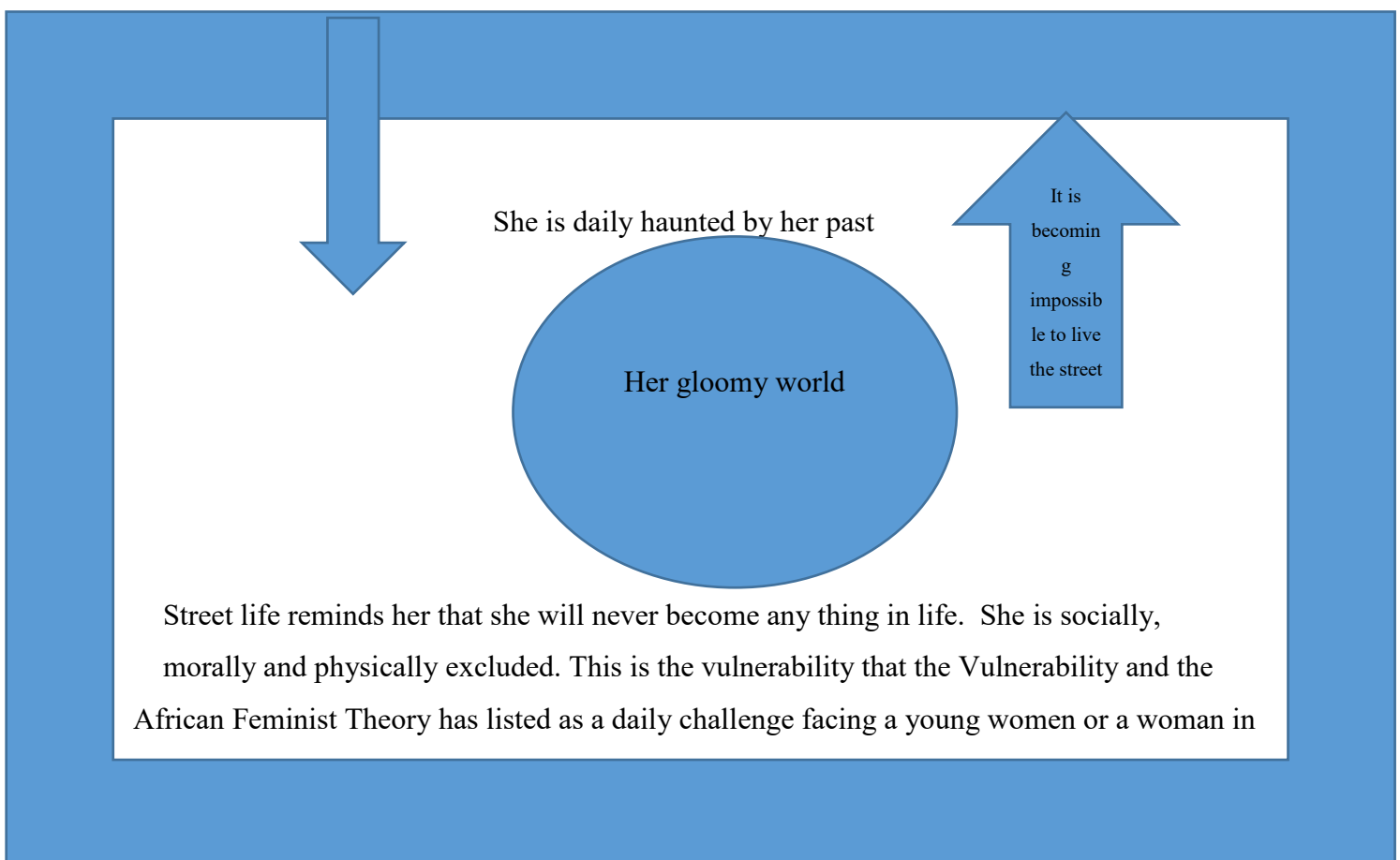
All twenty (20) young women that were interviewed confirmed to have envisaged a good life before coming to the streets, but street life has shattered that longed-for life. Some aspired to

become social workers, lawyers, teachers as well as professional nurses. This study confirms that the street life does not produce any good in a person. The sense that I got from the collected narratives makes me think that it can never be less justified that street life prunes the branches of home socialization and of decency which is what the studied population has encountered as they live on the street. I also observed that street life demands more than what the street can provide to those who have chosen it as their homes.

The thesis contribute the following figure as the world that the young women who participated in the study are trapped in. The presented cage confirm her daily social reality on the street.

Figure 8: The cage of her life on the street

(street life becomes like a dark house with no doors to find exit, with no windows to see the light/dawn and not ventilators to get fresh air that which will get you to think).



This thesis proposes that activists of the African Feminist Theory, families, the society as well as the state (being policy custodians) must devise responsive policies and programmes that strive to take these young women from this cage which confirms poverty, death of aspirations and exclusion from a larger society. This cage confirms their vulnerability on the street as well as the death of aspired professions that they once envisaged while growing up. Families, societies as well as the state must commit to empower such young women so that they will become better women in life. This is one of the urgent tasks that must be embarked upon if policy custodians are hoping to report that their democracy is inclusive to all people and that they are committed in giving all their citizens a better future.

5.5.5. A changing continuum of street categories

Anthropological research endeavours are often undertaken with a significant purpose - to learn about how people live and relate in various institutions. They are also undertaken to record any structural, cultural, identity changes, patterns and dynamics that are experienced by people in their diverse environment or a result of having adapted in a new environment. Chapter One and Two of this write-up gave an indication that there are categories of appearance that have been confirmed by early researchers to be categories of street life. This theme was also encouraged by understanding that one's identity is socially constructed, shaped by the environment, and often not static because life on its own is not static. Street life appears to be the kind of life that has its own population, and the population of the street is there for different reasons, hence most of them don't even share the same reasons as to why they are on the streets. James and Prout (2015) in their book, mention that the following have been accepted categories of street children: children of the street, children on the street, homeless youth. Mhizha et al. (2016) confirm that such street life categories are confirmed on the international landscape. This study went ahead to identify and record the categories of young women (19–35 years) living in the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. The rationale behind the collection of street categories over the confirmed ones was that street life is full of uniqueness which in my own view will influence categories of street appearance.

This thesis brings to the body of knowledge a changed continuum of categories which the studied population falls under while living on the street. The following information adds value to the existing literature sources because it presents the categories of the studied population which have never been codified by other researchers either in social science or in anthropology.

This study recorded the following categories because they broaden the content of the existing literature on *streetism*.

5.5.6. Categories of my appearance on the street

This study had six (6) young women who were nineteen years old. The gathered information introduces that categories of appearance on the streets are changing with a purpose. Amahle, Apula and Gugulethu appeared as street beggars who also lived on the streets and slept in unused or vandalized buildings in town. This study noted that they emphasized that they were not “strangers on the street”.

Zethu brought a new category of the street in this age group. She said I am MamThotho” because I happen to date (iMfanelo) the leader of the group called the “26s”. All girls under this network respected them because I’m dating this prominent figure of the street.

Siphosethu and Zinhle also mentioned that they appeared as “Queen” on the streets because they were dating assistants of the prominent leader amongst the 26s. These boys in this group structure are called amasosha – soldiers. Other girls in this age category called themselves Queens of the 26s group.

Thembeke reported to be uMamtshali because she was dating a group leader for the 28s group. She also reported that I am responsible for the caring of other girls in my social group.

Gugulethu and other girls confirmed to be appearing as beggars as well as prostitutes on the streets.

Amongst the collected narratives under this theme, this report took interest in gaining a thorough descriptive analysis of those who called themselves Mamthotho, Queens as well as uMamtshali. This study reports that they all confirmed to be doing less on the streets but mainly appearing and responding to their boyfriends as housewives. I asked about the benefits of their category or description on the street.

Thembeke and Gugulethu narrated that we gain recognition and respect within the group. We are not pressed by circumstances of the streets because our boyfriends provide for us.

I asked if there was something else expected out of them. They laughed and Thembeke responded ...yes [I asked how] ...they all laughed. Zethu continued by mentioning that *we do laundry for our boyfriends, we clean our pavement spaces, we give them sex whenever they need it. The only thing we don't do is cooking because we don't have cooking stoves on the pavement.*

The above narration also tells a story that the studied group of girls appear as *amaphara* only in the eyes of the public but “*street wives*” in the eyes of their boyfriends on the street. This confirms that one’s identity is fluid, not static, and this was also reported as a study finding by (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015). This study also confirms that one’s identity defers from persons to person and as well as according to the structural composition of groups/gangs. This study also identifies the sameness that housewives of the streets and housewives of the normal household have in common which is to clean, do laundry and await the husband or partner to provide. This study recognizes that the boy on the street may seem helpless as he is, but is seen taking the responsibility of providing for the girl he calls his own. The young women playing the housewife role is seen enjoying the benefits of being cared by her boyfriend just because she takes care of the pavement space.

5.5.7. Group identity on the streets/ collective identities

Most of anthropological literature informs that societies or groups share collective identities. The literature expands to show that group identities are learned, group identities are symbolic, identity is shared, and group identities can change or remain static. The Social Network Theory as well as the Social Identity Theory presented in Chapter Four explain that group or collective identities mean that one lives under, within or shares a particular identity, classification or image with that of other people in a particular group. Group or collective identities are assimilated or adjusted into and even accepted as group appearance. Such appearances act as identity markers. This assimilation is grounded on calculated or uncalculated reasons which I call spontaneous calculations. It involves the process of forfeiting a particular *self* to adopting a *new identity* for different reasons, beliefs and benefits. Van Blerk (2007) assert that street identities are accepted because of wanting to be project by a particular group circuit. Such group circuits define group social relations but also give a sense of imbued notions of power that also exist on the street. The study noted that the studied population belonged to established social connections, networks or nests that made sense to them as they are on the streets. These connections, networks or nests contributed to who they are and how they benefit as members and within the street in general.

This study discovered that four (4) social groups or networks were in existence in the Pietermaritzburg CBD streets and surroundings. The first recording of such social groups/networks was noted during interviews and the focus group. When conducting observations, this study noted that these social groups share different traits in its structural composition, and in its social identities and such identities are linked to prison life. Prison life or being remanded taught them skills that they subsequently transfer to the streets after completing their sentences (Van Berk, 2007: 14). This thesis report that the prison life shape their identity and it introduces them to different social networks that they are to roll out in the street. Prison life controls how the population of the streets behave and responds to life. The population of the street that participated is a typical reflection of gangs that exist inside prisons. This study must be appreciated for having learned what constitutes the establishment of such social networks on the street, but giving a comprehensive analysis of how such networks are organized and their governance levels, their affiliation requirements, as well as the associated benefits within the four groups given below. The following table delineates the names of the different street social groups in the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

Table 3: The organization and leadership of street networks

Categorization of groups/networks	Structures/network/governance levels	Beliefs of the group/network	Leadership portfolio/hierarchy of leadership	Gender of the leadership portfolio	Roots of the network	How girls affiliate	Benefits of affiliation	Interconnectedness
Twenty sixes (26s)	Imfanelo	Protect orphans on the streets.	Main leader	Male	Jail	Friendship / girlfriend relations	Provision of safety and security.	Street life
	Igunya	Protect all girls in the network.	Second in charge	Male		Security measures on the street	Sharing and the provision of food and drugs	Drugs and the nature of fending strategies. Boys' prison life.
		When conducting a task, no						

Amashosha

murder
should take
place.

Lowest
level of the
group

Social
company

Dating boys of the
same network.

Male

Spoken language

Trust

Sleeping and
fending strategies
(daily survival
means).

Twenty (28s)	eights	Msthal/ general/bhejabheja/ ndodewubaba	Blood is our victory	Main leader	Male	Jail	Friendship / girlfriend relations	Provision of safety and security.	Street life
		Unyazi		Second in charge			Security measures on the street	Sharing and the provision of food and drugs	Drugs and the nature of fending strategies. Boys' prison life.
								Social company	Dating boys of the same network.
									Spoken language

							Trust
							Sleeping and feeding strategies (daily survival means).
Jungle F C	Dimpela	Streets is Father on Male their jungle. the streets	Family Brothers Provision Street life	backgro and friends of safety	unds and are part of and	reasons this group. security.	Drugs and the nature of feeding strategies.
		They make a living on the street without any restrictions.	to the streets	New arrival on the street.	Sharing and the provision of food and drugs	Dating boys of the same network.	

		They claim to be sprinters of the 26s or the 28s depending on the awarded task. If they get the task right, they become members of one of the mentioned groups				Security measures on the street	Social company	Spoken language	Trust	Sleeping and feeding strategies (daily survival means).
Loners/ omahamba	None	These people	No leadership	None	None	None	None	None	None	None

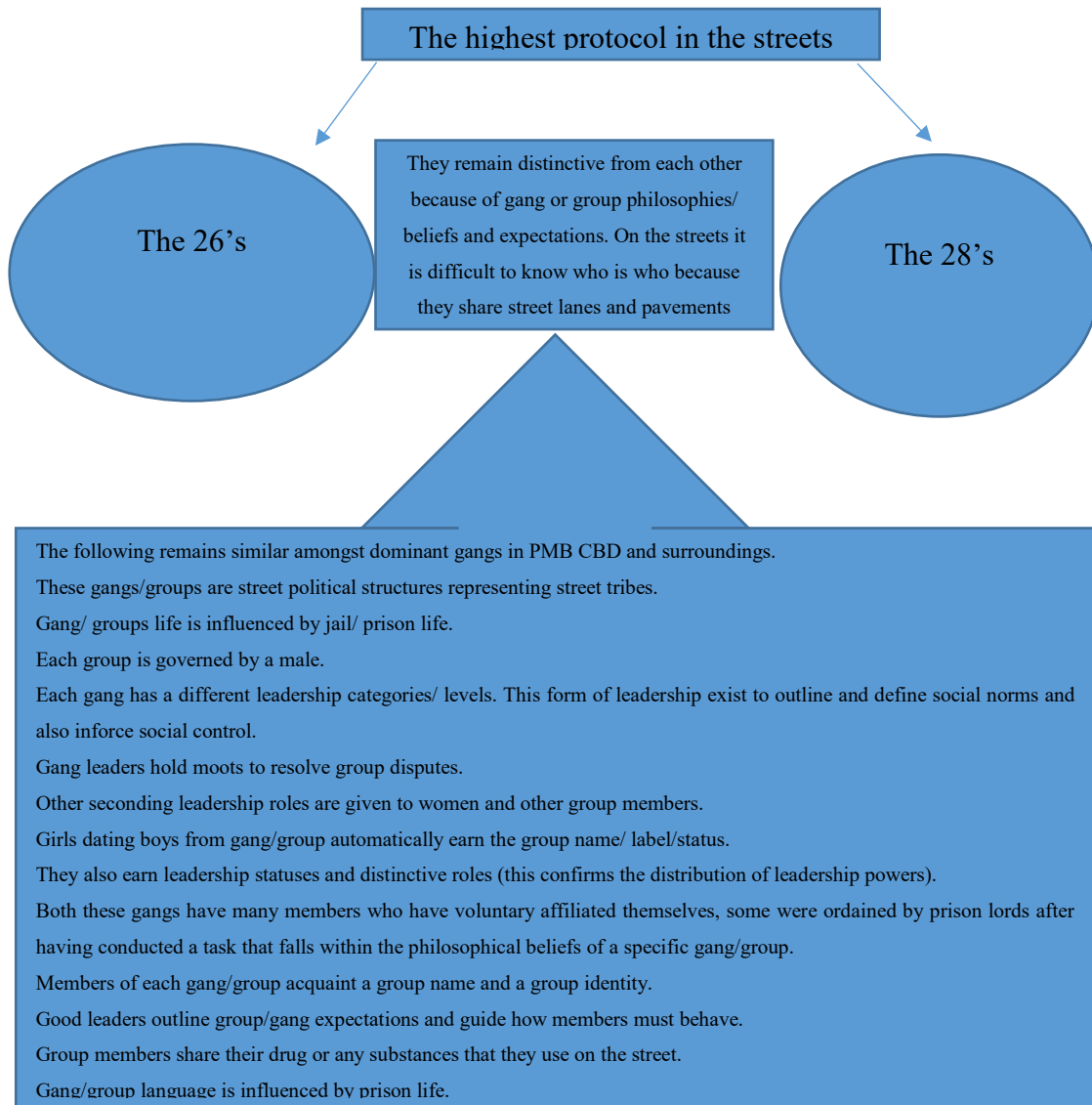
yedwa/

ontandane

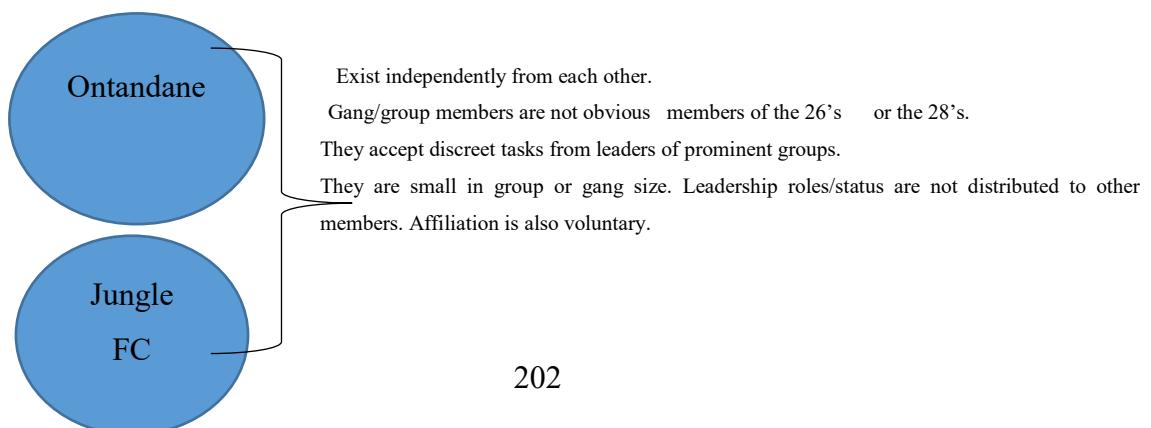
on their own

on the street.

Figure 9: Summary of gangs/groups social structures on the streets of PMB CBD and surroundings



The other two gangs/groups being :



In relation to what is presented above, Sheppard (2016: 233-249) confirmed in the study that he conducted in Bangladesh, that gangs are structures of street life. They depict a physical survival sense which is mostly desired by the population of the street. He also explains that these street structures demarcate street pavements as restricted territories. His study also expanded to note that such gangs or groups are social structures that shape or group members into a social identities on the streets and it remains unfortunate that it is predominantly linked to criminal actions. The Social Network Theory presented in Chapter Four provided that people who decided to stay or connect, do that with a purpose in mind. The theory provides that such group structures give birth to new identities which becomes a unique identity in the presence of other networks. After having had the opportunity to learn and observe how these groups are constructed and what they existed to fulfil on the streets, this study reports that the street population is becoming a society on its own. Existing gangs/groups represent a society with different tribes which are hierarchically/structurally governed. This thesis confirms that existing street structures come with assigned statuses and roles. Such group networks within the view of this research provide the studied population with any form of support that they could possibly need while surviving on the street. They also confirm a network that group members find comfort from, especially after having survived shocks on the streets. This dissertation contributes that street gangs/networks are socialized by prisons. This is the kind of information that most people don't know as encouraging street life and patterns. This thesis references these gang groups as families that exist to welcome any new people into the street. Such families accept or assume the responsibility of socializing new comers about what to expect or how to survive on the street. In the absence of a biological family structure, they become a street family structure.

This study cautions policy custodians about the expansion of such tribes on the streets. They will grow to demand basic services that are received by ordinary societies. Leaders of these groups will grow to demand incentives that are received by local ward councillors because they on the streets regulate the conduct of the street. Besides their criminal actions that are also associated with such networks, I noted that the behaviour of girls on the streets was shaped and influenced by their group affiliations. This then proves that group beliefs and behaviours are salient pillars of group members' identities. I noted that when these girls decided or opted to be part of either of the groups, they sublimated their old identities and they adopted the general identity of their group. I also noted that such young women had let go of the socialization

behaviour learnt from their families. Group networks produce group identities. Group networks or affiliations persuade them to behave in accordance with their group identity or within collective beliefs. Group networks are responsible for the socialization of their group members. This is an indication that socialization is not static, but it changes over time. Socialization has an element of performance which is regulated by the leaders of group networks. Their identity is produced by their group affiliations as well as by virtue of being on the streets.

The study also confirmed that street social groups or networks are modelled after typical patriarchal society because all the existing network groups on the streets were being led by males. Assigned roles are given to those young women dating gang leaders. This male gang leader becomes the main, instrumental leader. He has too many responsibilities which require him to define the gang identity and a gang culture on the street and in line with what imprisoned members who would be happy to see or hear about. One can also say that they exist to draw parallel distinctions of their gangs in the presence of other gangs on the street. They also protect young women especially those that have affiliated to certain gangs. Young women become gang members, not in the form of money, but through their pure willingness, security and desperation for protection. They also become group members their boyfriends are members of the gang. This study also discovered that there is another gang called the “Jungles.” They operate on their own but they also take instructions from the two ruling gangs (26s and the 28s) in the Pietermaritzburg CBD streets and surroundings. They rule Pietermaritzburg as they are found in almost every corner and in every street and allies. They stand on the road intersections with white paint on their faces which is another identity mask that they use so as not to be easily identified by those they would possibly be looking for them. I also learned that the Jungles are protected by the 26s and the 28s. The study also noted that there was a group which is called *loners/omahamba yedwa/ontandane/ izimpatha* who are also on the streets.

Young women who reported to have once been members of this group explained that every newcomer on the streets joins this particular group. They are pushed by issues of parental death and poverty and that is why they search for food from street bins. These young women also confirm that they usually come with siblings or they come because a brother is already on the streets. Boys who live in this group join different groups such as 26s and the 28s for different reasons which the girls did not divulge. They also explained that some young women that decide to join the 26s or the 28s join because they have boyfriends or because they want to be

protected because these groups have leaders who prioritize their protections. Young women dating or belonging to the 26s network group shared that *our boyfriends from our groups call us Queen*. Young women dating or belonging to the 28s network group narrated that their boyfriends and other boys of the network call them *inzabalantu* which means mothers of the universe according to their interpretation.

The feeling that I got from the narrative is that these young women received an element of respect from their boyfriends when calling them Queens or *Inzalabantu*. The outlined table also defines how interconnectedness is attained but it is important to note that girls of different network groups confirmed that there is no trust amongst their immediate groups nor with the other mentioned groups. This study also reports that street life is regulated by a patriarchal structural leadership which confirms a male as the only capable leader on the street. The question follows “are we seeing patriarchal teachings or roots are transcending and entrenching deeper instead of weakening?” These are issues that need to be discussed in the next seating of the African Feminist conferences. Chapter Six of this thesis thoroughly delineates the extent of this structural leadership. This is another contribution that this particular thesis has brought to the existing body of literature. This thesis is the first to write about existing street leaders in PMB CBD and surroundings. Different researchers have in their write-up mentioned that street life is full of gangs but they have never mentioned gang names as well as their external regulators. This thesis is the first one to mention that street life is shaped by prison life. The existing literature has reported about drug pimps on the streets (Dabir, 2014 and Kassay et al. 2017).

5.5. 7. Protected by my “own” sexuality

Sphume narrated that their homosexual identity has played an influential role in terms of protection as she is a young women living on the street. This narrative intrigued me during her in-depth interview. Her narrative is as follows:

...We [including her girlfriend] haven't been victims of rape on the streets because many of our street friends still don't know that we are girls because we dress up like boys and we hang out with boys the majority of times. Si skeema nama awuthi [slang language] ...we simply mean we do what boys do...besides that we have never been to jail...

This theme is one of the most important themes being discussed in this thesis. The study discovered that there are also lesbians on the streets. The mentioning of being protected by her own sexuality raised my curiosity as I did not foresee such a narrative. I also took interest in this narrative because we live in a society that is too homophobic. The blame can't be pinned on any form of hegemonic patriarchy but mostly expressed by all people who consider themselves being straight or heterosexual. Gender specialists have listed in their literature sources that lesbians (being young women dating the same sex) have been targets of verbal abuse and other threats. Other sources have reported that they have been victims of rape because some men would want to remind them that they are females not males. Other writers also reported that their partners have also been stigmatized and often called by names which are against their sexual orientation. Some critiques stem from religious beliefs whose beliefs are that God the creator created Adam and Eve, not Adam and Adam. This theme categorises people whose sexual orientation differs from the biblical analogy and are more immoral and forbidden by the creator as well by their ancestors. In relation to their sexual identity on the street, the findings of this particular study mention that lesbians have confirmed that they have never been victims of rape while living on the street or to have been undermined by males on the streets because of their preferred sexuality. This theme gives a sense of an anti-homophobic population being the population of the street and space that is mostly dreamed by many who are afraid of coming out of their shells because they are afraid of being rejected by people they live with or people they might come across. The population of the street, especially street boys are commended for not being rape predators and for not encouraging maltreatment of lesbians. It is the belief of this thesis that the entire PMB society can learn from the respect that the population of the street embrace for other people preferred sexuality.

5.6. Part 6: Shocking experiences of street life

According to Gibson (2011) and Flowers (2010) noted in their independent studies that street life is mostly filled with gloomy experiences Those living on the street are victimized and left saddened by shocks (Couch, 2010, Kwaku et al. 2015 and Larney et al. 2009). It becomes their responsibility to console themselves because street life does not offer them any emotional support or therapy (Asante, 2015). There is no family or parental love and support on the street. They are on their own. Their emotional and psychological trauma is not reported as they don't have access to debriefing counselling services. It is through such gloomy experiences that they gain resilience and begin to protect themselves and that where and when they get to be labelled

as criminals. The mentioning of shocks on the streets, validates that they are not treated like normal or ordinary people. They are taken for granted and access to sanitation is one street challenge. The unavailability of confirmed sanitation on the street propels them to be taken for granted as they sometimes don't bath for days. This how they got to be given different identity labels because they are dirty as don't bath as they hope while living on the street.

Vulnerability was first factor delineated in the presentation of the problem statement in Chapter One. Tallis (2012) in Chapter Four of this research also theorized that women and girls endure a significant toll of vulnerability both within their families and within their societies. The above theme was developed as a follow up question because in many of the above narratives there was an element of having been shocked by things that had happened while these girls had been on the street. This theme was developed because of the content of the African Feminist Theory which provides a list of comprehensive issues and situations that affect a female person. I wanted to record their daily situation (inclusive of daily shocks) that young women encountered on the street and how they overcome such experiences. The posed question explored an in-depth situation, hence this theme outlines chronicles, episodes of personal and micro-events that have been endured by the studied population on the streets. This thesis provides a complete understanding of what troubles a young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

I asked them to share their vulnerability shocks that came as part of living on the street. This question was also asked to record their shocks and confirm the validity of the existing literature which has pronounced that girls on the street face numerous challenges on the streets. Asante (2015) is one of the recent writers who have confirmed that street life includes daily shocks. The situation of girls and women is thoroughly described in Chapter Four through the delineation of theoretical frameworks that outline the situation of women and young women in particular. The listed theoretical frameworks elucidate different situations and contexts that compromise the total wellbeing of women and girls in their own families, in societies and in other social spaces or platforms. The validity of existing literature sources that have elucidated the challenges of the streets was confirmed by the following narratives which I drew from in-depth interviews and during the focus group discussion.

Recorded narratives depicted vulnerability shocks that have been experienced by the studied population because of their daily living on the streets. Chronicled vulnerability shocks

confirmed that street pavements and lanes are like typical societies which are not ready to maximise the care and the protection of girls. This means that girls are growing up in a society that cannot guarantee their welfare.

5.6.1. The battle of masculinity and femininity when doing sex on the streets

Kottak (2013) state that anthropologists have gathered systematic ethnographic data about how masculinity and femininity is defined and expressed in societies that are highly gendered. One of the existing debates around masculinity and femininity is about the one (masculinity) subordinating the other (femininity). The above themes have confirmed this masculinity versus femininity experience. The reported experiences confirms the content of the African Feminist Theory and Vulnerability Model presented as theoretical frameworks. These theoretical frameworks provide a thorough lens of how the patriarchal society subordinates women and young women which promotes or yields on gender equality. Africa Feminists are advocating for the society that should strive to protect the rights of women instead of damaging them. They envisage a society that will encourage women and young women to speak and represent their feeling in all societal spaces that include the bedroom or anywhere where sex is involved. They strongly advocate social, cultural and economic factors should not be conditions that subordinate women and young women in the process of presenting their sexuality, sensuality and in the process of negotiating safe sex. The writing context confirms that men have more economic strength which gives them power or full control of their women, particularly those they have sex relations with even on the street. Money creates relation levels between two partners, those without money don't have a say and this compromises women and young women's ability to influence how sex is to be enjoyed because they don't bring money into their relationship.

The above mentioned theme is also motivated by the mentioning of housewives on the streets. This is a new category that this study recorded during in-depth interviews and it was confirmed during the focus group session. I must note that I was reluctant to ask about sex because intercourse between two people remains a private affair in my culture, but I wanted to understand if masculinity shapes the conditions and terms of how and when sex is practised on the streets. I wanted to learn if masculinity supersedes young women's sexuality, sensuality, sexual identity and their sexual pleasure on the streets. While others still confirmed that their boyfriends did consider their sexuality, sensuality and their sexual desires before and during

sexual intercourse others mentioned that there were conditions that were stipulated by their boyfriends. One condition was that they won't use a condom as it garbles the envisaged pleasure. The perception of pleasure is not considerate of a young women's sexual pleasure but that which is desired by her boyfriend. Naidu and Ngqila (2013) posit that in most African societies, sexual pleasure to men is violence to women. Masculinity is used to impose decisions on a young women (Nkealah, 2016). This study reports that conditions of sex and protection are defined by the boyfriend and the young women's desire to use a condom is not being entertained. A notable finding is that sex is no longer a sexual enjoyment between two lovers, but young women are taken as silent sex objects. Being housewives, which is a newly reported category of young women living on the streets, means they expose themselves to unprotected sex suggested by their working boyfriends. In my view, this is another form of transactional sex but in this case, the sex is no made practised to sustain the daily provision of food. According the UNFPA (2012) report, this is very same experience that continues to compromise sexual reproductive health and rights of most young women in Southern Africa, as well as internationally. The studied population narrated that *sometimes our boyfriends don't approve the usage of condoms when having sex*. This was another focus group finding which encouraged me to ask why others approve the use of condoms and why other boys disapprove of the use of condoms.

Table 4: Reasons for using condoms and for not using condoms when having sex on the streets

Conditions of using condoms	Conditions of not using condoms on the streets
Our boyfriends are not ready to be fathers on the streets/ to avoid unplanned pregnancies.	Such boys claim to be our husbands as they provide for us.
Some of us have tested positive and we don't want to infect each other	They say they don't enjoy having or eating sweets that are wrapped up
	It is an indication of commitment and trust
	We are both HIV positive

The above table give a sense that young women's vulnerability is always in the hands of men. Their role of being vulnerable come as a result of being less empowered and their desperation to belong or please her counterpart. Reported conditions of not using condoms on the streets were reported to be grounded in patriarchy. Lerclerc-Madlala (2000)is one of the anthropologists that have written exhaustively about the use of condoms in Africa. Her contribution listed that the non-use of condoms in Africa is linked to existing metaphors such as “ *you can't eat sweets that are wrapped up...sex is taste better if is flesh to flesh...you only use a protection with someone you don't trust...but you don't use it with your steady girlfriend*”. She says these are issues that still exist in most societies which compromise the voice of women and young women to negotiate safe sex. Through such metaphors, women and young women become vulnerable to sexual transmitted illnesses as well as the HIV/AIDS pandemic and unwanted pregnancies.

Their narration is as follows: *no we don't give consent...our boyfriend's sex us without putting on a condom. They claim to be enjoying it much better. This has put us in the risk of being HIV infected but we don't blame them because it could be consequences of prostitution that we once did when we first came to the streets.* The mentioning of not wanting to use a condom shows sex and the pleasure that it comes with is regulated by men. This is an indication of a sense of entitlement and control that boyfriends on the streets have over their girlfriends because they are food providers. Again this study also reports that some young women eventually consent to having sex without a condom because of also practicing prostitution which came with the risk of contracting the HIV virus. I note that the level of dependency that these young women had on their boys as they lived on the streets did not make them dispute whatever was recommended or pleased their boyfriends. They are submissive, which is an ongoing concern or campaign that is largely abolished by the African Feminist theory, as mentioned in Chapter Four. The continuation of submissiveness widens the gap between femininity and masculinity even on the streets. This is an indication of non-balanced socialization as well as the enculturation of girls as compared to boys which reflects where they come from. In relation to how masculinity continues to suppress the will of girls on the street, Ilan (2015:24-35) postulates that street life and its culture will forever condemn the voice of girls on the streets. He further mentions that one must remember that boys continue to behave the way they were raised in

their own families before they joined streets; the same as with girls. Boys are raised as men while girls are raised as babies. Jones (2010:17) asserts that families and societies have from infancy not empowered girls and young women to be decision makers. They have been raised under the authority of men not from their liberal point of view. They remain as babies - that is why arrogant men make decisions that negatively affect them. The family and the society control women to a point of not even trusting their own selves. This makes them more prone to any form of vulnerability perpetuated mostly by men. Furthermore, Ilan (2015) notes that the dependency of young women on their boyfriends while on the streets is a result of not being able to cope on the streets because young women are soft in nature. They become fragile in the street life and its culture worsens the level of vulnerability of girls and young women within the circle of their boyfriends on the streets.

Having captured reasons for not using condoms and the decision to use condoms, I went back to ask if *whoonga/nyaope* was another form of a contraceptive strategy since they had mentioned that they were longer having their monthly menstruation. The studied population was not able to respond to this probing which therefore encourages me to continue with this study after the completion of my PhD project.

5.6.2. Experiences of unpaid prostitution

Prostitution also known as commercialized or transactional sex has been reported by many writers as a socio economic venture of beautiful girls or of sex perverts. It is often associated with an act of immorality done through legal and illegal agencies. The act of immorality is usually drawn from the religious beliefs who believe *that one's body is the temple of Christ*. Even those coming from strong cultural beliefs will also confirm that girls/ young women who are practicing prostitution are highly immoral and that their ancestors are not pleased with such a behaviour. The contemporary writing lists factors that are associated with unemployment and poverty to be a driving force behind commercialized sex. They strongly argue that poverty leaves girls and young women with no socio-economic options but to make a living out of transactional sex. Poverty widens sexuality vulnerability of women, young women and girls in Africa and in other parts of the world. Oloruntobo-Oju (2011: 3), the general editor of *Sexuality in Africa Magazine and Monographs*, agrees that women and young women become victims of sexual vulnerability because of being desperate to make ends meet in Africa. Poverty put them in awkward situations which exposes them to sex related injuries such as sexual abuse,

sexual manipulation and domination which often leaves them with sexual transmitted diseases, which is usually an undesired outcome.

This study recorded that street life also leads to prostitution and this is also linked to the brutal poverty that remains the daily experience of the street population. In both data collection sessions (in-depth interviews and during the focus group discussion), young women mentioned repeatedly that transactional sex is one of the fending strategies that most of the young women have opted for. This study confirm that poverty on the street has turned some of the studied population into a *daily bread of sex*. The sexual pleasure is confirmed to being the pleasure of men only. Sex is a survival strategy that confirms money if she gets paid after the sex transaction or pain in case she was not paid after sex. Other than responding to the brutality of poverty, drug addiction was also one of the reasons that encouraged them to exchange their bodies for paying sex. This money-making strategy was recorded to have exposed them to acquiring HIV/AIDS which was never diagnosed before coming to live on the streets. They repeatedly said:

Most of us got HIV/AIDS from emthoyi [most of them in the focus group discussion pulled a said face which got me wanting to know what is meant by emthoyi] they further narrated that It is a spot where we do prostitution even on the ground or on the grass. Sex is not a private matter in that spot and we are not ashamed. I further probed, could you please explain how you got HIV/AIDS...Sunshine responded, being a girl on the street exposes you to a lot of danger maam [referring to me], I nodded to encourage her to continue and she eventually said.....Some of our sex clients don't approve the use of condoms, they even say they must get more pleasure for the money they are paying. They collectively narrated some of their clients believe in flesh to flesh sexual intercourse. They sometimes don't pay us and threaten to kill us.

Other than the vulnerability context that poverty has exposed the studied population to, this thesis reports that prostitution subjugates women to the level of being minors or being voiceless. This becomes evident when the use of condoms becomes the decision made and taken by a male client. What is noted from the narratives is that commercialized sex clients literally take those practising sex on the streets as sex objects whose sexual concerns and pleasure is not be considered. Sex on the streets is used to exploit women and the question is what it is that women and young women will do without being undermined by men? Tallis (2012), the author of the Vulnerability Model presented as a theoretical framework in the Chapter Four of this thesis , confirms that the sexual vulnerability of women and young women is a result of men thinking that they have more power over females and females not being

empowered to protect themselves. Naidu (2013) also argues that sex involves unbalanced power which is mostly confirmed in the hands of men, not of women.

This theme was recorded to again write about the brutal experience of young women who are violated by men that don't want to pay for sexual services. Prostitution is sex work that is mostly considered or associated with immorality. Aderinto (2007) argues that unpaid prostitution is a violation of women's and young women human rights. They are usually on their own because they are not protected by government, not unless prostitution in that country is legalized. Those doing it are mostly ill-treated by their clients. The studied population particularly those doing prostitution also mentioned that they are periodically victims of unpaid prostitution which is an abuse of their bodies. The African Feminist Theory is also against the virility that overshadows the happiness of women. From the perspectives of the theory already mentioned, this thesis holds that, unpaid prostitution is another form of rape or sexual violence against women and young women. Sex is used to punish them and to confirm that they are such useless objects, not human beings with emotions and rights. This brutal experience skews their identity from being normal human beings into being sex slaves. They narrated as follows:

Some men, even decent men, take advantage of us...they sex us for mahala (meaning they don't pay us), some don't pay us according to our rates...Some don't want to use condoms.

The above narrative affirms that men who buy sex use their masculine powers to take advantage of girls that live on the street and take on prostitution as a survival strategy. This confirms that masculinity continues to be a gender weapon that subordinates women to the needs of men even on the streets. This study also constructs that men, particularly those who are sex buyers, use women as mats for their sexual pleasures and desires. This study also categorises unpaid prostitution as a form of sexual abuse that must be listed within the scope of sexual abuse. Grey (2010) asserts that the number of cases of unpaid prostitution that remain unresolved by the law, indicate that women's dignity continues to be vandalized in our societies. Aderinto (2007) agree that sex work/ prostitution take a toll on the sex workers. They are victims of underdevelopment and continue to be excluded from the protection of the state. They experience injuries because they are abused in the process. The sex that they do is dehumanizing as there is no sex worker who takes pride in what she does. Many disregard their

job as more degrading and they are mostly judged. They are mostly bruised internally and externally.

5.6.3. Experiences of rape

Rape has been listed or referred as a form of sexual violence/ exploitation and most young women are not empowered to report or talk about such issues. It is also a violation of human rights and an invasion of one sexual orientation. Rape is an act that emphasises gender imbalance (Akinyemi, 2010) and Fatusi and Hindin (2010). It is usually done by men who see women and young women as sex objects, rather than ordinary human beings. Rape is forced sex not a consented one. Rapist are usually armed as they are capable of threatening rape victims before and after the incident. Rape maximizes opportunities of acquiring various communicable infections which the population of the street cannot respond to or are aware of. Such communicable diseases threaten their lives as they are mostly not completely cured but managed by some medication. The population of the street is usually not welcomed in most health facilities as they are in most times associated with criminals particularly those who will snatch handbags or hold the facility at hostage (Santosa, 2009). They are not trusted by anyone, even those who are tasked to offer government services without prejudice and exclusions. This socially constructed identity becomes an accessibility infringement that they can't resolve which also don't make them direct beneficiaries of programmes such as sexual reproductive health and rights. This programme is one of the implemented programs in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The content of the program is to empower young women about issues that speak issues that disregard their sexuality, sensuality and other socio-economic issues. *We experience severe vulnerabilities because some of us are raped by street boys particularly those who are not in our group/network...* The mentioning of rape on the streets validates what has been written by others and it also indicates that some girls are raped which compromises their sexuality, sensuality as well as their sexual identity. In relation to how they survive or claim their self-esteem after being victims of rape, they narrated as follows. *It is difficult to redeem your self-esteem because other girls they laugh at you. They ask very painful questions which are as are you sure that you were raped because sex is part of the street game? As well as were you raped or the guy did not pay you after sex?*

Victims of rape on the streets shared that they are stuck in a cycle of rape because they did not receive proper counselling and what pains them the most is to see those boys back on the streets

after a short period of imprisonment. This narration confirms that masculinity and rape is the worst enemy of sexuality (which is the feeling of having a sexual desire without being pressured or subjected by the counterpart to feel so); the worst enemy of sensuality (which refers to one's preferred sexual pleasure and a sense of satisfaction.); and the worst enemy of sexual intimacy (which is the feeling of being connected with or to the person whom you are having sex with) because raped survivors do not have intimacy relations with those who are imposing sex on them. Masculinity and rape continue to compromise the sexual identity (which is the interpretation of a felt or preferred gender or sexual orientation, a state of being either a male or a female). It goes without questioning that they are hurt and disappointed. They are chronically depressed (Mhizha et al., 2016, Melaku, 2014, and Flowers, 2010). Government and non-government organizations such as Youth for Christ and FAMSA must be seen providing counselling or debriefing sessions. With specific reference to the interventions by non-government organizations, in the scarcity of resources to do this, government in PMB must be in the position to financially support them so that they will continue to the third arm that they were known to be. This thesis also argues that the relevance of non-government organization in caring for and empowering women and young women must be part of the African Feminist advocacy plan or strategy. If they could recognize their welfare contribution, they will be able to influence the state to support them with resources they need. Ndlovu (2015: 221) posits that strengthening and resourcing of non-government organization would ensure that there is a 'semi-official eye' on the street. This dissertation suggest to the Pietermaritzburg policy custodians, families and societies to benchmark with this African tried intervention which was tried in Bulawayo and it is yielding good outcomes.

5.6.4. Experiences of untraced pregnancies

According to the UNFPA (2016) report, pregnancy among young women is usually not their choice but it comes as an end result of her being sexually violated. The mentioning of untraced pregnancies by those who are survive the street poverty through commercialized sex gave an indication that prostitution is not for sexual pleasure which can be celebrated with pregnancy. The mentioning of untraced pregnancies was uttered in both in-depth interviews and during the focus group discuss with bitterness. Their facial expressions communicated that a traumatic shock on the street had been experienced. Chapter Two of this thesis listed trauma as one of the daily vulnerabilities and further indicated that they are most likely to become re-victimized because those who don't live on the street treat them as less human beings (Tyler, 2006). This

theme was developed because it is one of the key findings of the study. Many writers have only mentioned prostitution as a survival strategy on the street but fell short in listing the consequences of prostitution. This study is filling a gap which reports that prostitution where the study was conducted has resulted in untraced pregnancies. They narrated as follows:

...some of us are victims of untraced pregnancies and we are forced to abort such pregnancies...

They mentioned that untraced pregnancies are a result of the unprotected sex that is usually demanded by clients who pay them high rates because they enjoy flesh-to-flesh sex. They also mentioned that they also suspect that they also fall pregnant when having sex with their boyfriends and clients who don't want to use condoms. In Chapter Two of this thesis Tyler (2006) listed this as a sexual vulnerability experience which has pushed many young women from their own families. He further mentioned that this vulnerability becomes cyclical as young women encounter it as they survive on the street daily. I further probed if they did not use contraceptive pills in order to avoid such experienced pregnancies. They responded by saying that *you lose customers if you take contraceptive pills because they make you cold...* The existing literature around the hegemonic masculinity confirms such statements as metaphors used by men have unreasonable disrespect of women and their sexual organs. The content of the literature explicitly state that such village metaphors insult a women or = young women in our societies. This metaphor communicate myths one being that a women/ young women using contraceptives is not warm enough to satisfy a men sex pleasure. In addition, this metaphor belittles a women/ young women's vagina and compares it to a refrigerator/ cold room which is the only thing that transmits cold air and no one tolerates being cold. This is an outright insult that the studied population encounters when trying to make ends meet on the streets. This metaphor tells about the mentality of men out there where the study was conducted. One can image the psychological effect that lasts in their minds after being told that their vagina is cold. According to them, being cold refers not having a warm or a hot vagina which is mostly required by their customers. I also asked them about the morning-after pill. They responded that a morning-after pill is expensive and it is not easy to buy it because pharmacists take down your name every time you buy it. They narrated as follows *...it makes it difficult to buy the pill because all pharmacists take down your name every time you buy it and it is not possible to give new names every time because pharmacies are very limited here in Pietermaritzburg.*

When asking about their recovery strategy after the experienced shock, girls mentioned that abortion is the best recovery strategy but they also indicated that their conscience does not find peace within the first few days. I then asked them if they are able to access abortion clinical services from the nearest clinics and hospitals. Their narrative is as follows... *Yes, we do get help. We are not discriminated as some people would assume. Some of us even get condoms from such health structures and facilities.*

The non-usage of contraceptives by the mentioned population confirmed that these girls live without the knowledge or the understanding of their sexual reproductive health and rights. I therefore recommend the Department of Health in partnership with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) to capacitate such young women because they have programmes that they are rolling out within KwaZulu-Natal which could empower the studied population about their rights as they live or survive on the streets. The content of their programmes can prioritize issues of family planning and safer sexual and reproductive health behaviour. This information will empower the studied population to make and take decisions of using contraceptives based on their rational thinking, not the perverted reasoning of men. These two stakeholders in Pietermaritzburg can also conduct road shows targeting young women on the streets and disseminate the National Youth Policy(2010) from which they will begin to critically analyse if such policies also exist to respond to their issues on the street or not. With this policy they will be empowered with issues of their health rights, how to respond to early marriage, access to education amongst other development benefits.

I asked them to elaborate on their abortion experience...it became clear that they those who had aborted their pregnancies were not comfortable to talk about it. This confirms that a young women on the street does not collect good memories, but her day-to-day experiences overwhelm her with sadness and sorrow that she bottles up. This confirms the cycle that keeps on entangling a young women's psychosocial state. At home she endured a pain which eventually pushed her to the street. On the street she still endures pain that she still can talk about. She finds herself in the state because the family, society and the state has failed to create a conducive environment that has empowered her to express her emotions. She has always cried a lonely cry and she even continues even on the street. Even when she cries openly, no one notices because she is just recognized as a minor, not a human being with emotions.

5.6.5. Victims of HIV/AIDS

Uddim et al. (2014), Swahan et al. (2016) and Talyer et al. (2016) have, in their independent qualitative studies, confirmed that the population of the streets is vulnerable to the rife of HIV/AIDS. Most writers have in their research reported that HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases remain the daily experience of the population of the street. The life style of the street is a driving force that maximizes opportunities of HIV/AIDS. Jones (2010) is that HIV/AIDS should be listed and be reported as a chronic war against women. They are either raped or given no choice because of not being empowered to negotiate the use of condoms. HIV/AIDS is an oppressive condition that victimized young women on the street experience where the study was conducted. They confirmed it as a condition of street life. To others it brought back deep sorrow because their parents died because of HIV/AIDS. They say the very same virus has entered their immune system and this confirms them to be cursed, being punished by their gods or by their ancestors. The mentioning of HIV/AIDS as a shock also raised different emotions amongst the studied cohort. It became evident that many of them had parents who had died because of HIV/AIDS.

In my own analysis, this is a causal web: masculinity victimizes women, masculinity disregards young women's sexuality which is why some men don't want to use a condom, and choose not to pay those practicing prostitution, propels untraceable pregnancy and HIV/AIDS, which means that unprotected prostitution makes one prone to acquiring HIV/AIDS and end up being victims of untraced pregnancies. This is a cycle of gender inequality, gender subordination all this inhibits the happiness of a young woman on the street. Young women living on the street and practicing commercialized sex admitted that they are HIV positive because of prostitution

...we do prostitution on the street as survival strategy but there is a risk involved because some of our clients, particularly those who pay us high rates, don't want to use condoms. you find yourself having sex with many people and that has left me HIV positive. It is difficult to tell our clients that we are HIV positive...if the person doesn't want to use a condom...hay uyoziholo yena [meaning he is on his own].

After this captured narration, young women in the focus groups hummed in agreement. The above data declares that prostitution compromises all strategies and means to halve or decrease the numbers of people living with HIV/AIDS. There is a need for an *iNdaba* where the effects will be discussed as a survival strategy on the streets and where further focus will be delegated to the various ways that can be implemented to protect these girls in the process of transactional

sex. If the *iNdaba* is delayed, the government must make sure that the girls of the street have access to the new female condom called Cupid and they must be empowered on how to use it.

5.6.6. Other experiences on the streets

5.6.6.1.. Water is a scarce resource on the street

All the girls that had participated in the study narrated that they would go for days without a proper bath because they sometimes did not get water from government public toilets. *That is why other people call us with bad names because we go for days without having had a proper bath.* Amahle stated that they sometimes go to YfC to have a bath but this organization is quite far from where they live. Those who knew about YfC said they did not have satellite offices close to them to use for bathing. All girls voiced that they used water streams and waterfalls to bath and it became difficult in winter because the water was extremely cold.

All the girls that participated in the focus group discussion collectively voiced that they did not have organizations or departments who could have supplied them with sanitary towels and that was why they sometimes worked as sex workers in order to have money to buy cheap towels. Three out of the eight girls who participated in the focus group discussion did not say anything but they nodded while other girls were sharing their narratives. I then felt that they were relating to all the narrations that were voiced by other girls in the focus group. I was then motivated to ask how they felt about the names the public used for them. Their general feeling was that such names do not settle well with them because they are not what and who they are. They felt excluded from the society at large. They felt as always misjudged and they sensed hatred from the entire public.

5.6.6.2. Midnight police raids and drug searching

Being the population of the streets means that one lives or sleeps in unrestricted spaces (Jasinski et al. 2010, HSRC, 2008, Ilan, 2015, Kebede, 2015 and Karlsson, 2015). The homeless person does not have a formal locked up bedroom which could policeman could knock on before raiding. They sleep where they find themselves at the end of the day. This self-reliance strategy exposes them to such shocks which come with brutal experiences. Many international writers in the subject of *streetism* have commonly mentioned that boys on the streets are constantly on the run because policemen beat them and send them to jail. Karlsson (2015) Fernandes and

Voughn (2008), Ndlovu (2015), Hill et al., (2016) as well as Gaetz et al. (2010) confirmed in their studies that the population of the street are particularly victims of announced police arbitrary arrests and roundups. Seager and Tamasane (2010) posited that homeless people are very prone to assault and injury. Swepaul et al (2012) confirmed in their study that the population of the street is usually harassed and assaulted by metro police as well as South African Police Service (SAPS). They are mostly victimized for crimes that they did not commit. Dryjanska (2014) mentioned that the population of the street has lost trust to a point of hating social workers and policemen because of the unpleasant treatment they get from such professionals. Other writers mention that such boys are constantly on the run because they are always guilty of many criminal strategies as they live on the streets. This research also brings forward that policemen beat the studied population when conducting midnight street raids and drug searches. Them being beaten by policemen confirms their physical, emotional as well as their psychological vulnerabilities which gives an indication that they don't appear as decent young women even in front of law enforcers and they don't have any of respect for them. It is the view of this thesis that such young women need to have organizations that advocate for the rights and project them against unfair, brutal or discriminating policy systems. Tyler (2006) supports this sentiment as he mentioned in his qualitative research findings that governments in all countries must be seen putting measures and systems in place that will adequately support and protect the rights of people who live on the street. Their right to live in a safe and a non-violent environment must become the priority of government, not their responsibility. It is a challenge on its own to be bothered about where to sleep and what to eat on the street.

The studied population confirmed that policemen are their worst enemies on the streets. They also confirmed that they were always shocked by unannounced midnight police raids and drug searches. The population of the street is often chased by policemen. They are detained/remanded for having being found with drugs, illegal possessions and because they must be reunited with their families (Van Blerk: 2007). Young women where the study was conducted voiced that they are traumatized by this because everyone knows that drugs are part of their daily life, their language and are the game of the streets. *Policemen must stop parading and detaining us.* Some expressed that they are abused by police people because some policemen spray them with water when they come for midnight raids and drug searches. *Ma'am who can sleep with or under wet blankets?* [this was their helpless expression]. Others said some

policemen drive over them with scooters as they sleep on the street pavements. This confirmed their predicament of being prone to many vulnerabilities.

Others said, *when our boyfriends are caught with drugs they are taken to prison for few days and they are returned. Without them we are not safe on the streets. Moreover, when they come back they share with us that such policemen abuse them in the prison cells.*

They reiterated *...our boyfriends are not jailed and properly sentenced like other crimes. They are only taken for few days where they only sign a form called J6 at the police station. In this short time imprisonment affects them because roosta affects them and such police people do not know how to control or ease this drug addiction symptom. Our boyfriends must not be jailed when caught with whoonga/nyaope because addiction effects are very painful.*

In relation to their shock experiences, they shared that it was difficult to rise above this shock because they could not report the abuse they got from policemen. They further noted that it was difficult to report policemen because they are owners of the law. This is an indication that any child or youth on the streets does not have rights and policemen cannot be guaranteed as protectors of these rights while they are living on the streets because they themselves abuse them. I am motivated to recommend an urgent *iNdaba* that will be empowering the girls and the boys on the streets about their entitled rights. A major output of the *iNdaba* would be a signed declaration of their rights and the limitations of such rights.

5.6.6.3. Death of our fellow girls and brothers of the street

This theme was collected at the time where Pietermaritzburg as a whole was confronted with a major incidents where children, girls and young women were reported daily to be missing with no trace. This finding was also presented to balance the content of the existing literature which has listed death as one of the common effects or daily effects that have been experienced by boys on the streets. This study confirms that even young women on the street where the study was conducted die and what makes it sad is that their remains are untraceable or that they witness the death of their friends. The conducted study on the already mentioned cohort also confirms that they have been shocked by the death of their fellow girls and brothers on the streets. The narration of death was thematised into three categories as follows:

5.6.6.3. Untraceable killings while doing prostitution

Prostitution which Njord et al (2010: 114) call as commercial/ transactional or survival sex was earlier mentioned as a survival strategy on the streets. It was also mentioned as leading to unwanted pregnancies and as encouraging the spread of HIV/AIDS amongst the studied population. Prostitution is mentioned under this theme as leading to untraceable deaths which have been experienced by the Pietermaritzburg community. Writers on the subject of *streetism* have recorded and confirmed that prostitution is the game of the streets and they have also mentioned that it exposes girls to severe brutality. Violence in the form of beating girls and young women before and after sex is also noted amongst the disadvantages of prostitution. Within the existing literature sources around prostitution, I have noted that very little has been mentioned about their deaths, and their killers do not become known because they are untraceable. Forensic anthropology finds relevance as it specializes in crime cases that don't seem to have sound closure. This information is appreciated for providing baseline data from which a crime case can be opened and be thoroughly investigated. Coy (2012) and Morselli and Savoie-Gargiso (2014) agree in their independent studies that many girls have been harmed and coerced during prostitution and culprits are not easily traced. Coy (2012: 45-46) note that this act continues to rise because prostitution is not legalized in most countries. Some transactions happen under trees or in dark corners rather than in open spaces because it is an act that is highly prohibited by people as well as by many policy and biblical doctrines. She further states that prostitution must be noted as a survival strategy for some people and the practice must not be miscategorised as a shameful practice.

Coy's (2012) writing postulates that it is important to understand the pull and push factors of prostitution before pointing at or making wrong interpretations about those who practise it. In the same vein, Cunningham and Cromer (2016, 228-244) note that prostitution also encourages human trafficking. They say that some people are not killed during prostitution but trafficked to other countries and they do not find their way back. Swanson (2016: 596) notes that the legalization of prostitution will maximize the protection of those who are practising it, because such transactions will be policy regulated and prostitution will be practised in protected places. For Swanson, cases of missing and trafficked women will be traced and be properly managed. He notably mentioned that the legalization of prostitution will also minimize the chances of sex abuse and gender inequality that is widened by abuse cases in the prostitution transactions.

The findings of this study are that prostitution in the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounds has caused untraceable death cases with some girls of the street.

Some of our friends who practice prostitution have been killed and found rotten in the fields or in black plastic bags after days of being announced missing. Some of them are found with missing or amputated body parts. Sunshine narrated during the focus group discussion exclaimed by saying *'ma'am...if you live here in PMB you must have heard that girls are abducted by strangers and they are found dead... [she stopped and they all kept quiet].*

I probed by saying, "Yes I have heard about such painful incidents, please tell me how they affect you guys". Sunshine who also practices prostitution as a survival strategy narrated that *those girls were our friends on the streets and it is very painful because they were killed while trying to make a living.* Sunshine and Londeka continued to lament as follows..... *Why are we being killed by people who have it all?* They voiced that the emotional wounds based on the killing of their friends had not healed because there were no answers or reasons for their killing and they were not sure about who the next girl would be.

The above narration gives an indication that they were traumatised by the expressed shocking episodes. This is an indication that the studied population had fallen into the cracks of public policies, and also in the cracks of other services such as that of trauma and depression services.

The girls mentioned that the prostitution that they were practising on the streets was also approved of by their boyfriend on the streets. The confirmed that they felt protected when accompanied by their boyfriends to the prostitution spots called *emthoyi*. They shared that the boyfriend determined the sex price. The sex buyer pays the boy before they leave. The boyfriend would maximize the protection and the return of his girlfriend by taking down the registration number of the car. I recommend other researchers to investigate the nature of consent that girls make towards the pricing of the prostitution rates that are said to be stipulated by their boyfriends.

Sunshine, during the interview, mentioned that prostitution also put their clients in danger. She narrated as follows: *it once happened that one of our clients on the street was hijacked and killed while he was still negotiating a sex price with this other girl [part of the street population...she was quoted as a reference] where we stand. This left with a huge shock*

because we don't know the hijackers. It was a terrible experience because it also compromised our business. Now we are confronted with the killing of our girls on the streets. She continued to express that ...the killing of our girls is probably a silent revenge of the guy that was killed or what.

The above narrative confirms that street prostitution exacerbates vulnerability.

5.6.6.4. Victims of cold blooded gunshots

The continuing victimization of girls and boys on the streets by members of the public and unknown people is a concern. Many writers have mentioned this in their writings but have neglected to provide a solution to the street trauma. Aptekar and Stoecklin (2014) mention that the victimization of anyone who lives on the street is an output of the low levels of treatment that members of the public and policy custodians have towards such people. They continue to say that such dehumanizing inferences or references that have been constructed by public members belittles their value as human beings which is why they are forever victims. The following narration divulges that there have been cases of cold blooded gunshots and killings of street girls and boys by strangers.

One day we were at the place that is called the Drug House. This house is situated in one of the popular streets here in Pietermaritzburg..... a white car came through and fired six bullets towards us as we were busy smoking whoonga/nyaope...two of our friends died on the spot in that accident scene. No one was jailed because the car did not have a registration number.

In relation to how they survived this particular incident, they shared that they were no longer visiting such drug spaces because they did not want to be killed.

5.6.6.5. Death of our friends while sleeping on the street pavements and shop verandas

Writers like Woan, Lin and Auerswald (2013: 312-321) confirm that the sound health of the population of the street still remain issues that are due for an in-depth investigation. Morewitz's (2016) book captures that most of the street population are found dead not because they have were killed but because of amount of trauma which becomes too much for them. This author also agrees that there are those who are killed by people who the population of the street have wronged as it is common that they survive on the street by doing or taking criminal jobs for

themselves or for others. Moola (2012) also posits that street life comes with physical discomfort and it denies the population of the street access to health facilities because they are mostly not clean and that most of them avoid hospitals because they are wanted by policemen for serious crimes they have committed. The following narration is in support of a warranted investigation of the sound health of young women on the street and any other person living on the streets:

Some of our friends die while sleeping...Just recently... a friend of us complained about being tired the night before and she did not wake up the following day...we were not able to contact her family because we did not know her whereabouts even though we've stayed with her for more than a year.

This finding finds relevance with what was confirmed by Dryjanska (2014: 1) she reported in the study that she conducted in Rome that streets pavements are performing home functions where the homeless (sleep, work, play and die). The content of their journal article expand to note that such street homes don't fulfil their basic needs, such as a proper nutrition or safety.

Amahle was wearing denim shorts, her thighs were dressed with bandages and she was also limping. I asked her what had happened and before she could answer they all said *...ma'am...you won't believe what happened... [they mentioned her name] was ran over by a car. The car driver deliberately drove over the pavement bruised her as you can see. It happened during the day...She was sleeping as we are relaxing not even doping... but we were able to get the vehicle registration. We took her to the nearest clinic and she was attended to...On Monday the 03 July 2017 she will be going for the change of her dressings.*

The meaning of death on the streets as narrated above, confirms that girls living on the streets live on the edge or verge of death on a daily basis. Barons (2003) informed in Chapter Two that the youth that live on the street are commonly assaulted because no one thinks they can also feel the pain of being hurt. Tyler (2006) says this assault comes as response of being treated less or as nothing while living on the street. The question that I am posing for policy custodians as well various technocrats is: "What can be done by the Province of KwaZulu-Natal to minimize occurrences of death on the streets while such young women are making a living on the streets?"

5.6.6.6. Troubled by weather conditions

The recoding of narratives under this common theme was to confirm the validity of the existing literature and also to list what the studied population is in need of as they continue to live on the streets.

Ma'am, all the weather climates are troubling us. It is our common cry. You know that we sleep on the road pavements, supermarket veranda, vandalized/ unoccupied building which do not have windows. Be reminded that living on the streets means uhlala phandle meaning you don't live under a proper shelter. Summer leaves us with shocks because there are heavy rains which sometimes unexpectedly happen at night while we are sleeping. It even rains during the day while we are not in our spaces in order to hide our blankets. In winter streets are freezing, our blankets don't keep us warm because they are old and some are totally worn out.

They further narrated the following where I noted an element of care: *the blanket we have is not enough because there is no day or month that passes by without anyone joining us. Whoever comes to streets does not bring anything, what we have is received while on the street. Because of limited blankets it becomes difficult to share with our new friends.*

Those girls who practice prostitution on the streets confirmed that they are also troubled by changing weather climates. Their summarized narrative is as follows: *"sometimes the selling of sex does not go according to your plans because the competition is too tight. Remember that we live on the streets, our lifestyle is not decent like other girls who are practising prostitution who also come from decent homes or places. We render prostitution while coming from the streets and that is a huge disadvantage. If it happens that when we go to the prostitution spots and no one takes you, it means that you must come back to sleep on the street pavement. It is true that sleeping on the street pavement, shop verandas is not comfortable.*

The mentioning of weather conditions experienced by people who live on the streets has been confirmed by many writers (Flowers, 2010, Ndlovu, 2015 as well as Hills et al. 2016). This study confirms and also validates that weather conditions really do affect girls living on the Pietermaritzburg CBD streets and surroundings. The studied population, particularly those who do not want to be re-united with their families for reasons that they felt while living with their families, said that they had requested the government to build them shelters so that they would not be affected by the weather.

I was touched when they said *ma'am...we have mentioned our shocks and how we rise above such...we are surviving on the streets because our faith is in the Lord...we are very spiritual people and we also lucky to be visited by church organizations.*

I was also lucky to validate this when I went to observe how Northdale street girls live at night. On the same day a church called One Life International Church had come to give them a devotion, prayed and danced to the gospel music that they played and then gave them food which some of them did not eat because *whoonga/nyaope* suppresses food cravings. I asked them if their faith in the Lord is a result of being desperate and vulnerable on the streets. They confirmed that they had come from Christian grounded families. This study confirms that Christianity as a religious belief seem to be keeping the studied population in a calm state of mind. Such beliefs give them hope that their tomorrow will be different from their yesterday. I encourage future researchers to investigate if robust church interventions can be used to curb streetism or could be used to debrief girls from the terrible vulnerability shocks that they have listed above.

Such narratives really confirm that street life is rife and that it prunes the branches of decency in a human being. It increases the vulnerability of a girl, as has been confirmed by many scholars in the subject of street life (Tyler and Malander, 2015). This is a confirmed life lesson that street life takes away the good in a person. This also calls for urgent responsive policies. Policies that will be very sensitive to the rife of the street life. Policies that will recognize people within the very first minutes of their arrival on the streets. There must be what I would like to call “*Street Impempe/ street whistle*”. A street whistle that should blow every time a new person is spotted on the street in order to minimize the number of girls who join the streets at a very young age. This whistle will assist in curbing new girls on the streets while it will also alert government and other sectors about the different possibilities of street life. This means that the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, particularly the Office of the Premier, should hold an *iNdaba* with key stakeholders whose mandate is the empowerment of women and girls and where such narratives will be tabled for a further policy synthesis. Provincial Government should also strengthen the capacity of the non-government sector which is showing an interest to curb street life for both girls and boys. The Department of Social Development, particularly the Youth Development Directorate, should include the cries of these girls in their development

plans. Those with matric should be linked with their Skills Development Centres or Youth Academies within the Province of KwaZulu-Natal.

5.6.6.7. Territorial demarcations and intergroup warfare

The development of the above theme was intended to report the complexity of street life where the study was conducted. The complexity also depicts what initiates a conflict or any form of war amongst intergroup or individual group members. Sheppard (2016) and Ndlovu (2015) in their independent studies recorded that that street life is full of wars. Such wars can be between different gangs, between gang members, or can happen between a street boyfriend and a street girlfriend. Karlsson (2015: 21) also confirm that street life includes gang or group fights. Such group fights could happen between members of the same group or between groups. This is the contribution that I got from the Social Network Theory presented in Chapter four of this thesis.

Sheppard (2016) says these are common dynamics that comes with *streetism* and they usually lead to the termination of a gang affiliation and that's how the old identity is forfeited and a new identity adopted. Ndlovu (2015), Mutonya (2007) as well as Naterer (2015) violence is common between street children, both between different groups but also within groups or friends. Goldman et al. (2014: 813-815) explain that they fight over fending spaces as well their sleeping spaces. Some of the boys also fight over girlfriends on the street. It is through such group clashes or intergroup wars that some street gangs gain their warrior status over other existing groups. The outcome of intergroup wars is territorial demarcations. The gang that win the war demarcate more territorial zones or spaces. The one that loses becomes restricted and the war between such gangs does seem to end. The sampled population shared that they had sometimes experienced intergroup fights between groups or networks that existed on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.

The studied population mentioned that they as young women did not fight, but boys in different groups sometimes fought over girlfriends or over things that related to their operations and street corners as their permanent dwellings. All research participants shared that the recently witnessed intergroup conflict was over the Boxer veranda.

Funani informed me that Boxer Supermarket which was along a particular street in the Pietermaritzburg CBD closed down, which meant that its verandas remained unoccupied during the day, but there were people who were sleeping on the verandas at night. The

narrative is as follows: *those guys who were not using Boxer Supermarket verandas at night decided to use such verandas as their panta spot and there was a serious clash because those guys who used it at night only claimed that now that the supermarket is no longer open, the entire spot is theirs day in and day out up until new supermarket tenants take over.*

I asked all of them to tell me about the groups that were fighting. They responded as follows: *“Ma’am the fight was between the 26s and the 28s..Oohhh [trauma expression, Zethu making an exclamation]. Those guys stabbed each other as if they did not feel any pain. There was blood all over the place. I asked if the police had come through to settle the fight, and Luleka responded: policemen don’t resolve such conflicts because they know that all groups sometimes fight. If they happen to come. We know that someone will be jailed and the matter will be hijacked by our group member’s jail. If a 26 is jailed for having stabbed the 28s. Members of the 28s in jail will search the member of 26s inside the prison and kill him. If he escapes the attack, those who are here on the streets will hunt for 28s. It becomes a huge war. Its better if no one gets arrested.*

I asked what they do when their boyfriends fight for areas of operation and for girlfriends. Their responses are narrated as follows: *We also fight such girls whose intention is to take our boyfriends [they all laughed] ...the other one said...street fights are part of our lives...it get boring without such fights because that where our boyfriends get the opportunity to gain ruling powers and that is why I am dating the leader of the 26s called Imfanelo. He would still be ishosa if there are fights on the streets. He won fights and went to jail where he was crowned by such a title. All young women voiced that ... we enjoy watching such fights but they are much better if no one dies because we don’t know each other’s whereabouts and it becomes difficult to trace the family. It also becomes a problem because Home Affairs is not able to read our finger prints, because of the drugs that we use, in order to trace the history of the dead street boy who is usually a boyfriend to a particular girl on the street.*

The mentioning of warfare on the verandas or doorsteps of supermarkets motivated me to probe the extent to which these group fights terrify street commuters, supermarket clients and how have they impacted on the termination of external economic investments aiding the strength of the business market in PMB. Researchers specializing in business anthropology can critically investigate this research inquiry which this study claim as a research gap that needs to be undertaken urgently. The loss of external business investments or the closure of some business if any, will mean that street life and its dynamics is also a threat to the economic development of PMB.

5.7.1. Other challenges are just *water under the bridge*

5.7.1.2. Being HIV positive on the street is no longer a shock

While other writers have listed the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) status as a daily shock that has been experienced by girls on the streets on the international landscape (Talyer

et al. 2016; Swahan et al., 2016). This particular undertaken study does not dispute what has been collected by other writers, but it indicates that the HIV positive status is no longer a shock to other girls. This narrative was gathered during the focus group facilitation.

This particular research brings forward that the studied population did mention in the focus group discussion that *we are no longer shocked or traumatised by our HIV/AIDS testing results because prostitution exposes us to the infection and other sexual transmitted diseases.*

Some guys tell you before you jump in their cars that they don't eat wrapped up sweets [meaning they don't use condoms]. Destitution does not protect us but makes more prone to the virus. ...ma'am...you must know that...street life converts you within a very short period of time...if you will be afraid of street demands, how are you going to respond to your drug addiction and poverty to those who are not addicted? You then learn to do things that you never thought you will do. Mpumza and Mpumy echoed that *impilo imazombezombe*, meaning life is full of ambiguities and trajectories.

It was also relieving to note that some girls expressed that there were decent guys who supported the use of protection as they engage in the sex transaction, which is prostitution.

Sunshine and Gugulethu...narrated...

..... there are days where we come across decent guys who approve the usage of condoms during the transaction. I asked them why they call prostitution a transaction. They responded as follows our sex with all those guys is meaningless. We don't involve our feelings because we don't want to be attached to all the men we have slept with [this was a collective expression that I gathered from the noise they made.

This research uncovers that the kind of sex that is sold on the street through prostitution has multifaceted risks or implications which put service renderers at risk.

5.7.1.3. Poverty is no longer a shock

Farnandes and Vaughn (2008) and many other researches of street life confirmed that street life involves chronic poverty but street survivors suppress the thought of food with drugs. This study discovered that the studied population is no longer bothered by poverty because their boyfriends *panta/* work for them. Some mentioned that they do get food from different non-governmental organizations. Other indicated that they were able to buy themselves bread or vetkoek and polony which is not expensive, using the money that they ask from the public. *Whoonga/nyaope* addicts indicated that this drug suppressed food cravings. They are hardly ever hungry. Hills et al. (2016) confirmed that the population of the street rely on drugs to suppress

the thought of being hungry. They only become hungry when they think about food. They also mentioned that the body is able to go without food. They only get hungry only when they are not high and when they know that there is something to eat.

In relation to poverty on the streets, their collective narrative reads as:

.....maam [referring to me as a researcher] life was difficult when we came to live on the streets. We were defined by poverty. Times were hard because the smell of food from neighbouring supermarkets reminded our families but there was nothing we can do. Some of us started stealing and some of us started to do hourly prostitutions. Times have changed. I asked how.....Amahle continued as follows.....maam [still referring to me] street life demands you do extra ordinary things in order to survive. There are things that you learn on the street which make you strong..... [They all laughed as we were in a focus group discussion] I probed....why are you guys laughing? She continued, some of us came to the street being already addicted to whoonga/nyaope, others got addicted on the street. Our fending strategy was not because of food or responding to the poverty levels on the street but to ensure that roosta does not attach you.

Sphume continued to say that maam there are caring non-government organizations who provide us food. And we are able to buy our own food as already mentioned by others. Poverty is indeed no longer a serious shock.

Mpumza narrated that some of us are also sponsored food by our boyfriend.....her body language communicated that their boyfriends provides with an expectation to get something in return. I asked all of them if there need to add something on what was narrated by Mpumza....Amahle responded...maam...you are expected to do what your boyfriend tells you to do.....

The above theme recorded as a standing theme because I need to report that street life and the brutality that comes with it confirms deepened dependency on men as food providers. This dependency will result unbalanced reciprocity which will subjugate a young women to do what her boyfriend because he is a food provider. It sadness me that one of the young women was chased by the unfair distribution of food while this others confirm to be pleased by the amount of food that they get from their food. This thesis then report that food is used to discriminate; to impose a poverty war against women and to coerce and manipulate young women. It is not just a structural issue but a brutal chronic issue which grows deeper in our societies and even on the street.

Apula, Mpumza and Nohle, voiced that “*we think that ontandane are still troubled and traumatized by poverty on the streets.* I asked who *ontandane* were. They said *ontandane* are kids who came to streets because their parents just recently passed away. Funani said *we call those girls and boys who don't belong in any street group/networks ontandane/ loners because*

they are always spotted alone. They are troubled by poverty. They don't share with anyone. They lose such street references once they become members of the big networks/groups called the 26s or the 28s. Girls become members of the group because they are dating guys in that group. Boys become members because of having satisfied group expectations or delegated tasks.

5.7.1.4. Sex on the street pavements and verandas is no longer a shock

This theme was developed after noting that almost all interviewed young women mentioned having boyfriends who were providing them with living essentials on the streets. Such essentials were the provision of drugs and food when needed. I asked them about their living conditions as they had mentioned that some of them did the duties of housewives.

.....They narrated as follows...we have plots or spaces on the street pavements as well as on the street verandas. Our living spaces on the streets are like that of train chunks...we are close neighbours. There is no privacy because we all sleep with our boyfriends on the street. Some wait till mid-night to have sex as couples, some don't wait, they have it in front of us. They further noted that there are a few couples with privacy on the streets and those are the ones occupying vandalized buildings or unoccupied buildings. Their privacy is limited because they stay with other fellow couples who also have sex as they desire.

5.7.1.5. Part 7: Coping strategies

Theron and Malindi (2010), Barons (2003) and Bender et al. (2010) in their independent studies confirmed the brutality that comes with being homeless. They mention that most identified youth came to the live or survive on the street during their formative age. They joined the street because they wanted to be free from their unbearable family situations which pushed them to the street. There were no other options, street life was the only unrestricted possible option. They further mention that street life does not have adult caregivers to provide welfare support during rough times. Street life teaches them to be resilient and to stay focused. The amount of shocking episodes that they survive under on daily bases prepare them to find coping strategies. Such coping strategies are abilities or behaviours that help them overcome tough experiences and to survive the harshness and the brutality of the street.

After being saddened by their shocking experiences on the street which I hid from them as I did want them take notice of my emotions, I asked “how you do cope in such terrifying situations?”

They collectively mentioned that they change street corners (Upadhayay, 2014). Other whispered *we cry on our own and that's it* Hills et al. (2016: 8) call this supportive peer relationships or social relationships which is another resilient strategy on the street..... . Others said they pray to God for the protection as they live on the street because changing streets does not solve anything. *We also get to be visited by church groups on the street to give us devotion.* I also observed this devotion session which took place at night when I was a doing night observations as part of data collection.

Amahle who had bandages all around her thighs individually narrated that*I have been forgotten what happened to me...we were sitting on the street pavement as usual. A black car just drove straight to us....I could not move because I was shocked. Every time I look at myself with all these bandages... my heart gets filled with bitterness.*

5. 8. Sceptical about our own families

Families have been mentioned by many writers that is under socio-economic challenges as well as cultural issues (Cavanagh, 2015, Callan, 2014 and Eddy and Holborn, 2011). This question pertaining to their families was the second to last question in both in-depth interview sessions as well as in the focus group discussion. It was posed if they would at some point want to be connected or reconnected with their families. This theme was also generated after have captured that all of them don't speak well about their stay on the streets. I had sensed the brutality of street life in most of their narratives. This was evident in the body language and it came through their trembling voices during the capturing of their narratives. I was very touched when some of these young women echoed that they did not want anything to do with their families. This corresponded with what Affandi and Habibah (2016) and Conger et al. (2010) whom in their independent studies confirmed that contemporary families are wounded by multi-phased socio-economic challenges or factors. Ndlovu (2015) also mentioned that the population of the street in most times find it difficult to turn back to the problem-riddled family life they left behind. This study probed underlying reasons behind the shared expression and those affected young women and they collectively narrated as follows:

We are on the streets because our families did not treat us well for reasons that we have narrated before. We are on the streets because some of us broke the chains of experienced

abuse ourselves and we were still blamed by our families. We can't go back to our families because it will be difficult to get drugs. Our parents, grannies and foster parents are no longer alive and that was the time we were seen by our family relatives. In this regard it will be another trauma to face the living without them. We are afraid of being judged by existing family members as well as the society as having lived on the streets for too long now. We will be confronted by poverty and unemployment which is what initially pushed some of us to the streets.

The above narratives shares a deep inflicted pain that the studied population holds against their families. I was also touched when other young women noted to be missing the following moments with their families irrespective of what had initially pushed or pulled them to the street. They collective narrated to be missing the following moments:

Sunday lunch meals because our mothers use to cook special meals for the day, winter reminds us of our beds at home and warm baths and miss going to school, they want to be rehabilitated and start a new life, want to reconnect with their lineages as well as with their ancestors, have realized that street life is rough and does not have solutions to push and pull factors that drove us from our homes to school...we want to have identity documents which is something that we don't have as we live on the streets, We miss being cared for by adults, street life has converted us into being adults, yet we're are not ready to assume such responsibilities;

Having argued in the problem statement in Chapter One that every young women has her unique story, the above narrative disagrees with the one that Van Blerk (2007) collected when conducting a study on the streets in Uganda. Some Kampala young women living on the street yearned to be reunited with their families. The above narrative give an indication they somehow miss home but they are sceptical of being reunited with them. (Wakatama, 2007 and Ndlovu, 2016).

Sunshine narrated:

I miss home because as I want to be reunited with my son who is cared for by my abusive brother...I want to be there for him as he grows up. I also don't want him to be told that I live on the streets.

Sunshine's narratives presented her as a mother, who because of family circumstances, was forced to escape the responsibility of being a mother. Her narrative demonstrates a deep pain that comes through that she is worried about her son who is raised by an abuse brother that she ran away from. This is a parenting dynamic that weakens parenting roles and it contributes to the percentage of children who are growing without parents.

This study also reports that most of these young women don't have identity documents while living on the street as they left their families while they were still young. This could have serious implications in relation to confirming their citizenships. This could result in them being recorded or categorised as foreigners and be deported in their own country simply because they can prove their citizenship by means of identity documents. Those with matriculation on the streets will be hindered by this when wanting to apply for any job and this is how they even confirm commercialized sex as the only economic loop for them because of identity verifications that are conducted or needed. Jone et al. (2010: 92) pose a congruent view as they agree that most of the street population are without identity documents. They further say that such people are without civil liberties and that's why some writers have said the population of the street often fall in between the cracks...they are seen but not known. The local Department of Home Affairs must embark on the process of assisting those who believe that if they can have identity documents while living on the street, commercialized sex will not be the only economic strategy.

Others voiced that:

Age is against us, street life is becoming more demanding than when we first came. We just want to be treated like ordinary people than what were currently called. We want to be buried by our families as we have witness that we are constantly haunted by death. We have experienced how it is difficult to locate the family of a street girl when she has died. It becomes difficult to accept that most of our friends who died while living on the streets were buried by the local municipality.

The above narrative indicates a sense that the studied population don't want to be reunited with their families but at the same time they are worried about dying without having been connected with their families. In Africa, death means that one has not died but gone to meet his or her ancestors. It is believed that any dead person is to be identified by his or her family because they are the ones who know her or his identity and can also identify some other identity features in case the identity was not easy to detect. Having long appreciated what other African countries have done in studying effects of street life and what they as countries can do in alleviating street life, this study proposes interventions that have been tried by Ugandan government.

The Pietermaritzburg District or local sphere of government and other responsible stakeholders can learn from the best practices that the Ugandan government tailored for young women spotted on their Kampala streets. The Uganda government invested in their lives while they were staying on the street as they were trained in hairdressing, bag making as a development strategy that was intended to socio-economically empower the young women on their streets (Van Blerk, 2007: 16). The intention was to provide them with a skill that they can survive with when being reunited with their families. This study recommends this intervention because it has been tried and found to be reaping net effects in Uganda. This recommendation is proving that African countries can learn from responsive interventions that don't have westernized traces but that which are African orientated. This was also a strategy of creating a new identity as they could be employed in local hair dressing salons and be able to become entrepreneurs selling bags. If this is done, some aspects of the African Feminist Theory would be realized as it recommends that African countries should unite and rise from their own experiences. Policy custodians and other stakeholders in Pietermaritzburg where the study was conducted can also prioritize to do a skills audit amongst the population of the street. What is reasoned by this study was mentioned by Tayler (2006) in Chapter Two of this thesis where he says is that it must be the responsibility to government to develop an accurate national reporting system to report to the problem, and must be seen instrumental in developing effective systems of care (including preventive and aftercare services, emergency shelter services, extended residential shelter, and street outreach services). Government must develop accurate systems that will include the empowerment of the youth living on the street such as assisting them to complete high school education, empower them with job skills which will maximize opportunities of them being employed in the future or while living on the street. This study contributes the following skills audit which could be used in gathering information about their aspired skills so that they can be provided or empowered with such while living on the street or as part of the process of preparing for their family reunion. The following is a skills audit template that they can use:

Figure 10: Contributed Skills Audit Form

Demographics

Your name : _____

Your age : _____

Race : _____

Where do you come from (municipality, ward, village) *(this question does not intend to deport you, but to link you with a potential employer after having been trained)*

Literacy information

Can you read? : _____

Can you write?

Level of formal education : _____

Previous Aspirations

What did you want to become before joining the street : _____

Auditing of existing skills

List skills that you came to the street with: _____

List skills that you have acquired on the streets that could maximize your opportunities of being employed: _____

Desired skills

What would you like to be trained on while living on the street: _____

Future aspirations

Where would you like to work while living on the street : _____

Where would you like to work when being reunited with your family: _____

Different stakeholders can expand this skills audit form to include variables that will ensure the collection of in-depth information. This study believe that this investment will respond to the cage that is presented in figure 8 and it will also bridge the skills gap that comes with street life and they will also minimize opportunities of young women who live and die on the street without any traceable identities. This will be another rehabilitation that they will receive while staying in the street. They won't fear deportation but they will also be encouraged to be reconciled with their families. They will rise from the basement (refer to figure 11 that this study categorized as a forth class level where the studied population has been placed by the community. This will become one the liberation songs that the studied population will begin to sing, as they will be freed from being sex slaves "prostitutes", they will out of the poverty cycle and they will become active economic agents. This study holds that the empowerment of young women living on the street will also defend the democracy that is celebrated by ordinary people only being those who living under normal households.

5.8.1. Words to other girls at home

Different views and pieces of advice were recorded when the studied population was asked to give advice to other girls who contemplate street life as an ideal situation in the current times and they read as follows

.....they must stay at home because street life is really not for girls...when they come here (on the streets) they must know that street life demands a lot from a person.

This particular narration shows that street life is not for girls, which has been the postulation of many writers on the subject of street life.

Others said that they must come knowing that their push factors won't be resolved in the streets. These are words of wisdoms and out of such words, young women that were studied can be empowered to be agents of social change that raise awareness against street life.

This narration also shows that street life does not resolve the push factors. Families, societies and the state must rise to take full responsibility for the welfare of their young women.

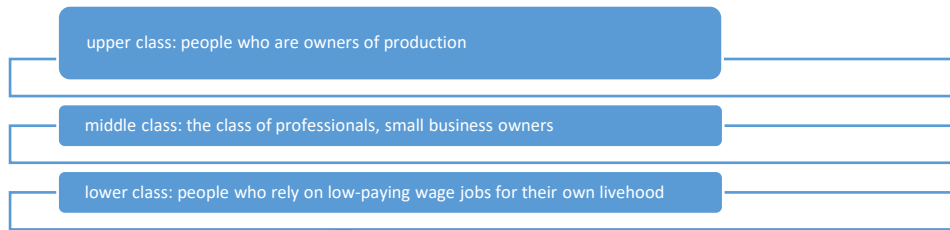
.....*they must know that street life will kill and bury their once envisaged goals.*

The narration affirms that the visibility and the permanent stay of girls on the street compromises the realization of dreams that a young women would possible have.

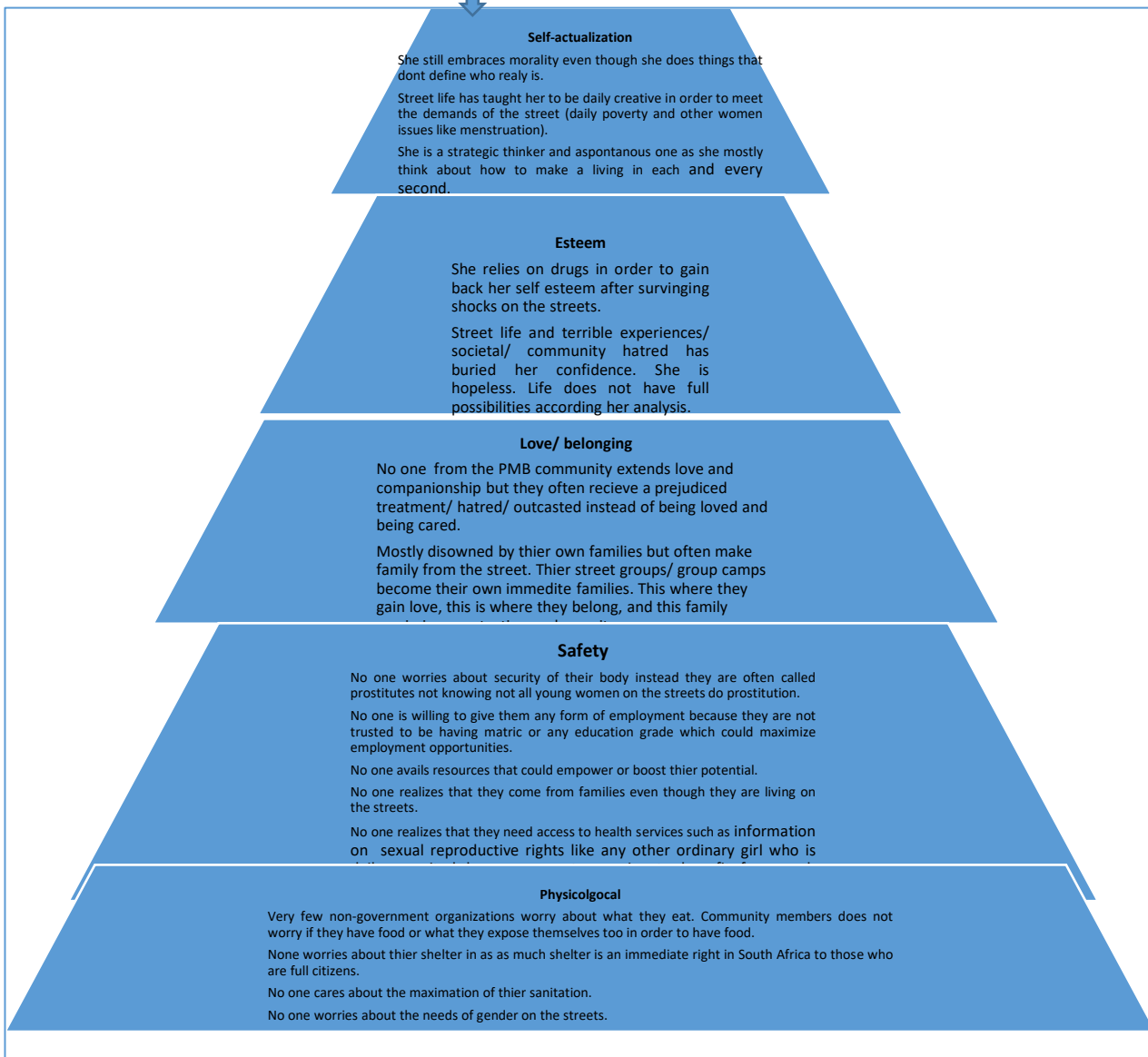
5.8.2. Impact of street life

This thesis report an expansion of class or of a social stratification which deepens the exclusion of the studied population. The following figure gives an illustration of basement class of people being the population of the street.

Figure 11: The birth of a new class on the street



The basement class: which is the class of outcasts/outsideers being young women or anyone living on the streets. The entire society is in quarrel and most speak ill of them. They are citizens with no rights, and they fall in the category of the voiceless and mostly vulnerable. Their psychosocial analysis and yearn is not the interest of anyone who sees them on the street. The following Maslow's hierarchy of needs depicts their psychosocial analysis.



They are a lost population in their own ancestral grazing land as most of them were born and raised in South Africa which is made of the local and district municipalities that they mentioned to be coming from in the first theme of this chapter. Below the lower class is a proportion of young women that this study was collection that life and experiences as they live on the street. The class of displaced whose appearance on the streets annoys everyone. No one takes a moment to listen to who they are.

5.9. Conclusion

This particular chapter delineated the life and the experiences of young women on the street of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings through narratives gathered by means of in-depth interviews. This chapter has made significant contributions to the existing body of literature focusing on the PMB CBD and surrounding street life and its dynamics. Most recorded pull and push factors have been reported for the first time in anthropology and for the first time is the context of *streetism*. This chapter revealed narratives that the studied population narrated for the first time from which this study believes could result a positive change in their life if public policies can respond to their life and experiences. This chapter also described the identity of the young women on the streets which confirmed that street categories/ continuum is expanding. The nature of the captured information will shape other disciplines in Social Sciences and other stakeholders having interest in population of the street. This study confirms that street life is also shaped by patriarchy - young women's voices and preferences especially those titled as housewives are compromised by not being active economic agents but mostly dependent on what boyfriends put on the table. This chapter also confirms that the young women on the street experience precarious vulnerability on a daily basis. The chapter also listed sound recommendations that could benefit young women on the streets in the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. The following chapter will be delineating and interpreting the observed life and experiences of the studied population as guided by a separate data collection instrument.

Chapter Six:

Dynamics of home for young women (19-35 years) living on the street of Pietermaritzburg CBD and Surroundings

6.0. Introduction

This chapter is the continuation and a validation of what has been captured in Chapter Five. The captured data is the interpretation of the life and experiences of young women living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. Conducted direct observations were guided by a separated data collection instrument which was centralized on gathering the following thematic aspects of the studied population: survival strategies, interaction amongst themselves as well as with members of the public, living spaces strategies (day and night life), living conditions, spoken language and the confirmation of the game of the street. This chapter also elucidates the role of direct observations in anthropological research. This study provides the experience of pragmatic or empirical science that anthropologists are known to be capable of pursuing. This relates to the capturing and the delineation of the natural *in situ* of girls on the streets without any alterations.

6.1. Direct observations in anthropology

Studying people in their natural settings remains the speciality of anthropologists. Direct observations, a qualitative research methodology, was used as a key data collection method to naturally observe the studied population and their street life. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011:3), qualitative research methodology can be described as a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. Ritchies et al. (2014: 30) define direct observations as a data collection method that falls within qualitative methodology. Many anthropologists have conducted ethnographic research which is based on participant or direct observations because this data collection method allows anthropologists to collect the *ontology* and the *reality* of the studied population. The motive for this data collection method is purely the need to yield nuanced information of the studied population or subject. Brett and Chrzan (2017) assert that direct observations have been acclaimed by many anthropologists of the past and present because this method collects accurate information.

Mack et al (2014: 14) assert that observing is integral to understanding the breadth and complexities of human life. These writers emphasise that direct observations reveal the actual situation, which in this study will be the life and experiences of young women (19–35 years) living on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. Writers note that the data collection technique also empowers researcher/s to observe and interpret the situation without any alterations.

Anthropologists make use of direct observations because they value that people are generators of information. They also value that people's images and interactions tell a story. This thesis shows how the studied population establishes friendship, how relations are established and how they interact amongst themselves and with the outer world being members of the larger society.

6.2. Situation of the streets presented in themes

6.2.1. Streets: a home away from home

The above theme was considered because most of the sampled young women kept on mentioning that they live, sleep, cry, laugh, get sick, die and survive all weather seasons on the streets pavements or under supermarket verandas. Van Blerk (2007), Ndlovu (2015) and Karabanow (2008) mentioned that street become their home. As nomadic as they are, they eventually rest on the street, under verandas or in old, unused buildings. During observations, I confirmed that street pavements and shop verandas are indeed the homesteads of the studied population. They are demarcated exactly like rural community homesteads. Their pavement spaces that they find rest in a form of sleeping, recreation as a space of hosting other friends does not have demarcating fences. They are exactly like most rural communities whose homesteads are not fenced. Neighbours share the same yard without noticing. Those dating street leaders occupied bigger spaces than any other ordinary couple or person on the street. I also associate street pavements and shop verandas with homesteads which are located in a place which will never benefit from the promises of government such as access to water and sanitation. The studied young women in Pietermaritzburg are visible to the public eye but invisible in policy documents. This means that everyone knows that there are young women who live on the street pavements and on the supermarket verandas, but policy custodians are not responding to what could be

troubling these girls whilst on the street. This argument was also raised by Tyler (2006) in most chapters of this thesis.

The study also confirmed that these homesteads grow every day because there are new young women who join the streets every day. The study also observed that there are even girls who fall in the category of children and adolescents occupying the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. Their appearance constitute a study that will look into their life or stay on the street outside the scope of young women.

I also observed that the permanent occupation of street pavements and street lanes denies members of the public access to these pathways. The study captured that the public at the time of observation was not able to access such pavements and street lanes because they have sleeping blankets which are unmade throughout the day, because some young women sleep during the day since they work as prostitutes at night. I also observed that some live alone but other live as couples (boyfriend and girlfriend), others use street pavements and lanes to interact and socialize amongst themselves on the streets. Others get into groups and smoke different kinds of drugs. This analysis confirms the fourth society that is growing, which Tyler (2006) says is a society that does not have the same human rights like a person who lives in a normal household. They are widely not accepted by societies and by people who pass them on the street pavements.

From my own analysis, the captured life of the studied population particularly on the street pavements and street lanes imposes territorial demarcations which indicate that these streets and lanes will eventually become no-go zones as many public members were discouraged to drive or walk past. Further studies can investigate if the avoidance of these lanes or streets by members of the public is a result of being fearful or because of terrible shocks that have been experienced by others. The same recommended study can also capture misconceptions that could be associated with such avoidance.

The above theme of the streets being a home away from home was also motivated by having observed that some of these girls spend most of their time on the street pavements, which is an indication that they do not have any place to go. This confirmed that these girls are those that do not do hourly prostitution because they are always at their living spots on the streets. I also observed that those who categorized themselves as housewives really do behave like

housewives. The observation confirmed that street couples live exactly like couples in the nuclear families, particularly those with only males working while wives remain as housewives. Their boyfriends were rarely spotted on the street pavements. On some street pavements they were nowhere to be seen during the day. The girls remained behind to tidy their spaces on the streets. The tidying of spaces included the sweeping of street pavements and street verandas that they use for sleeping. They crafted brooms out of the tree branches which is an indigenous practice that rural women who are housewives also do because there is either no money to buy yard sweeping brooms or they were just being indigenously innovative. I also thought that this was probably what they learned while they were still living in their homes.

I also observed that street pavements were also their playing place. Those who had nothing to do also turned street pavements into their 'chilling spots.' They gathered as friends and that is where and when I noticed that the girls did not occupy the same spaces for a long time. This is an indication that they had social ties that would eventually make them immediate relatives if they continued to stay on the streets. Through observations, I also validated that those girls who mentioned to be surviving from hourly prostitution really do not spend time on the street pavements and verandas during the day. They only come to retire on the street in the evening. They behave like employed people because what I observed is that they bath at the public taps and they are not ashamed of being seen naked while bathing. They throw away the image of the street; some even pulled out their weaves which gave them different images than those that defined them as girls of the streets. This then confirmed that they do indeed use different techniques in order to have different images and identities on the streets. Others were observed to be doing laundry for themselves and for their boyfriends. They did laundry on the streets and some took their laundry to YfC where they even get washing soap.

I also witnessed that the street pavements were not only homes away from home but they were also church synagogues for the studied young women. In some days they were seen singing church songs which was an indication that they do believe in a particular religion or in different religions which possibly share the same beliefs. This confirmed that singing such songs was part of their spiritual deposits to their God, they were praying for better lives and better days on the streets, praying for forgiveness since there are days where they commit sins which they are not proud of. This study noted during direct observations that different

faith based organizations visited them on the streets on different days. Others came to give them devotions, others left them some pamphlets. A Muslim organisation distributed bread and coffee on a particularly cold day and those who got it were very excited because it was indeed a cold evening. On another particular day, YfC came to give them cooked evening meals and played gospel music. Some danced before and after eating while some only came for the meal and left after it. I observed that none of the following institutions (non-governmental organizations, faith based organizations or government) came to issue them blankets or sleeping mattresses during the day of my observations. I also noticed that these girls did not have fancy beds or mattresses on the streets which confirmed that they used boxes as their sleeping bases. They are indeed survivors because they practically sleep on top of thin boxes and cover themselves with only a few blankets.

6.2.2. Daily Survival strategies (day and night life)

Within the context of this research, survival strategies relate to how the studied population met the demands of the streets. Ndlovu (2015:158) posits that street life is quite demanding. Food does not come to you on the street but a street person has a responsibility to hunt or gather what she or he is going to eat. He expanded by saying that, group networks sometimes do look for each other but a person has to fend for her or himself. What interested me in his writing is that street life teaches you a pattern of making life on the street which is absolutely not what the street person came to do on the street. He says, this is the rife of street life. Chapter Five of this thesis captured that the studied population do different things to face living. The following themes were developed to learn how is their livelihoods and survival strategies on the streets are carried out. Their livelihoods and survival strategies were first recorded during in-depth interviews and also observed.

Different researchers have in their writings confirmed that poverty and deprivation is the daily experience of the population of the street. This came through in Chapter Two when some scholars' research findings revealed that most of the street population was pushed by poverty from their own families and they escaped with hope of being free from poverty. This escape was concluded without knowing that there is rife poverty on the street; that the street demands each street population to fend for him or herself unless there are supporting structures that he or she can benefit from. What comes through from various sources is that the brutality of street life coaches the street population to be fenders of what they eat. This becomes their every second task because if they don't, they will be confronted by poverty.

Other writers say that they are hunters and gatherers of their own food and this food search strategy is inclusive of dangerous activities. The theme is reported to discuss how the girls strive for their daily survival on the streets.

The mentioning of the *panta*/fending strategy was coded when the studied population was asked how they tried to pursue their education on the streets. Most of them mentioned that they did not attempt to pursue their education but they embarked on different ‘fending’ strategies. The above theme was developed because the mentioning of *panta* was mentioned by almost all the young women who were interviewed and was even mentioned by girls who attended the focus group discussion. I asked what *panta* is or what was to *panta*?

They responded that “*panta* is a *tsotsi*/ slang language that means or relates to trying a lot or many things in order to have or generate money for the drug and for food on the streets. They further noted that *panta* means you are unemployed therefore it is your responsibility to make sure to strategise for your own living on the street. Their *panta*/ fending strategies that they mentioned during interviews, which were validated in the focus group were as follows:

Some stood at road intersections, robots or in front of supermarkets in order to ask for 50c to R5-00 from public members. Some mentioned that they played housewife roles because their boyfriends work as car guards, trolley pushers, and whoonga/ nyaope merchants. Others collected recycled papers and plastic objects for recyclers and they were paid R20-00 for the quantity that they were able to collect during the day. Others did hourly prostitution. Some young women also worked as car guards. Some young women were victims of cheap labour as now and again they were asked to be half-day maids and were paid less than R50-00. Other young women mentioned that they had learned to wash cars where they gained R20-00 but the money depended on the car owner. Those that are new on the street look for thrown away fruit, vegetables, stale bread or visit different shops asking for food. They mentioned they were also supported by different organizations who give them food on different days. They mentioned Youth for Christ (YfC) served them breakfast and lunch for three (3) days in a week where they also bath and do their laundry. The also mentioned that Muslim organizations supply them with food (tea and bread in the morning and biriyani in the evening).

The above paragraph informs that the studied population engage themselves in very dangerous situations in order to make a living or respond to poverty and the drug addiction. This confirms what has been mentioned by early writers that street life demands the population to fend for themselves. Tyler (2006) agrees that fending for themselves is a reality of street life. If they don’t, no one will provide them with some to eat not unless they

benefit from non-government organization outreach programs. This thesis recorded that most fending strategies expose them to a wide range of vulnerability such as unpaid sex, rape and the killing of those who do prostitution. Within such, this study also appreciate the contribution of non-government organizations as they do now and again issue them something to eat.

The observation was done to confirm what they had initially said and to capture what they may have not mentioned during the interviews. I observed that girls surviving on the streets did indeed use different strategies to face the demands of the day. This study also discovered that survival strategies also depended on who they were dating on the streets. Survival strategies further depended on the nature of the drug they were taking on the streets, as well as what other friends did to make a living on the street. Observations confirmed that indeed there were girls who behaved like housewives because they were dating boys who hustle on the streets for them. Playing housewife on the street is also their survival strategy because such young women did not work on the streets at all. They behaved like typical housewives. They were forever observed to be on the street pavement spots. I observed them doing chores that were done like housewives in nuclear families or in traditional households which was to clean their pavement spots while their boyfriends were gone for preying. The only thing they could not do was to cook, because there are no stoves in the streets.

I also confirmed that there were those who did hourly prostitution which validates the narrative that I captured in the previous chapter. These girls are found on the streets that they called *mothoyi* street where they waited for their clients. The given description of the street that they have called or demarcated as *mothoyi* street is as follows:

Most Pietermaritzburg commuters avoid this street because it is unsafe to drive or pass there. This is where those who practice prostitution spend most of their day and time, where day and night prostitution takes place, where sex is done publicly, where most of their clients and street friends (boys and young women) are killed while commercializing sex and killed for no apparent reasons.

During direct observations, I noticed that they woke up as early as 7am in the morning to freshen up. They put on different weaves to enhance their beauty and to conceal their identity as they were prostitutes who did not want to be recognised. They also put on different weaves so that they could not be spotted by relatives even when standing in their prostitution spots. I also confirmed that such beauty did not link them with the lived street

life. They went for the entire day. They came back before the sun set to retire on the street pavements and street lanes like employed young women who go home after leaving work.

Those who were observed to be sleeping during the day, wake up at sunset to prepare for evening prostitution and they use the same mentioned street. The observation validated that they were indeed accompanied by their street boyfriends to the prostitution sites. If not standing on the mentioned street they stand around out in groups in a playground which is behind the Pietermaritzburg CBD where they meet their clients. I also observed that such young women used the playground changing rooms to meet with their clients especially those who were not willing to take such street girls to their homes or to book hotel rooms.

I also observed that there were those who stood at the street robots who asked or begged for anything from passing cars and people. I noted that some members of the public walked past without giving them anything and others voiced that they don't give their money to "*amaphara*". Some public members also called them rascals who had escaped parental or familial socialization and enculturation. The mentioning of the name "*amaphara*" by members of the public validated that young women have attracted names from the public just because they are visible on the streets. I recommend future researchers to obtain the meanings of these names from the members of the public in order to understand where they actually emanate from. I also noticed that there were young women who worked as car guards on the streets and they dressed exactly like the boys on the streets. I observed that young women spent their street life with other boys and these boys treated them as their equal friends. I noticed all street working young women counted their money when they reached their pavement spots or street lanes. After counting their money, I did not see them rushing to the nearest shops to buy food. Those who smoke *whoonga/nyaope* or cocaine ask the following question: ...*zikiphani? Zithini? Mjingo? Fast kgozis?* This is their slang for asking who had their drug on the street. I observed that *whoonga/nyaope* smokers were stingy. They only share the drug with their boyfriends or their boyfriends share with their girlfriends.

I also observed that different organizations brought them food but some of the young women sold food to their peers on the streets who were not available when the food was received. This confirmed that young women on the streets are no longer haunted by poverty but they fend for themselves to meet the drug addiction. I noticed that boyfriends fended for and

shared with their girlfriends who lived as housewives. I was touched when this one boy came bragging that he had brought a Kentucky fried chicken “streetwise two meal” for his “queen”. I sensed an element of care and looked at this boy as a good partner and food provider on the street. I was also touched by the thankful smile displayed by the girlfriend. This validated that some were on the streets because they had fallen in love with the boys of the streets. I pictured this boy becoming a providing husband and raising happy children in a patriarchal society one day. I also pictured this girl becoming a good wife to someone one day – a good woman that receives her husband with a smile when he returns from work. This observation motivated me to think that there could still be life after the street experience for the majority of girls on the streets and their boyfriends.

6.2.3. Night life on the streets

The Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings had busy streets with moving cars, pedestrians, as well as the population of the street who constantly move from one point to the other. Their movement demonstrated being free but they were often confirming that there are no policemen around. Now and again they said “*ekse makgata nike nawa sheba*”. This is one of the languages of the street...they use a little bit of Sesotho which gives an indication that they have indeed travelled outside Pietermaritzburg probably trafficking drugs or they had Sotho speaking friends on the streets. I observed that there was never a moment where the streets were silent, meaning they did not sleep. While others were asleep others were awake. They kept on saying *siphusha umshikashika* “meaning we are pursuing a mission.” They ran from street to street. It was interesting that these young women behaved exactly like boys at night. This means that the population of the streets ruled the streets from the morning to sunset and that was their pride. I observed that in the day, they did not mind other people because that is how they survived on the street, but I also noticed that those who intended to sleep at night started to prepare for their sleeping spaces just after the closing of supermarkets if they slept under supermarket verandas. They did not care if the sun was still up or not. This was an indication that the members of the public are no longer able to walk under the verandas because some of them had made that their sleeping space. Others prepared their spots as an indication that they were still there, meaning they had not migrated to other streets or verandas. They (the studied women) gave an interpretation of sleeping early or late. If someone sleeps early it means that she was able to make good money during the day. Others were said to be sleeping early because *whoonga/nyaope* has sedated or

knocked them out. I therefore concluded that *whoonga/nyaope* does not lead the smoker to be high like those who were seen inhaling cocaine and the other one that they put under the tongue.

6.2.4. Living conditions (day and night life)

I take pleasure in having observed the living circumstances of the studied population which many people might have thought was too risky. I observed that all young from different network groups (26s, 28s, the Jungle FC and the loners/*ontandane*) were able to live together without fighting. It was interesting to note that there were lesbian girls who also stayed as street pavement couples. I observed that this couple worked as car guards as their fending strategy. The one playing a girlfriend role was not interviewed because she was unavailable during data collection. I also noticed that these lesbian girls spent more time with boys and that they were also fluent in the slang language which was the talk of the street.

The existence of a lesbian couple on the streets postulates that the population of the streets does not judge or discriminate their peers on the basis of their sexuality which is still an unresolved concern in normal societies. It came to me that there is a lesson that the population or society at large can learn from the population of the street when it comes to understanding issues of sexuality, sensuality and the acceptance of the other without any reservations or prejudice.

Those who lived as normal couples on the streets also had neighbours who do not have boyfriends on the streets. This confirmed that they were indeed not shocked by seeing street couples having sex in front of them on the street pavement because there was no privacy on the street pavements. Others demarcated their sleeping spots with tall cardboard as a means of having some privacy but privacy was still not guaranteed. The attempt to build sleeping spaces with cardboard is an indication that the population of the streets needs proper shelter. Secondly, it gives a projection that the occupied street lanes and street pavements will eventually become slums which will be their confirmed shelters on the streets. They will later demand free basic services like water, sanitation and electricity like ordinary shacks and houses. The Pietermaritzburg local government and policy custodians are cautioned about such projections because if the roots of *streetism* are not curbed, the CBD and its surroundings will have more people opting for street life and there will be uncontrollable

slums. The forecast I am making is that in the next ten (10) years, these people will eventually hold the province accountable for their daily survival on the streets.

What I also confirmed during observations is that those girls who belong to the 26s, 28s, the Jungle FC as well as *ontandane*/loners had never been jailed. The group networks operate on the level of immediate families. Leaders of the network take full responsibility for those who they lead. It became clear that those who dated boys of a particular network would take the name of that group and that also goes for single girls who decide to join a particular group. This was one of the customary regulations of groups that were partially recorded during captured narratives in the previous chapter. Future research endeavours are recommended to thoroughly learn what breaks or guarantees trust within the groups. This research is recommended because the studied population did mention that trust cannot be guaranteed but they were not willing to give details about what compromises it. The recommended research endeavour would also learn about the consequences of breaking trust.

I also observed that there were also complications that were experienced if the girl found love outside of the network group. Some members of the group felt betrayed because there were things that they did which should have remained their group secrets. If a girl found a boyfriend outside of the group, which simply meant that the group secrets would then be known by other groups.

6.2.5. Street as home, household and a socializing space.

The opening of this chapter has shown that street pavements, lanes, as well as supermarket verandas were living spaces for street girls. This confirmed that the studied population lived and socialized on the streets. This also meant that they were neighbours of those who occupied other street pavements, street lanes and shop verandas.

It was important to observe how the girls interacted with each other and with members of the public. I witnessed that girls from different network groups were able to socialise together without fighting amongst themselves. I was also able to learn that some girls migrated from street to street visiting friends whom they did not share the same street pavement with. The visit of other girls resulted in the exchange of things like, clothes, makeup, shoes and weaves which strengthened their interconnectedness. I also learned that

that was how young women gained different social identities on the streets. The exchange of clothes did not happen to all the girls that I observed but to those who called or referenced themselves as *gazi/* cousins not because they were truly related or that they shared a lineage trace, but because they had been together on the streets for very long and because they slept on the same street pavements or they shared the same supermarket verandas.

There were those who were very close to each other without having exchanged any of these items but their closeness had been the result of the number of years they had known each other on the streets. Others were very close because of the nature of their common survival strategy on the streets. I also noticed that girlfriends of the leaders of network groups called *Mamthotho* or *Inzalabantu* on the streets were highly respected by other girls on the streets. I confirmed that they also had a responsibility for other girls.

This responsibility related to holding meetings on the streets to check if the girls were still feeling safe while doing what they did on the streets. These girls took the report to their boyfriends as leaders of the networks. This was the spirit of comradeship that was an unanticipated result of the study.

In relation to the observed relationship between the studied population and the public, I noticed that the girls asked members of the public for anything that they were willing to give to them. Some gave them small amounts of money, food remainders, or fruit, while others walked past without giving them anything. I also observed that the public looked at these girls of the streets as another population that did not have relations with them as normal human beings. There was an evident “us” (ordinary people) and “them” (the street girls). This meant that young women were treated as less than human just because they were living on the streets. They were treated as aliens who did not deserve any care other than to be cared for by government or non-governmental organizations. There is a need to scholarly or empirically understand why members of the public treat them the way they do, in order to understand this deep social exclusion or rejection.

I noticed that young women on the streets did not fear members of the public, especially females. I also observed that people who don't live on the street did not walk on the pavements which had groups of street young women. They held on to their bags very tightly if they happened to pass close to them. Those who were driving past, closed their windows

when approaching street robots and corners where these girls stood to ask for anything that the public could give to them. I also noted that the holding of bags and the closing of vehicle windows when getting closer to the studied population annoyed the girls. Karlsson (2015) that such behaviours by people who don't live on the street confirm that they don't consider the population of the street as normal people, but perceive them as thugs, thieves and immoral human beings. This was an indication that the population of the street is not trusted by those who are not living on the streets. The holding of bags was an indication that some people were afraid of having their bags snatched from them. Those closing windows when approaching road intersections or robots with the studied population there, were indicating that they wanted nothing to do with them. They were also indicating that they did not feel safe around the people of the street. It became clear that the studied population was aware of how members of the public perceive or look at them. I heard them saying *ucabanga ukuthi sizokwenzani/ what you really take us for...do you think we could hurt you?... and they all laughed....animbeke/ look at her*. This was an expression of being sad and an indication that they were aware that the public did not treat them as good people but as criminals who could not be trusted. This validated that they were socially excluded and judged by members of the public.

6.2.6. Communication strategy for street girls/ the language of the street

Linguistic anthropologists mention that all languages are learned and mostly socially constructed. Language is used to communicate with others speaking the same language, or differently as it is regulated by the social context. The language is used to make a symbolic gesture to those who understand the intended meaning. One person can speak different languages and the same language can mean different things to different people hence others say the meaning get lost in semantics. The spoken language causes people owning the language to anonymously communicate their social context especially if they want to discreetly keep the content and the context of their communication (Ferraro and Andreatta, 2013:11). This thesis reports that the studied population mostly spoke in isiZulu during in-depth interviews as well in the focus group discussions. Direct observation exposed me to the other language that they communicated with which was absolutely foreign to me. The language was foreign to a point of me requesting to locate a young woman that part of data collection to translate what was communicated. It became clear that they used this street language in the context of checking who was having *whoonga/nyaope* because one of

them was being troubled by roosta one of the painful side effects that they listed. It was anthropological experience to hear young women going around shouting the following:

-zishaphi...jinda ...ziyakhapha or azikhiphi”umnandi or owunafokol. Those who had *whoonga/nyaope* responded as “*ziyakhapha* for sure”. Such dialects are used to communicate the availability of drugs amongst them on the streets and to inquire if there a nearest drug merchant on the street who is within or closer to them at that particular moment. Them being fluent in the language, I was encouraged to ask who the founders of this language are. The spoken language is largely influenced by the prison and mostly spoken in the prison cells. Studied young women confirmed that they have never been jailed but have learned this language from their boyfriends who have been jailed for different crimes and took different sentence periods.

Ferraro and Andreatta (2013:12) assert that “it is common for groups or cultures to have a distinctive language with its logical structure and set of rules for putting words and sounds together for the purpose of communicating”. Ndlovu (2015: 156-157) agree that the population of the street has its own language that is not used or understood by the larger society. The use of street language is a strong marker of social identity amongst the street population. Prison cells in this context remain the logical structure that composes the spoken language on the streets. There is no specific dictionary, but most terms are confirmed from gang leaders and those who were recently detained for different criminal activities on the streets. Those who guide the contextual use of the street language are ordained by prison lords to use with those gang leaders ascribing or who have voluntarily affiliated themselves into the group or gang.

It was interesting to note that while *whoonga/nyaope* was the lord of the street, some boys and girls on the streets did not smoke it. Their reason for not smoking it related to the fact that this drug was not approved by the sentenced leaders of the different networks. In their slang language *whoonga/nyaope inombolo engashayelwe...ayikho emabhukwini enombolo.* This means that seniors of the group networks who are prisoners had not endorsed the smoking of this drug. Therefore, it did not form part of the approved drugs like weed/marijuana which is a common drug.

I gathered the following language that they speak on the streets:

Panta means fending strategy/ survival means. *Zikhiphani* means to ask, “what is happening?” or, “do you have what I’m craving for?” *Azikhiphi* means there is nothing to offer. *Umnandi* means to ask or confirm if other people have what the other one is asking for. *Asijimbe/ asithi shwi* means let’s take a walk. *Amakgata* refers to the police. *Roosta* refers to the *whoonga/nyaope* side effect. *Fast kgozis* means, “hurry, time is against us”. *Anginatwaa/ anginafokol* means, “I don’t have anything to offer”. *Salute* means “I greet you”. *Queen* and *nzalabantu* refer to a young women of the street. *Umzikho* means, “I am about to sleep”. *Shandis* means any drug that is common amongst a group of friends (*whoonga/nyaope*, weed, cocaine, ecstasy, glue or just a cigarette). *Jinda* means that it is time to smoke whatever drug that they have either as friends or as couples. *Saduka* means that someone is high.

The use of slang/ tsotsi language on the street was noticed during the in-depth interviews. A narrator by the name of Sphume was one of the interviewees that used most of the language amongst other young women. Observations that I undertook on the street allowed me to confirm that slang/ tsotsi language is the culture of the street. This observation was also supported by Mutonya (2007: 172) in Chapter Five of this thesis. This is where I confirmed that indeed a fourth society is born or is rising with its own vernacular. The used language and the translation or the interpretation that I got confirmed that they communicate about the availability of drugs amongst other groups and to check if there are police around. This confirms the in-group connections that the Social Network Theory talks about in the content of the theory. It also confirmed the in-group bond that Farnandes and Vaughn (2008) have confirmed in their research findings in Brazil.

The question that I have as a result of having collected information around the *whoonga/nyaope* is as follows: What is the main benefit of smoking *whoonga/nyaope* because this particular drug did not get them high. This is a research scope that urban anthropologists can investigate in the future because this drugs proves to be ruling the PMB CBD and surroundings.

6.3. Game of the street

The existing literature confirms that the use of drug and alcohol is a widespread experience among homeless youth (Hills et al: 2016). Njord et al. (2010) agree that street life is associated with drugs and they have become the norm as well as the culture of the street.

They indicated in the research findings that the street population use drugs to overcome street contextual challenges as well as the burdens that they may carry from home to the street. Hecht (1998) and Fernandes and Vaughn (2008) in their independent studies conducted in Brazil, confirmed that the population of the street use substances to strengthen the in-group bond as well as acts as a shield to the discouraging environment they are struggling to survive in. Hills et al (2016:5) further asserted that some come to street not smoking drugs but they learn it on the street because of stressors that come as a package of living on the street. Some of the narratives that they collected during their data collection inform that drug users on the streets used drugs to cope with street demands, some smoked drugs because they did not want to constantly think about their situation. They mentioned that cigarettes kept them calm instead of drowning in sorrows that they don't have a solution for. Sniffing glue gets them high and they hallucinate. This particular study must be valued for finding that the studied on the streets also have something to say about the drug search or raiding experience. This study confirmed that the game that was commonly played by the studied population was mainly around the means of making money to buy drugs more than food. The following were observed as the trending drugs on the streets.

6.3.1 *Whoonga/nyaope* remains a trending drug.

Fernandes and Vaughn (2008), Ndlovu (2015) mentioned that inhalants, alcohol, tobacco, marijuana, cocaine, coca paste, valium and rohypnol, glue, nail-polish remover, benzene, spray paints and lighter fluids remain the top used drugs or substances on the street. Fernandes and Vaughn (2008) also listed volatile solvents, aerosol, gases and nitrites. This study report that in South Africa, particularly in Pietermaritzburg, *whoonga/nyaope* is the king of the street as it is mostly used by many young women and their friends on the street. Hills et al. (2016) are one of the South African researchers who have mentioned in their studies that *whoonga*, cocaine and ecstasy are dangerous heavy drugs on the streets and they are bad on the streets of Durban where they conducted the study. I expected to read more but their research findings were too brief and did not say much about dangerously categorised drugs. I noted Hills et al. (2016) findings do not say much. It just gets the reader wondering about how dangerous and bad these drugs are. The following narratives are not only filling the research gap that remains evident from Hills et al. (2016) but it was within my writing interest to write about *whoonga* because it was mentioned as a pull factor that

lured some of the studied population on the street. This study contribute by giving a detailed account of this trending drug known as *whoonga*.

The sample group narrated as follows:

It is a whitish powder stuffed in a transparent straw less than a finger joint in length. It costs between R17-00 and R20-00 (prices ranged from spot to spot but I did not see merchants).

Young women smoked this particular drug as follows:

*A pinch of the drug is poured onto a small piece of foil.
The smoker burns the underneath of the foil where the pinch is poured.
The drug burns into smoke.
The smoker inhales the smoke through the nose and that is how they enjoy the drug.*

Those who do not have enough money prepare the *whoonga/nyaope* dope as follows:

The drug preparer uses a paper called 'rizzler' which is commonly used to prepare weed dopes. She pours the whoonga/nyaope dope and mixes it with the cigarette mixture. They wrap it up with the rizzler paper and the drug user smokes it like cigarette. They enjoy this preparation in small pulls and they pass it around their friends.

I observed that they shared this dope without being cautious about possibly exchanging any form of orally transmitted diseases. I also noticed that this drug decreases food appetite because I did not see anyone eating after smoking which confirms that the population of the street is no longer concerned about food, but they are drug driven. I also did confirm that some sleep after smoking and others do not.

6.3.2. *Whoonga/nyaope* side effects

Farnandes and Vaugh (2008: 674) state that the heavy reliance on drugs by street survivors result in them experiencing psychobiological effects. This thesis report that *roosta* is the major side effect that was mentioned by *whoonga/ nyaope* smokers and non-smokers. I also observed that such young women fear this side effects and their happiness on the street is regulated by it. When one was starting to complain about severe stomach cramps, they all went around to check who was having the drug and that was communicated through the use of their street language. This observed experience confirmed what the Social Network Theory illustrates - that people who of the same group remain connected for the purposes of belonging and of protection. The sharing of drugs symbolized that they strive to protect each other from the severe side effects of *whoonga/nyaope*. I also observed that they 'fend' to

avoid this drug side effect because they said it can lead the person to death. I was fortunate to observe the following symptoms as they affected a girl on the street.

6.3.2.1. Observed roosta symptoms

Those who are affected by *roosta* start to yawn as if they want to sleep. The user gets tears in their eyes as if she is coming down with hay fever. She also complains about unstable body temperature (feel extremely cold and extremely hot at the same time). She complains about unbearable stomach cramps. They roll on the street pavement making painful noise. The person experiencing this pain ends up vomiting blood.

I noticed that *roosta* could attack the drug addict for more than an hour before it could subside. They say this dangerous effect is felt because the *whoonga* mix has a Ratex mixture that causes them to be sick like poisoned rats. The studied population mentioned during interviews that this drug side-effect can affect the addict at any given time and it cannot be eased by a pain killer.

6.4. Glue is a trending substance on the street

I also observed that the puffing of glue in plastic bags or bottles was a common activity in almost all the people of the street. Tyler (2006) as well as Karlsson (2015) also listed sniffing glue as a common experience for the population of the street. It was also recorded by Ndlovu (2015) and by Hills et al. (2016) in their independent studies. Their findings confirmed that the use of such according to the studied population was linked to being high so that they don't stress about their families as well as the pressure that comes with street life. I noticed that they buy the glue which is contained in bottles but then empty it into another plastic container. They pour the glue in plastic containers. I noticed that the glue does not lose its effect because some plastic bottles did not have lids and these girls still enjoyed it. Some hide their glue containers under their big jackets; others puff it openly. These big jackets were mentioned in Chapter Five as strategies of disguising their identity on the street.

6.4.1. Effects of glue on users

Many literature sources have confirmed the use of glue as a cheap drug on the street. I observed that some glue addicts were felt numb and restless after puffing this drug. Others

began to laugh and see things. I also noted this particular drug put them in a hyper mood. I also noted the following side effects.

Glue side effects

It has crippled two people of the street - one girl and one boy. The girl had a confirmed disability because of the effects of the drug on her body. I observed that she was permanently disabled. The other boy was crippled and walking with crutches. This finding is not a new finding but confirms the psychobiological effects that Fernandes and Vaughn (2008) confirmed as a glue side effect.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter ethnographically observed the life and experience of the studied population on the streets of the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. The observation yielded an immense amount of information that confirms that street pavements, lanes and playing grounds are the homes and socializing spaces of the studied population and their friends. The study also noted that the number of girls who join the street grows each day. Furthermore, the study captured that *whoonga/nyaope*, weed/*ganja* and the sniffing of glue remain the trending drugs on the streets and the first two are smoked without any reservation that it could be spreading oral communicated diseases. The following chapter will be collating all the recommendations that were considered across all the chapters.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and recommendations

7.0. Introduction

This research project was undertaken to understand the life and experiences of young women of (19–35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. I argued that no one was born on the street, that street life is no longer the experience of boys as previously mentioned by early researchers. I reasoned that street life exposes them to a deep kind of vulnerability and I also argued that they remain a population that does not enjoy equal rights and that they must be protected by public policies. I also argued that push and pull factors to street life cannot be concluded as a universal experience. It was within my anthropological reasoning that reasons associated with *streetism* push and pull factors especially those that tell the experience of the studied population will obviously be contextual/ situated experience and I am humbled that this thesis satisfied all the objectives that were proposed for this study. This dissertation recognizes the usefulness of qualitative research and the methodologies that fall under it. The reviewed literature guided me with a framework and prudent guidelines on which I based my study has contributed new insight in the existing body of knowledge. The collected, analysed and interpreted data also contribute to the field social sciences as it captures a credible informed experience of young women. The content contributed by this study is not only intended for anthropology only but it is also intended to be used by other disciplines within the social sciences for the purposes of further researcher, of programme development or policy reframing.

7.1. Summary of the chapters

This anthropological study was conducted to collect epistemological experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of PMB CBD and surroundings, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa as introduced in Chapter One. This study proves that indeed anthropology is the study of human kind and anthropologists study people wherever and whenever they are found. The context of the study fell under the scope of urban anthropology as I was interested in documenting their life and experiences on the streets. Within the context of urban anthropology, this study fulfilled its task which was to ask why the studied population is homeless and this remained a key question which was shaped by the perspectives of the African Feminist Theory and that of the Vulnerability Theory. Again,

this was an anthropological reasoning posited by Ferraro and Andreatta, (2013) as they advise that it is important to understand why people are homeless. Narratives from key respondents were thematically presented and analyses from the perspectives of theoretical frameworks. Concepts and terms that were key in this study were defined for the benefit of explaining the context in which they were used. The problem statement was delineated and supported by credible and recent journal articles. The problem statement fitted into the theoretical frameworks as well in the qualitative data collection methods and was well justified within the scope of anthropology as presented in Chapter One.

Chapter Two provides a detailed analysis of the existing literature from which the gap that this study intended to bridge was delineated and supported by a cradle of literature sources. The content of the chapter is inclusive of the state of families, the society and state. It thoroughly examined the role and the responsible that it has over the population that the study focused on. Critiques from prominent theorist were used to validate the state of such institutions and this thesis contributed an approach that would actually assist these institutions in redeeming their role and responsibilities over young women wherever they may be seen living in a vulnerable context.

The collected data was collected, analysed and interpreted by the data collection instruments presented in Chapter Three and such findings are delineated in Chapter Five and Six of this thesis. Such Chapters confirm that this dissertation does introduce new knowledge in the existing body of literature. Chapter Five and Six provides new insights to street life and also expands the existing knowledge of push and pull factors to street life and this is on its own is an anthropological contribution telling the story of young women in Pietermaritzburg which is a research location that has not been prioritized by even local researchers particularly those who are interested in street life and its experiences. The rationale or the relevance of conducting this study was presented in Chapter One but it was my anthropological hunger that a young woman identified or observed in the street of PMB CBD and surrounding should be given an opportunity to tell a story regarding reasons that got her to street. Such narratives are what this study contribute as a grounded insight into the life and precarious vulnerability experiences that comes with leaving on the streets of PMB CBD and surroundings. Chapter One also listed different context of vulnerabilities

that comes with living or of surviving on the streets. Chapter Four of this thesis delineated theoretical perspective drawn from the perspectives of four lenses.

7.2. Contribution to new knowledge

To be explicit, this study contributes empirical evidence to the existing literature in many significant ways as outline in Chapter Five; firstly, by telling a story of young women on the already mentioned streets which many researchers have never prioritized in their research endeavours; by revealing her vulnerability context and reasons for such on the street and by exploring her drug experience, to mention but a few. Such findings demonstrate the uniqueness of street life that the studied population has experienced. The collection of this contextual experience is also anthropological contribution because anthropology as a field is uniquely known to have interest in collecting contextual experience of people even those who live in a diaspora. Chapter Two of this thesis presented that families, societies and the state are weak and that, that identified weakness has resulted the growing population on international streets. The literature as well as the African Feminist and the Vulnerability theory hinted that families and societies have exposed young women to vulnerability contexts that have eventually pushed or pulled them to the street and they were re-victimized while surviving on the street (Tyler, 2006). I also contribute Figure 5 as a collaborative approach of social institutions (families, societies and the state) in the protection of young women irrespective of gender, age or race. My reasoning is that the collaboration of these institutions along the narratives or the voices of the population of the street will help in diagnosing issues that families and the society is confronted with and find solutions to strengthen their role and responsibility as immediate institutions of socialization. The state will be reminded of this responsibility to ensure that families and societies are healthy enough to respond to challenges that weaken their strength. I believe that this collaboration will be one the successful strategies of rooting out street life as relief from family challenges. I also believe that the society at large, particularly those who have been confirmed to be treating them as less human by Tyler (2006), will begin to be polite towards them and also treat them as normal human beings. The population of the street will also stop being enemies of other members of the society as well as of law enforcers representing the state as argued by (Fernandes and Vaughn, 2008).

In the existing hub of research conducted around the street phenomenon, this study contribute for the first time that culture-bound syndromes (*amafufunyana*, *idliso*, *ukuthwasa*, the distribution of meat, hereditary recurrences, family connections on the

street, finding love on the streets). These are push factors that other researchers have never codified in their research findings as leading to *streetism*. Such push factors remain the experience of twenty (20) young women that participated in the study and the collection of such fulfilled objectives and questions that the study intended to collect. Detail information about *whoonga/nyaope* addiction as a push factor to street is also contributed for the first time by this thesis. Hills et al. (2016) being the recent research who reported about this drug in Durban also did not list this drug as a push factor to the street. Furthermore, this study also contributes new knowledge about the prominent drug known as *whoonga/nyaope*, its ingredients which could benefit medical practitioners and members of the public in knowing more about the drug. Such narratives clear misconceptions and shares primary data.

This thesis also contribute a simplistic description of this side effect is severe stomach cramps which last long. Collected narratives confirm that this new drug on the streets has painful addiction effects. They call such side effects a *roosta*. The second side effect is the ceasing of one's menstruation cycle/ periods. This research advocates for the protection of such young women as they narrated that drug lords use them as drug transporters to other provinces. This study argues that this is a violation of human rights. They mentioned that this black market has resulted pain and misery in their lives as some of their friends have never come back to the PMB streets after having smuggled drugs against their own will.

Within this drug experience, this study has recommended a medical anthropology research inquiry that will analyse the effects of *whoonga/nyaope* in a female's bladder. I am concerned that drug does severe damage if drug victims have confirmed their menstruation cycles have stopped. The collection of the new drug on the street and the experience that comes with it was a recommendation made by Embleton et al (2013) as they recommended in the study that they conducted that street conducted research must continue to compile information about the epidemiology of drugs and substances amongst the population of the street. This conducted study took extra effort to learn and observe how this *woonga/nyaope* is used by its users. This study also collected that the some of the young women were lured into the streets because of the rapid addiction that comes with it. Their narratives include the ingredients, the pricing as well as the merchandising that this involved. This thesis treasures such detailed inform about this drug as it clears misconceptions that the public has concluded without an emic perspective. This thesis mentioned in Chapter Five that this drug is a worm that has created a crack in most families and destroyed trust which has led some young

women to the street. This study also reports that the cheap price and the effects that comes with the drug addiction is also listed as a push factor that is newly contributed by this study.

This drug was reported by Hills et al. (2016) but the content of their research was critiqued for having been too brief about the drug pricing, commercialization, and its side effects. This study provides a detailed understanding of this drug such as ingredients, pricing, merchandizing and the extent to how these young women are victimized in the process of smuggling these drugs within and beyond of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, as well as the side effects that comes with it.

This study also contributes the theme of obscured, misconstrued identities, street appearance which are reported for the first time in the body of literature about street life. Recorded identity labels isolate them from being considered as normal human beings and they are treated as less than human beings. This a discrimination that Tyler (2006), Ndlovu (2015) and Karlsson (2015) mentioned as a common experience of those who are homeless. Their socially constructed and misconstrued identities have buried their precious names that they usually receive from their families and tie them to their lineage. Such social identity labels also validate that one's identity is socially constructed. This study also contributed new categories of street appearance amongst the sampled young women which reveal that some are on the streets as housewives while others are there working as prostitutes. Additionally, this study also contributes by mentioning that street life is influenced by prison life. This is evident by the categorical labelling of street gangs or groups either as 26s or 28s which are categories of prison cells. Moreover, this study reports that street life is no longer only for heterosexual girls and boys, but also the space for homosexuals. This was confirmed in the narratives where one young women shared that she is lesbian and that she he has many male friends on the street. Masculinity and patriarchy is also reported to be dominant in the streets of the PMB CBD and surroundings. This was evident amongst the existing groups and it was narrated by young women who mentioned that patterns of not using condoms during sex remains the preference of their boyfriends. Other young women confirmed to have not been paid by some of their male clients. This thesis categorises this experience as young women surviving through prostitution as treated as sex objects or like a "bed of sex slavery" a brutal sexual violence experience that is exerted by men. This is the vulnerability that the African Feminist Theory has alluded that this is a chronic issue that affect young women in their families.

Chapter Six of this thesis contribute the street language that the studied population used to communicate with their boyfriends on the street. Most of their slang language was used to check if there are no policemen around and to confirm the availability the drug that one can use. I must also report that, boys on the street also yearned to be part of the study, they kept on saying when passing where I was directly observing them *sesister, why ukeleza aboqueen kuphela, why nathi meaning sister... why are you only writing about the life story of o'queen [that's how these young women are called on the street]*. This gave me a sense that they have never been researched, they also have a story to tell which has probably have not the priority of other researchers in anthropology or in other disciplines/ fields. The use of slang language also validated what Mutonya (2007) believes must be done by linguistic anthropologists which is to prioritize research that is spoken by the street population. This recommend linguistic anthropologists to embark on the collecting meanings behind street language. This study is important because research findings will also assist policy custodians to understand the language used in order to work on strategies that will curb drugs on the street. The use of different language as recorded to give an indication that the street society/ population is unique and deserves to be thoroughly studied for it to be understood in this context.

7.3. Data collection reflection

I must also acknowledge that I felt safe when observing street life because of being supported by YfC and not being ill-treated by boys on the street, but I must also report that people who were not living on the street really felt comfortable passing by the population of the street. This validate what was concluded by Tyler (2006) in the research that he conducted when he said the population of the street is mostly feared by those who don't live on the street. I wish to thank street boys living on the streets of PMB CBD and surroundings for not hindering my process while observing street life. I must also thank the supporting organisation Youth for Christ, for introducing me to the street leaders as they knew that I was on the street. This introduction, validated the composition of network/gang structures that are reported in Chapter Five of this thesis. My introduction to the street structures was important even for them to know who is in the street and what is he or she doing.

What I also think is important to write in this conclusion is that street life is addictive. After having spent some days conducting in-depth interviews and direct observations, I was somewhat encouraged to live on the street, up until this day. I still ask myself if I was hoping

to stay on the street as a researcher or as a population member of the street. Thanks to my Mom who always provided a debriefing counselling after each data collection session.

Chapter Three of this thesis provide limitations that were encountered during the focus group discussion. They are reported to alert other anthropologists that data collection does not come easily even though it has a potential of soliciting nuanced information. Encountered data collection limitations related to the studied population as they did not want to be recorded during the focus group discussion. Their reason was that, their responses will somehow mention names of people who are not part of the research, not by intention but because their stay on the street is dependent on them. The other reason was that they were ready to talk about *whoonga/nyaope* which is a drug that they are also used as smugglers of and it came through that they feel dehumanized.

7.4. Research claims

Chapter Three presented a qualitative research design through which I was able to collect narratives that the studied population had owned as their own personal experiences. This study validates that qualitative research methods allow people to be narrators of their experiences. The use of qualitative research methodologies was also shaped by the theoretical frameworks that this study was embedded in. This thesis confirms that the use of qualitative research through life history methodologies really assist the researcher to write vividly about the situation of that particular person which in this case was a young women living on the street. The use of data collection methods such as in-depth interviews and focus groups allowed me the experience of listening to someone's story while still being able to keep within ethical stipulations, as well as being able to distance my emotions diplomatically. This study argued that people's experiences are never to be researched through quantitative research methodologies as they will be denied to the opportunity to narrate their personal stories. This study also reasons that narratives not only grant the researcher the opportunity to collect people's experiences. The amount of tears and laughter that came from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion ended up providing a brief or a cathartic therapy to the studied population. They cried and eventually smiled. Quantitative research methods would not have achieved this. Conducting direct observations gave me a taste of doing ethnographic research even though at times I somehow got chicken skin which was triggered by the experiences that I was naturally observing on the street.

This study also brings to the existing literature that migration through hiding on the trucks contributes to the growing population of the street. The transport system which is believed to be transporting goods from different service points is reported as a transport strategy that has linked the studied population to the street as their envisaged destination. Other research interests can focus on the transporting systems that leads to street life and explore the experience that becomes part of transport negotiations.

Also, this study like all other studies acknowledges the expansion of families and experiences that have weakened it (Armstrong, 2013, Browning and Pasley, 2015 and Cavanagh, 2015). Recorded narratives also revealed that they came from diverse families that did not treat them well. This was evident as they displayed an angry face when narrating their push factors. Reported families validate that the fabric of nuclear families and extended as safety nets has somehow become weak. Their narratives capture hardships that they couldn't endure from their own families. Their navigation to the street is an indication of being "fed up" as a strategy of making a "breakthrough which is grounded from an independent decision". This argument is raised by many, even in the Chapter Two where the literature review is outlined, this thesis argued that "it take the village to raise a child (Ndlovu, 2016)". This truism that this study still believes in was supported by researchers that have also prioritized to conduct experiences of street life particularly in Africa. It was within this that this thesis also presented Figure 7 where it is argued that the interconnectedness of families, the society as well as the state could safely protect a young women from opting for the street. Karlsson (2015) said these are nets that can fight *streetism* and its chronic, brutal experiences. These institutions can root out different vulnerability contexts that infringe her human rights, that make her feel unsafe, unwanted, less protected. If these institutions strive for this interconnectedness, many women will run to them in case she needs protection and love. Chapter One of this thesis also captures a problem diagnosis framework that such institutions and policy custodians can used to diagnose problems that come with street life. The belief is that this framework will enable policy custodians to realize that their policies are not inclusive of the population that are living on the street.

Push and pull factors are a result of the strain that comes with the responsibility of assuming parenting roles at a young age after the passing of parents because of HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is a confirmed as a factor that weakens the fabric of families, societies as well as the state. There is a need to find solutions that will halt the number of parents dying because of it. The expansion of family (Figure 7) depicts that there are many other family units that are

still to come which will bring with them new patterns of parenting. This thesis also warns that expansion of such family units will eventually distort a clear trace of familial lineages. The future will have people who will grow up not knowing who they are in relation to the roots of their clan. Cultural anthropologists are encouraged to assist in conducting research that will in the future link the population of the street to their families. In Africa, a lineage trace is important as most people believe that they must be connected to or with their ancestors. Chapter Five of this thesis listed a recommendation which spoke to the interconnectedness that such institutions must prioritize in order to save the fabric of families, the society as well as the state.

This thesis also reports that the population of the street is self-reliant through hourly prostitution, working as car-guards as well as asking for money on the road intersections as well on the robots. These remain their daily fending strategies. This became evident as they listed different fending strategies that they embark on daily as they survive on the street. This study noted that prostitution is amongst the fending strategies of the street but it comes with sad narratives. Those making a living out of prostitution reported to be economically abused as they sometimes don't get their rates from their clients. This thesis encourages policy custodians to protect these young women because prostitution is not a choice but remains the *pantala* 'fending' strategy on the streets.

Their day-to-day experiences on the streets proved to be filled with misery, shocks, trauma, gloomy experiences and they are mostly victimized by people they trust and those they don't know. They feel dehumanized and taken for granted. Street life has proved to facilitate a bad space that shunts or shatters one's aspirations (Seager and Tamasane, 2010, Ndluvu, 2016 and Hills et al., 2016). Figure 8 depicts a cage which this study presents as their contemporary situation. Within this situation, Chapter Five of this thesis has listed a recommendation that speaks to the empowerment of these young women while living on the streets as a rehabilitation strategy that helps them become socio-economic active agents. This particular study has also developed a skills development form that policy custodians in PMB can make use of to learn what these young women aspire to be empowered on while they are still living in the street. This study is also tasking PMB policy custodians to also learn from the experiences of other African countries who have invested in the lives of the population of the street successfully.

This study also makes a contribution that the population of the street is or has formed a society with structures that will eventually demand basic services like any other normal society. Such structures exist as tribes of the street. Chapter Five of this thesis provides detailed information on the leadership portfolios within such structures. Policy custodians in PMB are encouraged to respond to this growth as it does not only linger to cause social instability in the present time but it will also affect the business sector. The business sector in PMB will eventually lose out on external investors. Ndlovu (2015) posit that they must not be avoided or considered as a nuisance as their visibility or appearance on the street can also discourage external investors. During direct observation, this study noted that street life in PMB has its own language. This language is known and understood explicitly by the population of the street. This study recommended that linguistic anthropologist to embark on learning about such languages in the street. This recommendation was also mentioned by Ferrarro and Andreatta (2013).

7.5. Contribution to anthropological theory

It is important to acknowledge that perspectives of African Feminist Theory and the Vulnerability theory are contributed for shaping questions encouraged the personal narration of their push and pull factors which appeared to be distinctive from the exist literature. Furthermore, this thesis also contributed to the Social Identity Theory as well as the Social Network Theory by arguing that one's identity is also shaped by external forces. External forces reported in this thesis refer to the prison as gang or street groups are carrying the identity of prison cells "the 28s and the 26s". This thesis contribute to the Social Identity Theory by arguing that one's identity is also shaped by the environment that she comes from or that she calls home as well as external forces or structures that may not be evident or known. Asking about the extent to which people are shaped by their environment is part of what environment anthropologists take interest in understanding individuals, people or groups. This became evident when they mentioned that their group structures, functions, purpose on the street, group identities are shaped and controlled by prison group's cells. In relation to the African Feminist Theory, this study captures a contextual experience that depicts the life and experience of young women in PMB where the study was conducted. The contribution that this study made to the theory is that, it must continue to forge unity amongst women as this study reported that the studied population voiced that they receive a lot of mislabels, misconstrued identities from women instead of the other gender being men.

This thesis has recommended that African Feminist Activists are to raise more advocacy on the unity amongst women or unity on people of the same sex. This was recorded as a gender apartheid/ discrimination that existed between young women living in normal houses and those living on the street. The studied population voiced that a lot of misconstrued identities were uttered by young women and other women; less by men.

This thesis also critiqued the African Feminist Theory as well as the Vulnerability Model for only thinking that a women's vulnerability only takes place in their families or even at the work place - which patriarchy only affects a women that lives under a normal household. Such collected experiences of young women are also reported to broaden the scope of the content that such theoretical frameworks consider as the only situation that is confronting the young women. This critique came from a finding that revealed that various forms of vulnerability and abandonment and patriarchy still affect young women that live on the street where the study was conducted. This is an indication that vulnerability and the effects of patriarchy in the lives of young women are further entrenching, rather than collapsing. This shared critique is supported by Ennew (2004) cited in Ndlovu (2015: 220) who have argued that the existing literature on *streetism* lacks a specific theoretical frameworks or models. Ennew (2004) further argues that, there is a need to develop an "African child-youth centred model" that responds to the push and pull factors of street life. That is why this thesis has suggested a list of research endeavours that other future researchers can embark on in Pietermaritzburg. It is an undisputable argument that it is through recommended research endeavours that the roots of *streetism* will be curbed and it is from such findings that street child-youth centred models could be developed and launched.

7.6. Contribution to public policies

This thesis contribute by noting that those living on the street represent a fourth class; one that is visible, growing in numbers daily and mostly hated by members of the ordinary society and remain outside the scope of public policies. The very same warning was reported in the study conducted by Ndlovu (2015:226) in Bulawayo-Zimbabwe that the 'new community' is growing on the streets. This calls for a revised policy strategy to respond to the demands that will eventually come with it. This thesis further advises that if policies are not revised or strengthened, Pietermaritzburg policy custodians must await a day where public protests will be held by the population that is growing on the street. There will come

a time where their gang/ tribe leaders will demand services that are benefited by normal citizens. Policy custodians must begin to think about the effects that such protests will have on the surround business sector.

Furthermore, this thesis validates that young women, particularly those sampled in this study, have fallen through the cracks of public policies that is why they have even voiced that they are not direct beneficiaries of public services that are benefited by people who live in ordinary households. The thesis has also presented Figure 9 that explains the effects that comes with street life.

This study continues to argue that they are not direct beneficiaries of the democratic dispensation and policies that came with this era for all citizens. The content of this thesis listed policies that must be revised to include the young women on the street. Some of the policy recommendations also spoke to a thorough conceptualization of who is a young women and where she could possibly be in terms of a place called home or in terms of their geographical location. This thesis believes that, such exercises will empower policy custodians that some of their policies are not inclusive of a young women on the street. Some of the policy recommendations were also specific to particular departments whose mandate is to empower young women. The recommendation is embedded on a belief that policies will be revised and be considerate of their rights and their welfare on the streets. They will be protected from traumatic experiences and the amount of vulnerability that is exerted by officials of the state as narrated in Chapter Five of this thesis as well as members of the public. This thesis holds that departments with a policy and a political mandate to empower young women must be seen taking a leading initiative to transform the lives of the studied population while even still living on the street. This thesis also encourage policy custodians to enact policies that will inform a welfare model that can transform the lives of the studied young women for the better. This study further holds that this is a socio-political attitude that can respond to the street phenomenon in Pietermaritzburg. This study has contributed a skills audit form that policy custodians and other stakeholders can make use of in the quest to respond to the empowerment of the studied population while living on the street. It is the belief of this thesis that their self-reliance must be confirmed while on the street so that they will volunteer themselves out of the streets instead of be forced or deported to their families and still find their way back to the street the following day. Such investment will also help to reclaim their precious identities and also confirm that they are beneficiaries of the promised democracy which is the enjoyment of all those who live in ordinary households.

Their current identities don't represent Pietermaritzburg as a democratic city that strives to make life for all citizens possible. Transformed identities because of benefited empowerment investments will prepare them as future parents and leaders and their identity will match the description of a liberated young person.

7.7. Recommendations for future research and responsive programmes

The content of this thesis has a list of research recommendations that can be undertaken within different fields in anthropology or by other disciplines or government sectors. Such recommendations are based on realizing that a lot of research in Pietermaritzburg concerning *streetism* is still greatly needed. This thesis even recommended that PMB policy custodians and other government officials can embark on a tour to learn about how other Southern African countries like Nigeria and Zimbabwe to mention but a few have prioritized research around this phenomenon and also learn about the net effects that came as a result of in-depth research. This sentiment will actually be realizing the content of the African Feminist Theory which advocate that African problems must be resolved by learning from the experiences of other African countries. This study is of the view that more ethnological research will solicit rich and deep understanding other challenges that comes with streetism experience. Conducting more empirical research as recommended will also be giving a young women or a boy on the streets where the study was conducted an opportunity to be heard and they will feel being part of a big or normal society. The society will know them better and policy objectives and interventions will also include them as normal human beings.

Pietermaritzburg policy custodians, government department and other key stakeholders must create public participation spaces where they will discuss factors that contribute to *streetism* or street life. This thesis recommends that an urgent *iNdaba* must be convened by PMB policy custodians in order to influence the agenda that which respond to the daily challenges of the studied population. The other *iNdaba* should be opened to parents and the population of the streets so that parents could learn how much they contribute to the rise of the street population in their parenting journey. An urgent *iNdaba* is recommended which will empower such young women and the boys on the streets about their entitled rights. The Department of Education must consider the reopening of adult education sectors or any relevant programme that will respond to the needs of those who dropped out of school because of age and poor coping levels as well as those who did not pass their matric. The Department of Health and medical anthropologists to partner in doing extensive research

that will looking at the effects of *whoonga/nyaope* on the human body as the study noted that it stops menstruation cycles. There is a need for a study that will examine the relations of the state and families in South Africa in order to determine whether DSD whose other mandate is central on encouraging sound and healthy families, is indeed championing this indicator. Another study could look at how the existence of the newly pronounced Department of Women has done in empowering young woman on various issues. The study could analyze documents that have been developed to inform the empowerment agenda of young women across all provinces. Other future researchers can look at how parents relate with their young women? Or what will it take for the young women's voice to be taken seriously? Research should be undertaken on how young women (playing housewives) enjoy free liberty on the street under the daily provision of their boyfriends. The undertaking of this study will help in revealing if the street is a more or a less gendered society or not at all a gendered society.

The prevalence of *whoonga/nyaope* on the street of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surrounding as deep drug syndicate warrants forensic anthropologists and South African Police Services (SAPS) in KwaZulu-Natal to embark on forensic research which will defy manufacturing as well as commercializing spaces. Linguistic anthropologists can also embark on a research that will make sense of the street language and I hold a belief that, if the street language could be understood, this *whoonga/nyaope* will collapse as a notorious drug.

7.8. Concluding reflections

This thesis has presented the situation of young women on the street even through frameworks that explain the brutality of street life and the extent of vulnerability that comes with it. The content of the thesis truly gives a detailed experience of a young women living on the streets of PMB and her narrative demonstrate that indeed her push and pull factors to street life will always be contextual and can never be generalized to other cultures but other cultures can make inferences. Figure 8 explained that it is easy to join the street but street life becomes a cage from which the studied population confirmed to be difficult to escape. Figure 11 lists needs that the studied population happens live without or to be without which proves that street life really prunes the branches of dignity, contribute to changing identities, and confirms the death of future aspirations. Policy custodians must take responsibility to respond to the factors that push and pull these young women to the street and they must also

take the responsibility to provide with basic services while they still live on the street. Lastly, this thesis was able to respond to all the objectives and questions that were outlined to guide the execution of the study.

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Appendix A: Ethical Clearance

Appendix B: Gate keeper's letter



06 December 2016

Attention to: University Of KwaZulu-Natal

The PhD candidate by the name of Lungile Prudence Zondi (201 300 704) consulted our organisation regarding her academic research project "The life and experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings."

We agree to link her with the population that her studies is focused on. We will also provide all the necessary needs (interview rooms) in the process of data collection. This letter is only valid for the period of her study not beyond.

Regards



Simphiwe Sithole

YFC Khayaletu Project
Community Outreach
Coordinator Burger Street -
Pietermaritzburg
Youth for Christ — KwaZulu-Natal
Office: (+27) 033 394 4057
Mobile: 076 663 3523

Appendix C: Informed Consent

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Note to researchers: Notwithstanding the need for scientific and legal accuracy, every effort should be made to produce a consent document that is as linguistically clear and simple as possible, without omitting important details as outlined below. Certified translated versions will be required once the original version is approved.

There are specific circumstances where witnessed verbal consent might be acceptable, and circumstances where individual informed consent may be waived by HSSREC.

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date

Greetings

My name is **(Lungile Prudence Zondi a registered student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal PhD Anthropology my student number is 201300704. My UKZN registration can be confirmed or verified by Prof Vivian Besem Ojong who is my academic supervisor on 031 260 2431 and her email is ojong@ukzn.ac.za. My contact numbers are as follows 031 260 2538 or alternatively try 071 606 50 62, my email are as follows balungilezondi@gmail.com or zondil4@ukzn.ac.za).**

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research **(The life and experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.)**. The aim and purpose of this research is to (learn from the experiences of girls found to be living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings). The study is expected to enroll (20 young women between the ages of 19-35 years of age). It will involve the following procedures (data collection procedures are as follows, in-depth interviews, one (1) focus groups and direct observations). The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be two (2) consecutive days (day 1 being the time of in-depth interviews which will be less than an 30 minutes. Day 2 being the day of a focus group discussion which won't be more than 60 minutes. Direct observations will not requesting your direct interaction with me being the researcher. I will also request you to refer me to the next girl that might be willing to voluntary participate in this study without expecting to given a gift, money or any incentive

before or after data collection. The reason for your requested referral is based on the fact that I don't know many girls on the streets but your referral could assist in meeting them.

The study is not intended to involve any risks and/or discomforts because interviews as well as the focus group discussion will not be held in public spaces. Each participant will be told of her voluntary rights in the study according to the listed ethical considerations in the ethical clearance application. Those who may for various reasons not want to be part of the study at any given time won't be reprimanded or be coerced to participate or be misled with appealing incentives because the participation is voluntary. Willing participants will not be misled by promising incentives which will not be given after data collection. Confidentiality (in the form of not taking or recording respondent's actual names at any stage of data collection) will be strictly maintained. Posed and probing techniques won't raise discomfort levels. If the respondent happens to feel so...she will be allowed to withdraw her participation in the study. A Social Worker from the supporting organization called Youth for Christ will be able to provide a debriefing session to those cases that might arise). I hope that the study will create the following benefits (tell a sound story of a girls on the streets of Pietermaritzburg which will shape responsive public policies and intervention programmes. Please note that our in-depth interviews will not be recorded but I will write down all your responses. Also note that if you are willing to participate in the focus group discussion. Our discussion will be recorded so that it will be easy for me to analyze the data. Your names will still not be needed but all participants will be given a participating number as a group identity.

Confidentiality will be maintained as follows:

- Respondent's names will not be asked or recorded in any stage of data collection.
- Collected and unanalyzed responses will be kept in a locked up cabinet at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- The stored data will not be used for further data interpretation unless approval is granted by the studied population.
- In-depth interviews and a focus group discussion will be conducted in a private place.
- Each in-depth interview session will be between myself as a researcher and the person who has voluntarily signed the consent form.
- Focus group recordings will also be kept in a locked up cabinet at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- False identifiers will not be used or referenced at any stage of data analysis.

The following factors will lead the researcher to terminate the participation of respondents:

- If she doesn't want to be interviewed alone.
- If she keeps on mentioning her name up to three times in the interview conversation.
- If she keeps on mentioning other peoples names in her response.
- If she demands to be paid or given any incentive before or after participating in the study.
- If she does not want to sign the consent form before the start of the interview or focus group.
- If she somehow shows a level of discomfort in the process of data collection.

As a participants in the study... You can withdraw from the study if I (being the researcher) bridge the following ethical considerations:

- I do not read your voluntary rights to the study before the start of an interview conversation.
- Does not allow you to sign a consent form before the data collection.
- If insist on recording your name.
- If I promise you a gift to enhance your participation in the study.
- If I ask questions that are not listed in the questionnaire.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number_____).

Storage of data

- All data collection instruments will remain the property of the University of KwaZulu-Natal up until the PhD Degree is awarded to me.

- All data collection instruments will be locked in the cabinet from the first day of data collection. No other person other than myself will have access to the stored information.
- After having confirmed the authenticity of the collected data, all instruments will be shredded.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (provide contact details) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Consent Form

I (Name _____) have been informed about the study entitled
(provide details: _____) by (provide name of researcher/fieldworker:
_____).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate).

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at (provide details).

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If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private

Bag

X

54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Video-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Use of my photographs for research purposes

YES / NO

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

Appendix D: Data Collection Instruments



In-depth interview schedule (the very same structured interview schedule will be used during to facilitate a focus group discussion).

1. Are you between the ages of 19-35 years of age? Yes/No
2. What is the category of young girls found in the streets in terms of the following known categories (a child of the street, child on the street, part of the street family) that are found in the Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings?
3. How do young girls define and survive their sexuality, sensuality, sexual intimacy, sexual identity as well as they are growing in the street?
4. How does femininity and masculinity continue to shape the life's of girls on the streets?
5. How long have these girl been arriving on the streets?
6. What challenges girls sexuality, sensuality, sexual intimacy, sexual identity and their social identity in the street?
7. What is the meaning behind the new opted social identity on the street?
8. What are names given to girls living on the streets?
9. How do girls feel about such names?
10. What is the structure of families that young women come from?
11. What are uncommon push and pull factors that possible drive girls to the street?
12. What encourages girls living on the streets to frequently migrate from one spot to the other?
13. How do girls establish, affiliate, and maintain networks as they survive in the streets?
14. What defines and determine interconnectedness with in a group of girls in a particular network?
15. What is the structure of the network?
16. How is trust developed and sustained in a group?
17. What are common and untold vulnerability shocks that are possible experienced by an girl living in the streets on daily basis?
18. What are the names that other people, families and society use to reference girls who live on the streets?
19. What are the tactics that being used by girls to regain or redeem their self-esteem after experienced vulnerability contexts and experienced shocks?
20. What is the role of policeman's, social workers, government departments and non-government organization in the life's of girls living on the streets?
21. How do such young women survive daily poverty in the streets?
22. What are the best family moments that are mostly kept by if they happen to reminisce about their life before the streets?
23. What is the highest level of education that girls possess as they live of the street?

24. Do girls living on the streets able to access government services that assist them with medical care, adolescent sexual reproductive health programmes, social security, social grants, birth certificates or identity documents?
25. What protection preference would girls opt to have as they continue to live on the streets?
26. Where do most young women (19-35) living on the streets comes from? (rural or urban communities)?
27. Are all girls found to be living on the streets come from South Africa only? If no, explain where they come from.....
28. What is the future goal of girls living on the streets?
29. How do girls envisage achieving such goals as they continue to grow in the streets?
30. Do you in your personal experience as a girl on the street still perceive streets as an ideal environment to escape challenges that girls experience in their original families?
31. Do girls on the street ever think of being re-united with their families after having spent time on the streets?

THANK YOU



FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

This is how I ethically commit to undertake/facilitate a focus group discussion.

RESEARCHERS PARTICULARS:

Name of the researcher: Lungile Prudence Zondi

Student Number: 201 300 704

Degree: Doctoral Thesis in Anthropology

Research title: *The Life and experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.*

Supervised by: Professor Vivian Besem Ojong

University Name: University of KwaZulu-Natal

Campus : Registered through the Pietermaritzburg supervised in Howard College.

FOCUS GROUP LOGISTICS

Date: _____

Location: _____

Day of the week: _____

Time of the day: _____

Session length: _____

FOCUS GROUP INTRODUCTION

- **WELCOME**

Thanks for agreeing to be part of the focus group. I appreciate your voluntary willingness to participate. Please note that our discussion will be tape recorded for the purposes of analyzing the gathered information. You are requested not to quote your name as you wish to respond to a particular posed question. You are only allowed to quote your reference number e.g 01 not a name that you are known with.

INTRODUCTIONS

Moderator; assistant moderator

- **PURPOSE OF FOCUS GROUPS**

I am doing a PhD research in Anthropology through the University of KwaZulu-Natal conducting a study that seek to capture the life and experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. The research is supervised by Professor Vivian Besem Ojong and was authorized by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Ethics Board. You have been recruited because after having had an opportunity to hold in-depth interviews with some of you, I then felt an academic need to hold a focus group where we still talk in a group manner. I'm pleading that you participate in the group discussion as I am interested in capturing your life and experiences as you girls are growing on the streets. In case you agree, please complete the circulated consent form where you are declaring that you have willingly agreed to participate in the study and that you have been informed about your rights as an interviewee. Please make sure that you don't write your name.

LET'S BEGIN WITH THE SESSION

Before we start, I need to reiterate that the sessions will be recorded; personal names should not be quoted. The session is anticipated to last 1 hour. If scheduled questions are not completed you will be asked to reconvene in the day that will be announced before the session is adjourned.

- **GROUND RULES**

- 1. I REQUEST THAT YOU DO THE TALKING**

Please note that our discussion is guided by set of questions which I will ask. I rely on you to be as frank as possible as you are sharing the life and experiences as you are living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings. I request that we all participate equally in the discussion.

- 2. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS**

I wish to express that every person's experiences and opinions are important in this study. I discourage put downs. However I wish to encourage hearing a wide range of life and experience that has been felt or experienced by every single one of you. So your personal story line matters in this study.

- 3. WHAT IS SAID IN THIS ROOM STAYS HERE**

I want express you that what is discussed here should stay here. By this I'm encouraging everyone to be willing to share even sensitive issues because the information shared will not be aligned with people's names at any given stage.

- 4. I WILL BE TAPE RECORDING THE GROUP DISCUSSION**

I am recording because I want to capture everything we are discussing.

I will not identify anyone by name in the analyzed findings. I promise that you will remain anonymous.

-----THANK YOU-----



Direct Observations

The following is a format of how field notes will be documented:

RESEARCHERS PARTICULARS:

Name of the researcher: Lungile Prudence Zondi

Student Number: 201 300 704

Degree: Doctoral Thesis in Anthropology

Research title: *The Life and experiences of young women (19-35 years) living on the streets of Pietermaritzburg CBD and surroundings.*

Supervised by: Professor Vivian Besem Ojong

University Name: University of KwaZulu-Natal

Campus : Registered through the Pietermaritzburg supervised in Howard College.

OBSERVATION LOGISTICS

Date: _____

Location: _____

Day of the week: _____

Time of the day: _____

Key things to be observed:

- Surviving strategies
- How they interact with each other and with members of the public.
- Daily living patterns (the day life and the night life)
- Spoken language on the street
- Living conditions
- Game of the street
- Interaction of groups on the streets

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