A Study of Shelters for Street Children from an Organizational Perspective:

The Views and Experiences of Managers, Staff and Children in Selected Durban Shelters.

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DECLARATION

This thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary and such assistance has been acknowledged, is the author's own original work which has not been submitted for another degree in any other university

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Mary Njeri Kariuki my wife, my youngest son Cege Kariuki (who continuously wrote me letters of encouragement) and to my late mother Wangui who imparted to me the ancestral blessings when I departed for South Africa and challenged me to work hard in this endeavour.

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets is universal, in particular in developing countries in Africa including South Africa. Causal factors are complex, multi-dimensional and inter-related and are mainly social and economic. They impact on three social institutions: school, community and family, which are the primary agents of socialisation. Children living and/or working on the streets are exposed to hazardous challenges: diseases; poor health; poor living conditions; crime and violence; arrest and incarceration; alcohol abuse; drug and sexual abuse; poor and exploitative working conditions. Consequently, they learn and internalise the survival culture as a coping mechanism. They suffer socio-economic exclusion in that living on the streets excludes them from participating meaningfully in life of mainstream society. The exclusion is derived from the general public's perception of children living and/or working on the streets, which is derived and shaped by media and sees them as criminals or in need of care. Society responded to the challenges of the phenomenon through shelter programs of intervention and reintegration. However, the efforts of NGOs and shelters have become inconsequential due to the rising numbers and increase their population. This intensifies demands on existing facilities and resources. Research on shelters did not gain any momentum comparative to studies on causative factors of the phenomenon. This situation plausibly could have arisen due to society's acceptance that shelters intervention and reintegration programs were adequately meeting and addressing the plight of children living and/or working on the streets. Yet shelters viewed as human service organisations have their organisational procedures and structures, which either hinder or facilitate the intervention and reintegration of children into the mainstream society. This study focuses on four shelters for children living and/or working on the streets in Durban. Social exclusion and/organisation theories informed the theoretical framework of the research. The enquiry applied a qualitative paradigm whereby individual interviews with shelter managers were conducted. Focus group discussions were conducted each separately with staff and children from the four shelters. The technique revealed valuable information about the experiences of children, staff and shelter managers as they interact and interface in the course of providing and receiving shelters services and in the implementation of intervention and reintegration programs.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical Background

The period before the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries is a time marked by rapid social change in all sectors of human history, and Bindé, Shayegan and Touraine, taking part in a debate at UNESCO Head-quarters argued that the period was the beginning of modernity coupled with globalisation (http://www.unesco.org: 24/5/2003). On the issue of globalisation, Calhoun and Keller (1997) argue that modern states struggle to maintain a steady course in global markets. This period witnessed two world wars, also the creation of the League of Nations, which later became the United Nations whose main aim and objective was to monitor and guard against the possibilities of another world war (http://www.globalactionpw.org: 25/6/2003). But the world has witnessed several minor but very horrific wars and civil strife with immeasurable loss of life particularly in Africa, e.g. the genocide in Rwanda (http://www.yale.edu/gsp/rwanda: 25/6/2003).

Rapid social change through industrialisation and urbanisation, together with the wars in many parts of the world particularly Africa, are part of the factors contributing to the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets (Schurink, 1993; Swart, 1991). This is because the impact of rapid social change and civil wars disrupt the lives of families and communities making them vulnerable and dysfunctional; consequently triggers the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets. Previous studies have noted that the phenomenon is universal and growing rather than decreasing and in particular in Africa especially in the urban centres of Sub-Saharan Africa (http://www.streetkids.net/info/:23/4/2002;http://unesdoc.unesco.org: 23/4/2002). Research conducted in different regions of the world and by different researchers highlighted the plight of children living and/or working on the streets thereby evoking a social response to address the children's plight (Boikanyo and Donnell, 1997; Desmond and Gow, 2001; Kilbourn, 1997; McAdoo and McAdoo, 1985; Michaels, 1992; Richer, 1991; Swart, 1991). Government agencies, world bodies and/organisations, together with NGOs responded to the plight of children living and/or working on the streets by means of various and varied programs including shelters and

children's homes. In 1996 the European Union organized a conference of streets and working children, role players comprised of European NGO's, Government Ministers, officials of the European Commission and the Council of Europe, international institutions such as UNICEF, WHO, OECD, and UNESCO and prominent academics. The conference noted that the phenomenon of children living and working on the streets is worldwide and growing, and agreed that there was a lack of recognition both by governments and by the general public of the escalating problems facing the increasing number of children living and working in the streets. In this regard, the meeting aimed at establishing a network of agencies working with children living and working on the streets, initially in Europe but with a view to develop it into a global network including developing countries (http://www.enscw.org/eng/history.htm: 23/4/2003). The European Union at that time was the only region of the world that had put in place a network that coordinates the work of organisations and agencies that intervene in the children's lives. This thought we shall explore further in chapter two because it is significant to the study and the phenomenon of children living and working on the streets, together with intervention programs.

Literature on children living and working on the streets confirms the argument that there are many factors which contribute to the growth and increase of the phenomenon. The factors hinge on family dysfunction due to rapid urbanization, economic hardships, political changes, civil unrest, wars, as well as natural disasters and the spread of diseases (Boikanyo and Donnell, 1997; Desmond and Gow, 2001; Kilbourn, 1997; Richer, 1991; Swart, 1991; http://www.who.int/archives/html: 26/4/2003). Accordingly children living and working on the streets are perceived and described as being at high risk and vulnerable to abuse and disease. HIV/AIDS is a significant component within the many ailments that children suffer from. The pandemic infects and affect the children, and has added a complex dimension and urgency to the phenomenon of children living and working on the streets (Boikanyo and Donnell, 1997; http://www.who.int/archives/html: 26/4/2003). It impacts on the children in two ways, first by infecting individual children due to their exposure to early sex practices without condoms (Boikanyo and Donnell, 1997; Swart, 1991). Secondly, death of relatives and guardians contributes to the population of disadvantaged children in difficult circumstances and in need of care (http://allafrica.com:23/3/2002; http://www.who.int/street_children:21/2/2002). HIV/AIDS, in this regard, is a

contributing factor and cannot be ignored in any study of the phenomenon. It has also posed new challenges in the area of shelters care programs and intervention strategies. Shelters have to cater for the reintegration of children into mainstream society, care for the increasing orphan population, and at the same time provide specialized care for those children already infected or showing symptoms of the disease. As a result, the challenges of the HIV/AIDS pandemic place additional burdens on shelter staff and finances (Boikanyo and Donnell, 1997; Desmond and Gow, 2001). WHO has developed a training manual for street educators or people who work with children living and working on the streets in response to the challenges of HIV/AIDS (http://www.who.int/street_children:21/2/2002). Some researchers argue that the pandemic will increase the number of children living or working on the streets (http://www.cyc-net.org/today2002:22/21/2003). This factor needs further research to empirically support the claim and in particular in contemporary South Africa.

Much work has been done regarding the factors which give rise to the phenomenon of children living or working on the streets, how the children live on the streets and what can be done about them (Acker, 1986; Agnelli, 1986; Ndhlovu, 1999; Richer, 1991; Swart, 1991). In a report to the World Bank Institute, Volpi pointed out that the phenomenon is spreading into other areas of the world where it was previously unknown, and according to her, the obvious causes are dysfunctional family ties and communities who succumb to adverse economic situations, which widen the gap between the very rich and the very poor. The phenomenon of children living and working on the streets is an alarming signal for economic and social redress so that the children do not continue to be marginalized, and this can be achieved through action to relieve the hardships of those already on the streets (http://www.worldbank.org: 27/5/2003). The World Bank only recently contemplated engaging with the plight of children living and working on the streets. Wolfensohn (2000), the president of the World Bank, acknowledged that children living and/or working on the streets were a growing concern and of particular interest to his institution, and added, "The Bank does not want to displace anybody operating in this field but to be an adjunct, an ally and support and to bring in the weight of this institution behind this issue." (http://wbln0018.worldbank.org: 10/5/2003). According to Wolfensohn, the implication is that the World Bank would not interfere with organisations dealing with children living and working on the streets, but show a commitment through including the phenomenon

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specifically in its policies (http://www.streetchildafrica.org.uk: 10/5/2002). It is noteworthy that the comment was made in the year 2000, approximately two decades since literature first appeared regarding the plight of children living and/or working on the streets (Agnelli, 1986; Aptekar, 1988). It appears that the phenomenon of children living and working on the streets is gradually being recognized as a challenge all over the world, which demands combined efforts of governments, NGOs and other stakeholders. Worldwide, the organisations that have responded to this challenge initiated shelter programs of intervention and reintegration. In this regard, shelters together with their programs of intervention and integration are significant to study because they intervene, interface and interact with children living and working on the streets individually and as a group.

1.2   Context of the Study

1.2.1   Historical Background

History of shelters as means of intervention on lives of children living or working on the streets is not recent, nor is the perception of them as vagrants and deviants in society. Children are either perceived as a nuisance or as criminals and are consequently filtered through the criminal justice system in this regard, children living and working on the street are perceived to be undesirable elements because of their potential to criminality (Ennew, 1994). Research confirms that living in/on the streets is itself considered delinquent, therefore, it follows that children living and working on the streets are delinquents. Delinquency itself is correlated with criminal activity and this necessitates their removal from the streets as reported by Peacock and Theron, (1992). The other perception of children living and working on the streets is that they are a batch of helpless children who need mercy and care from society. In this regard, services are designed to ease their plight. The two perceptions govern the mindset of public and society; but are diametrically opposed and correspond well to the nature of human service organizations discussed by Hasenfeld (1992: 3) who argues that the nature of human service organisations are perceived by the general public as a necessary welfare provider, but also as wasteful, foster dependency, obtrusive and agents of control. In this view, shelters for children living and working on the streets, together with their programs echo the symbolism of either a caring society, or a society bent on correcting their behaviour through instilling discipline. Arguably, shelters and

their intervention/reintegration strategies are derived from the unsatisfactory status of the children's lives, which leads to their marginalisation. In this regard, shelters either serve as care providers or as correctional institutions. Their operational success depends on donor funding, participation of children in the programs, which is based on the relationships between staff and children and on the overall bureaucratic set-up.

While the phenomenon of children living or working on the street is worldwide, the phenomenon received public attention in the early 1950s as noted by Swart (1990:49) that early newspaper highlights on the phenomenon appeared within that period in South Africa. Until the 1980s apartheid laws placed artificial constraints on urban migration, strictly controlling the incursion of black South Africans into the 'white' areas of the country. With the relaxation and eventual abandonment of the control in 1980s, South Africa has seen a rapid rural migration to urban areas, which increases informal settlements (Machepha, 1997) and leads to rising numbers of children living and/or working on the streets (Swart, 1990; http://www.ashoka.org/fellows: 2/5/2003). A report by the Boys Brigade of the United Kingdom in liaison with Streetwise (1997 to 1999) emphasized that

> There are 9000 street kids in South Africa, of which the vast majority are black. South Africa's street children are an uncomfortable reminder of the country's racial legacy: they are yet more of apartheid's victims. There are virtually no white street children in South Africa. 10,000 white children are supported in state-registered and subsidized children's homes, but there are no state-administered children's homes for black children. The 12 existing private homes accommodate just under 1,000 black children. If the white community produces 10,000 children in need of care, the statistical projection is that there are at least 50,000 black youths in need of care. Many believe that this projection is unrealistically low (http://www.boys-brigade.org.uk: 2/5/2003 National Archives on the activities of BB UK).

The figures above were taken during the transition period that South African was emerging from apartheid system to democratic dispensation. Apartheid system of government changed into democratic South Africa but the numbers of children living and/or working on the streets continues to increase rather than decrease and researchers verify the trend (http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/education: 27/5/2003).

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Hosken, (2004) in an article titled 'Lost children: shock figures' in The Mercury newspaper puts the latest statistics of children roaming the South African streets to approximately 60,000 and continues to argue that majority of children are 'runaways' (http://www.themercury.co.za: 26/2/2004). Noteworthy is the use of the concept 'runaways' because researchers also refer to children living and/or working on the streets as 'runaway' kids (Boyden, 1990; Burman, 1986; Ennew, 1994). The figures are an indicator of the rising number of children living on the street. Poverty is a major contributing factor to the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets (Boyden, 1990; Ennew, 1994). Poverty is more prevalent and spread among masses of black people in Africa and in particular South Africa. This peculiar situation for South Africa is reflected in that majority of children are from black communities and are the ones found in shelters.

1.3   Shelters in Durban

History of shelters for children living and/or working on the streets in Durban is several decades old and can be traced to the 1980's. Mainly non-government organizations (NGOs) and private individuals in South Africa responded to the challenges. The services they provided included: meeting basic needs and attempting to reintegrate them with their families or with mainstream society. The government recognized the role NGOs play while it formulated policy guidelines (Schurink, 1993:51-57). The condition for privately run shelters to receive government financial aid is that shelters be registered and be prepared to upgrade their facilities into children's homes thereby meet the stipulated requirement in South African Minimum Standards of Child and Youth Care (1993:51-57). The difference between shelters and children's homes will be examined further as we discuss definitions. A shelter is distinct from a children's home in as far as shelters are privately ran while majority of children's homes are government oriented. Children in the shelters are free to come and go while in children's homes, and because they are filtered through the children's courts they don't enjoy the liberty to either be in the homes or not.

Two perspectives inform the development of intervention programs derived from debate on how children living or working on the street are seen and understood. The concern is whether to treat children as 'normal' children or should they belong to a special category? Proponents of the first view argue that "a child is a child" and a child

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living or working on the streets does not differ from any other child in need of care. The second view holds that children on the streets exemplify unique characteristics, which make them different from ordinary children (Ennew, 1994). Shelters see children living or working on the street as a special category that need special but phased programs aimed at first getting rid of the street life habits. Secondly shelters endeavourer to evaluate the family circumstances, which drove children into the streets. The process is done before and after reintegrating children with their families or communities of origin. Shelters hold the view that the Childcare Act 1983 should reflect this notion and see children living and/or working on the streets to have been exposed to special situations which require special treatment. In this regard, the Childcare Act of 1983 in its present state does not fully address the needs of children living or working on the streets. The Children's Draft Bill 2002 recognises the role of shelters and hence categorises children living and/or working on the streets as being in need of special care (http://www.polity.org.za/DraftChildrens Bill: 27/5/2003). The contents of the bill has changed so much within time and one need to wait to see the final draft before commenting on the contents referring to children living or working on the streets.

1.4   Motivation for the Study

The study was conceptualised to study the organizational structures of shelters, the range of services, programs of intervention and reintegration and their objectives to see how staff and children interface and interact in the shelters environments. Children in the shelters are shelter residents and recipients of shelters services. It's worth noting how they view service delivery, and how they participate in the shelters programs. Studies on shelters for children living or working on the street in South Africa have been undertaken previously (Biderman-Pam, and Gonnon, 1990; Bernstein and Gray 1991). This study contributes insights on how staff and children views and experiences shelter programs of intervention/integration and service delivery. The study details how children, shelter staff and managers interface, how shelters are organised and structured, how services are delivered and received, and how intervention and reintegration programs are developed, implemented and sustained.

1.5   The Purpose and Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study is derived from the fact that shelters are entrusted with the task of designing, developing, and implementing intervention and re-integration strategies with a view to meeting the needs of children living and/or working on the streets. In this light, shelters set their criteria on children's intake as well as their own standards on the service delivery cognisant of the policy guidelines. This study makes the assumption and proposes that the institutional programs coupled with children's internalised street survival culture may facilitate or hamper the desired goals of reintegration and the re-orientation of children into the mainstream society. The research suggests a way forward for intervention and reintegration strategies. Consequently, the study stresses that there is a need to understand the organisational and managerial structures of the shelters, the views and experiences of managers, staff, and of children on service delivery and the programs of intervention and reintegration. Shelters needed resources and capacity to be able to deliver services and meet the challenges of children living and/or working on the street. Intervention/reintegration programs should be aligned with the broader constitutional frame works of the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child (1996) and The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1998).

1.5.1   Objectives

The inquiry is a study of shelters from the organizational perspective measuring the views and experiences of staff as service providers and of children as recipients of the shelter services. The main objectives are:

- The Organisational structures of the shelters.
- The types of intervention and reintegration programs they run and the services they render.
- The Views and experiences of shelter Managers, staff and children.

1.6   Problem Formulation

The study conceptualised the problem in two perspectives: first, shelters formulate and implement intervention programs together with service delivery independently but cognisant of the requirements enshrined in the South African Minimum Standards of Child and Youth Care (1993). Second, the impact intervention strategies have on the growing and increasing numbers of children living and/or working on the street. These

two perspectives continually concerned shelters managers because of the fear that creating a dependency syndrome among children would equally encourage children to live their homes in search of better services in shelters. In this regard, Intervention efforts needed to be coordinated and collaborated programs of action between government departments and shelters in order to prevent children from choosing to live on the streets and intervene and reintegrate those who are already on the streets. This link is necessary because different shelters approach the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets from different perspectives, which mark their uniqueness philosophically and ideologically.

The Durban Street Children's Forum was aimed to co-ordinate and to bring together NGOs and shelters and be that link between shelters and government. Child Welfare Department is charged with the responsibilities to oversee what shelters do and implement. Shelters carry out their service delivery together with the intervention and reintegration programs independently. The government appear contented with the input of the shelters so long as they are registered according to the Child Care Amendment Act 1996. There seems to be no concern how shelters are organized and run to meet their objectives and the challenges of children living and/or working on the streets. In view of this, a plausible question would be, is the present number of shelters enough to meet the challenges of growing numbers of children living and/or working on the streets? If so, are the shelters adequately organized to handle the new dimension of HIV/AIDS? And if they are capable, are they meeting the challenges?

1.7   Research Methods Employed in the Study

The study relied on a qualitative form of enquiry because it allowed the focus on the discursive and interaction nature of social science research (Henning, et al 2003). But this should not be understood to mean that other approaches could not have been applicable, but rather that the researcher was more comfortable in conducting and making use of techniques and tools of qualitative inquiry (Henning, et al 2003: 7). More important is the nature of data the study required to measure, the variables with regard to the interface, experiences and interaction between shelter staff and residents on one hand and on the other, the intervention/reintegration programs and shelter services. The research sample size consisted of four shelters. In keeping with social science research ethics, whereby anonymity and confidentiality have to be observed, the

names of the shelters have been renamed, A; B; C; D. In that order, they will be referred to hereinafter. A total of 24 invitation letters were written to shelters. Most responded positively and some did not respond at all. The first four shelters who responded positively indicating their willingness to participate in the research project were included. A pilot project was undertaken with another shelter. The results were encouraging, thereby giving the impetus to the study. In every shelter, the following activities were undertaken:

- Reintegration programs and policy guidelines were studied.
- Focus group discussions with the children as recipients and users of shelter services and programs were conducted.
- Focus groups discussions with the staffs as service providers were conducted.
- Managers of shelters were interviewed.
- A study of any records that shelters kept and were available. (most shelters do not necessary keep records).

A time frame of 5 years back was applied to allow the identification of particular trends and patterns within the shelter's organisational structure, program development and implementation. The interplay between government's role and the shelter programs play that influence the lives of the children. Shelters staff interacts very closely with the children as they deliver service and implement shelter programs. In this regard, shelter staff character and behaviour towards children, together with their output in delivery of services and implementation of intervention/reintegration programs determine whether shelters meet their objectives. Consequently, their participation in the study was pivotal. Most important was the participation of the children in the study, because they were the recipients of shelter services and programs, and intervention efforts were geared towards their welfare. Gaitskell (1998) argues that the participation of shelter residents is dependent on the value they attach to shelter services and programs coupled with the inter-relationships between residents and staff members. There is a link between staff morale and children's willingness to participate in shelter programs. This link is very significant because it is the base upon which either negative or positive feelings of the children or staffs are derived and consequently the participation or lack of it of children in shelter programs and receptivity of services.

1.8   Theoretical Background

Researchers discuss the role and use of theory in research. Theory informs research and research likewise theory. The process is determined by the type of investigation the study wishes to archive (Babbie, and Mouton, 2001). This study is based on the organizational structures of shelters for children living and/or working on the streets. Shelters are a response to the challenges posed by either children living or working on the streets. Living and/or working on the streets is derived from difficult circumstances which excludes children from accessing services and realising their potential. Social exclusion and/organizational theories formed the framework of this study.

1.8.1   Social Exclusion Theory

Children living and/or working on the streets fall under the categories of disadvantaged and at risk. These categories, it could be argued fall under the broader theoretical concept of social exclusion theory. Children living and/or working on the streets, according to UNESCO, are socially excluded from various social activities e.g. school and learning, medical care, housing, welfare grants, (http://www.unesco.org/education: 3/4/2003). Proponents of social exclusion theory (ILO, http://www.ilo.org) emphasise the point that poverty is a major factor in social exclusion. While the concept is derived from capitalism and in particular western capitalism (Agulnik, 2002; Piachaud and Sutherland in Agulnik, 2002), the concept is quite relevant to children living and/or working on the streets because life on the streets is full of risk and life threatening behaviours. Children due to the lack of necessary official documentation find it difficult to access necessary services that could help to redress their conditions. Failure to access services means children are vulnerable to diseases, poor dieting, lack of attending school, and are exposed to criminal behaviours. Social exclusion in reference to children living and/or working on the street is intensified by street life culture, which alienates children from the mainstream society. Social exclusion resonates well with why shelters strive to intervene and run programs of re-integration of children into mainstream society. Reasonably it could be argued that the ways and means shelters deal with intervention and reintegration without or with little participation of the children could be a pointer and extension of the problem of social exclusion of the children. Shelters and their programs of intervention/reintegration are a response to redress the social exclusion of children living and/or working on the streets.

1.8.2 Organizational Theory

Shelters for children living and/or working on the streets have to be seen within a broad context of other human service organisations. This study recognised that in order for shelters to empower and prepare children for their future, children's participation in the process of decision-making was crucial consequently the study relied on the human relations perspective theory. Human relations theory underlines the importance of good interpersonal human relationships in organisations (Hasenfeld, 1992: 22-29). Human relations model lays emphasis on organisations to maintain good human relationships to facilitate smooth running and success of institutions. Human relational model is different from the hierarchical model in that managers and staff are involved in decision-making processes. Ennew (1994: 130-147) argues that participatory models of managements are best suited with projects that work with children living and/or working on the streets.

The study was also cognisant of the fact that shelters did not ascribe to any model of organisational theory. It consequently adopted the conceptual perspective that organizational structure of NGOs/shelters involved in intervention/ reintegration of children is based on philosophical ideology with regard to staff-staff and staff-residents relationships. Service providers cum program designers were mainly concerned with meeting basic needs of children with little funds they received from donor agencies. In this regard, shelters ideology and the donor agencies' concerns were inextricably related (Hasenfeld, 1992: 3-21). The mission of shelters and their programs of interventions was the modelling and changing of children's survival behaviour, empowering them to become constructive, productive and responsible citizens. The process of modelling and changing of children's behaviour depend on, firstly, shelters staff's understanding and perceptions of children living and/or working on the streets. Secondly, the role staffs play in assisting children to participate in the intervention/reintegration programs and, thirdly, the experiences derived from the interaction between staff, service delivery, and the children. The interaction and experience indicates the extent and level the social exclusion of children from mainstream society has been redressed. Shelter managers put minimal emphasis on organisational structures of shelters, while emphasised more on service delivery. It could be argued that shelters have very loose organisational structures (Hasenfeld, 1992) and this could be linked to their lack of resource capacity, which impacts

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negatively to their competence to set organisational mechanism that reflect other organized institutions. Social exclusion and/organisational theories were relevant in the study of shelters for children living and/or working on the streets.

1.9   Chapter layout

Chapter One: Introduction.

Discuss the bases of the study. The phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets according to Swart (1990: 126), challenges the core fabric of society, facing it with a moral dilemma, and consequently the consciousness of society is called to respond. The study focuses on shelters for children living and/or working on the streets, the interaction and experiences of the staff as service providers and children as the recipients of shelter intervention and reintegration programs within the shelters' organizational environment.

Chapter Two: Review of related literature and definitions.

The chapter reviews literature relating to shelters for children living and/or working on the streets and explores the inter-connectedness and linkage of the factors, which trigger the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets. The factors arise from external forces beyond national boundaries and how macro-, micro and mezzo external factors consequently impact on the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets, which challenges society to respond by way of shelter's service delivery and intervention programs. The chapter also discusses and defines the concepts significant to the study. Defining concepts is within the discipline tradition of social science inquiry.

Chapter Three: Methodology and research methods.

The chapter discuses the methodological paradigm and how the study is located within the debate between quantitative and qualitative approaches in research. It outlines in detail the methods that the study applied in soliciting information and discusses the sample and sampling methods, how data was recorded, stored and analysed. Also included here is research ethics and the limitations of the study and ends with a conclusion.

Chapter Four: Data analysis.

The chapter analyses the findings. The presentation of the findings is in tables and descriptive analyses.

Chapter Five: Discussion and interpretation of the findings.

Discussion on research findings and the interpretation of the data is presented here and the chapter ends with a conclusion.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and a way forward.

This chapter wraps up the study and charts a way forward, and makes recommendations derived from the study. Mapping a way forward is significant because the study focused on shelters for children living and/or working on the streets, hypothesized that the interface between shelter organization, staff as service providers and the children either promotes the development capacity of the children or recycles the marginal status of the children in society. Consequently shelters as human service providers need recognition by the government through registration and the support of society.

1.10   Summary

The phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets is triggered by many complex and interlinked factors; the emergence of HIV/AIDS has compounded the situation. Government and society together with NGOs have responded to the challenge of children living and/or working on the streets with a view to easing the children's plight and as a commitment to conventions of children's rights. The intervention and reintegration of children into mainstream society is an endeavour that needs the efforts and commitment of every member of any society. The interface between the children and the shelters is hinged on two perspectives, namely the low status of children living and/or working on the streets which leads to their exclusion from all aspects of society and this motivates the shelters' response, and the organization of the shelters.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND DEFINITIONS

2.1 Chain of Inter-Related Causative Factors

A review of literature on the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets reveals that the phenomenon is nationally and locally perceived and handled, thus the phenomenon and its challenges are treated either on a national, local, and individual, levels (Bilankulu, 2000; Ogunsanya, 2002; Osborne, 1995; Ratau, 2001; Rudwick, 1996). The focus interprets street child as: (a) an individual who has developed psycho-social challenges; (b) linked to the child, is the child's individual family/community who have become dysfunctional due to factors beyond their control; (c) on the local level are the external structural factors which impact on the families/communities but are derived from and perceived within the national level of any society e.g. 'The Street Children of Hillbrow' (Swart, 1990); ' Street Children In Durban: Past Present and Future' (Bedford, 1995); 'The Alternative Africa: Children living and/or working on the streets In Ghana' (Shanhan, 1999), etc.

Contextualizing the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets in this manner, on one hand, highlights the inherent peculiarities of every situation and circumstance that cannot be replicated elsewhere. But, on the other hand, the localization of the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets reasonably could be argued and assumed that were all the factors, which trigger the phenomenon, dealt with locally, the phenomenon would cease to exist and the plight of children adequately met. But this is not the case because factors that trigger the phenomenon have a global dimension, which research tends to overlook by laying emphasis on the local situation and on individual child, family or community. E.g., one contributing factor, which impacts heavily on the causes of the phenomenon, and is widespread, is poverty. Poverty impacts on individual families, communities, and societies at large. Poverty, according to some researchers, is structural and the World Bank state that eradication of poverty requires not only the efforts of single national governments, but a global collaboration and coordination (http://www.worldbank.org: 24/5/2003). Poverty has to be seen within the global context, which is complex. Research indicates that the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets, rather than decreasing, is increasing, as poverty afflicts more families and

communities posing enormous challenges to society (Boikanyo and Donnell, 1997; Kilbourn, 1997; http://econ.worldbank.org/files/: 24/5/2003). A study by Beelge et al. (2003) in Tanzania revealed that there is empirical connection between child labour, family income shocks, and access to credit. The findings confirm what researchers have argued that poor families make use of their children to beg for money on the streets to supplement family incomes (http://econ.worldbank.org/files/: 24/5/2003). Many governments and NGOs concentrate efforts to the eradication of poverty, which imply and assume that, that would result in the elimination of children living and/or working on the streets. This assumption delineates or plays down other factors that cause children living and/or working on the streets. Globalisation is a topic within social sciences, but will be referred to here to demonstrate that there is a link between the national phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets in any society, particularly in developing countries, to what we consider in our view as the global influencing factors of the phenomenon. This linkage cannot be dispensed with and requires attention within a global context and perspective.

This chapter discusses the links between the macro level factors, which trigger the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets, and global factors, which trigger the national macro factors. We will argue that the causes of the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets have to be perceived within that larger context, consequently the efforts to deal with the challenges posed by the phenomenon, would be coordinated to reflect a global response. Secondly, we will review the related literature in regard to intervention and reintegration strategies, and finally the chapter will discuss the dilemmas of defining social science concepts particularly the terms that are dealt with in the research namely, "children living and/or working on the streets, who they are; shelters/homes for children living and/or working on the streets; and children living and/or working on the streets as residents" of the shelters/homes. These terms are commonly used generally but represent the process of intervention and reintegration of children living and/or working on the streets and are the bases of this study.

2.2 The Reality of Children living and/or Working on the Streets

The phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets is a social reality, a reality that imposes itself on society in a manner that demands society's response. Durkheim, (in Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 22) posited that in every society there are 'social facts' which exert influence on individuals by being or having an existence independent of the individual. In this regard, the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets exerts a unique survival culture on individual street child, and similarly influences mainline society to respond. It could be argued, borrowing from Durkheim's analysis, that there exists a causal relation between factors which cause families and communities to be dysfunctional and the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets (Babbie, and Mouton, 2001: 23). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:XXI) people create structures that facilitate interactions between them in this regard, the interactions between families/communities from where children come from could be the subject of analysis and from the families point of view because what is known about them is what children say (Ennew, 1994).

Human interactions are based on relationships which are binding to individuals in society. Some of these relationships are based on the level of bonding between individuals. It could be argued that the external factors impacting and disrupting the bond between families and communities to the extent that they become dysfunctional need analysis, because families and communities are part of the primary agents of socialisation (Giddens, 1976; 1979; 1991). The link between children, families, communities and external factors, which weaken the bonding have to be understood within a broader context of other linked and interrelated factors, they too are influenced by other larger and powerful factors, e.g. un-employment could arise due to poor or lack of education and health of an individual on one hand, but be linked to poor performing economic activity in a country and the capacity of open, transparent and accountable governance. And this would plausibly be linked to bilateral or multilateral relations with other nations who would be trading with a particular country (http://www.wto.org: 15/5/2003). This notion leads to concerns that social scientists endeavour to possibly decipher the interrelatedness of human relations within the global context. Wolf, (1982) and Mills, (1971) argues that human interactions and relations are interconnected.

To perceive human social reality as an interconnected web of inseparable social structures whereby national and international borderlines are blurred makes it difficult to determine where one ends and the other begins. The linkage would plausibly link factors that trigger the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets to the global dimensions. In this regard, it would be logical to highlight the multi-dimensional and multinational complexity of the phenomenon. In this light, what is perceived as reality thus (children living and/or working on the streets) is derived from other deeper and far-reaching multiple and interlinked factors both local and international, and if this complexity is ignored, the true reality would be obscured or falsely represented (Fay, 1996:50-53; Wolf, 1982: 6-7). This realisation is significant for shelters because they needed to have an impact on the rising number of children living and/or working on the streets to ensure their validity of purpose and existence in the eyes of the public and society (http://www.worldbank.org/html: 30/4/2003).

To understand the reality of children living and/or working on the streets within a broader context, one needs to go beyond the children's social world on the streets, be it as an individual or a group. Subsequently, it could be argued that cognisant of the interconnections within the human social interactions, shelter's intervention and reintegration programs needed to address all factors which push or pull children to living or working on the streets. It would be logical for shelters to include in their programs a dimension that could lobby and advocate for global efforts to monitor causes that influence the rising numbers of children living and working on the streets. Babbie and Mouton, (2001:XXIII) state that social scientists construe meaning of human relationships, looking into all the variables involved in the relationships. In relation to the factors that give rise to children living and/or working on the streets intervention/reintegration programs do not seem to deal with all the factors. However there are world bodies or organisations who either deal directly or indirectly or have in their agenda, the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets, e.g. United Nations Children's' Fund (UNICEF) (http://www.unicef.org: 26/03/003), the World Bank (http://www.worldbank.org/html: 30/4/2003), the World Health Organisation (WHO) (http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/: 28/04/003), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (http://www.ilo.org: 23/4/003), etc. Most of these organisations have coordinated programs in certain different countries. This perspective gives the phenomenon a global dimension and raises the prospects of comparative studies on

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what or not works in addressing the causes and intervention/reintegration programs. If we consider, first, that the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets has been recognised by world institutions as a challenge to society, which needs to be addressed at all levels, and tackling the challenges is congruent with protecting their rights and secondly, that humanity interacts through inter-connected and inseparable processes, it would follow that there would be a world mechanism or body to monitor, develop, implement, coordinate and sustain the intervention and reintegration strategies. E.g. The National Alliance for Street Children in South Africa; and the Durban Street Children's Forum. The two structures are in the making, not yet fully operational or representative enough but the efforts are noteworthy. Other examples include, the European Union who has set the European Network on Children living and/or working on the streets Worldwide.

Among the aims and objectives of the network is to create awareness, to lobby politicians and seeks increased budget allocations on behalf of children living and working on the streets and their needs (http://www.enscw.org/eng/htm: 24/5/2003). Child Rights Information Net Work (CRIN) was formerly formed in 1995 to coordinate NGOs that work with children living and working on the streets e.g. Childhope International; Streetkids International; and Futures For Children of Homeless Families Foundation. CRIN's membership has grown substantially since it was established and by the end of 2003, there were over 1,400 organisational members. According to CRIN, most of members are non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The network includes also United Nations agencies, community based organisations, research institutions, inter-governmental organisation (IGOs) and governmental organisations (http://www.crin.org/organisations: 24/5/2003). The network reaffirms also the point that the phenomenon of children living and working on the street is worldwide as was pointed out by Jewdokimowa (1999) that; 'The problem of street children is an international problem, which must be dealt with on an international basis' (http://www.enscw.org: 23/5/2003). Cognisant of the fact that the phenomenon is world wide, it would follow that such networks and structures would be replicated within the regions of Africa (Bourdillon, 2001 http://www.cyc-net.org/cyc-online/cycol-1201-bourdillon-l.html: 24/5/2003).

Shelter's intervention/reintegration programs notably omit 'children's voice'. Consequently, the omission of children's voices contravenes the rights of children in residential care and as laid down in the manual on Minimum Standards of Child and Youth Care (1998:13). Researchers emphasise that children's voice be heard, and their contribution and participation be valued (Ennew, 1994). Children who participated in a forum for street children in Brussels stated that "We, the young people from the different countries that have participated in this forum, have for a long time been thinking about the issues that concern us directly or indirectly". They identified health, education, rights of children and young people, culture, social, sport, leisure, and participation in politics, as issues that need the attention of governments, NGOs and all those concerned with the welfare of children living and/or working on the streets (http://www.enscw.org/eng/Forum: 5/5/2003).

2.3   Review of the Related Literature

The phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets has been researched and studies worldwide emphases different themes and responses to the challenges children pose to societies. The studies are predominantly done after media highlights the plight of children living and/or working on the streets. There is a noticeable trend whereby the studies start by concentrating on difficulties of defining the subject matter, who 'children living and/or working on the streets' are, the applicability of the label ' 'street children' and how children themselves perceive the use of label (Agnelli, 1986; Aptekar, 1988; Blanc, 1995; English, 2002; Swart, 1990; Swart-Kruger and Donald, 1994). Worth noting is that the studies recommend some form of intervention to alleviate the plight of children. Studies by Corrizosa and Poertner (1992), Hansson (1991), Hagan and McCarthy (1999), Hutson and Liddlad, (1994), Swart (1990), Swart-Kruger and Donald (1994), emphasized the categorization children living and/or working on the streets either as children in need of care and therefore to be mercifully treated, or as potential criminals and a nuisance to the public. In this regard, the public called for the children's removal from the streets, particularly in Durban beachfront area for the sake of tourist business (http://www.suntimes.co.za: 24/5/2003). The use of police to remove children from the streets has been discredited due to the conflict and tensions it generates causing poor relations between them (Allsebrook and Swift, 1989, Balanon, 1989; Bourdillon, 19995; Boyden and Holden 1991; Human Rights Watch, 1997; Lusk 1989). However, the role of the police cannot be dispensed with because of

the nature of police work. Consequently, various studies highlight and argue for improvements in the interaction to ease the tensions and conflicts that arise (Allsebrook and Swift, 1989; Balanon, 1989, Michaels, 1992; Street Child Unit-Durban City Police, 1993). Further studies highlight the factors that cause or trigger the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets, citing the reasons why children leave home, e.g. the push away or pull factors (Boyden, 1990, Burman, 1986; Ennew, 1994, Mullaly, 1993; Machepha, 1997; Swart, 1990; Swart-Kruger and Donald, 1994). Boikanyo and Donnell, (1997) and Boyden, (1990) focused their studies on the risks of living on the streets, how children are vulnerable to the exposure to drugs, sexual abuse, disease, crime and violence.

2.3.1 Intervention Responses

The plight of children living and/or working on the streets evoked a worldwide desire for interventions to address the challenges the phenomenon posed. As a result, many shelters and/organisations dealing with the intervention strategies are evident in most countries, particularly in developing countries (Boyden and Holden, 1991; Blanc, 1994; Carr, 1995; Jones, 1993). Studies on the intervention strategies point out two important points: first, there exists a gender bias in representation because there are fewer shelters for female children living and/or working on the streets than for males (Blanc, 1994). Hanson (1991) argues that there is a lack of research and information with regard to female children living and/or working on the streets. However, studies also indicate that there are few female children living and/or working on the streets, particularly in the South African context, and therefore facilities are few (Richter, 1988; Swart, 1988; Scharf, 1986); secondly, interventions include the provision of a place to sleep, food, clothing and a form of learning (Boyden and Holden, 1991). This form of intervention emphasized a reactive rather than preventative action and was criticised for not dealing fully with all dimensions of interventions (Hansson, 1991; Scharf, 1986; Greene, 1997). The Government of South Africa document on minimum standards child and youth care (1998) stipulates that intervention strategies should endeavour to provide for the basic needs (shelter, food and clothing) of children. Many intervention programs were developed with this aim (Agnelli, 1986; Lusk, 1989; MacPherson, 1987; McCurtain 1988; Karabanow and Rains, 1997). Shelters in Durban included harm reduction programs due to the children's exposure to abusive and exploitative relationships, drugs and physical violence while on the streets (Boikanyo, and Donnell,

1997; Kilbourn, 1997). Harm reduction is a specialised form of intervention and was mainly implemented in the first phase shelter. Since shelters did not have the capacity to deal with intervention programs relating to health, education and learning facilities, they appllied referrals to the nearest clinics or hospitals and schools, which underlined the need for networking (Macpherson, 1987).

2.3.2   Residential Care Programs

Children living and/or working on the streets live with many complex and interlocking physical as well as psychological challenges. The circumstances at home lead children to the streets, on the streets life is risky and harmful which reinforces the difficulties they were getting away from home. When children are taken home after interventions by shelters, and situations at home have not changed, they are exposed to another circle of interrelated difficulties. Street challenges involve violence, sexual and substances abuse, which affects children physically. Psychologically, children are anxious, and at times depressed regarding a place to sleep, food, illness etc. Different shelters programs have been tried with the aim of meeting children's needs. Residential care programs are some of the interventions shelters have provided (Allsebrook and Swift, 1989; Carrizosa and Poertener 1992; Karabanow and Rains, 1997; Macpherson, 1987; Greene, et al 1997). Residential care programs have been criticised for being disciplinarian, riddled with organisational difficulties and being under-utilised (Greene, et al 1997; Scharf, et al 1986). Arising from the criticism, alternative non-residential care programs were developed in Latin America and other parts of the world that emphasized outreach work and working with children living and/or working on the streets within their street environment (Allsebrook and Swift, 1989; Blanc, 1994; Carrizosa and Poertener 1992; Ennew, 1994; Fitgerald, 1995). Despite the criticism, shelters continue to play a major role in the lives of children living and/or working on the streets by providing services and programs of intervention and ↙ reintegration. In this regard, it is plausible that residential care programs will continue to be part of intervention/reintegration programs and probably after children move from phase one shelter, they would move on into children's homes which are a replica of phase two and phase three shelter models.

2.4   Definitions

The focus of the research is on the experiences of mangers, staff and children to shelter programs of intervention and reintegration of children to the mainstream society, it is therefore necessary to define the meaning and usage of concepts or terms, viz, 'children living and/or working on the street'; 'shelters' or children's homes' and 'shelter residents' reintegration or reunification programs. The emergence of the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets and the focus given to alleviate their plight through intervention and integration strategies has to be studied cautiously.   Such a study should be aware of different and diametrically opposed perceptions in the definition and understanding of who children living and/or working on the streets are. What their perceived and real needs are as individuals or as groups. The differences in definitions are derived from inherently beliefs, which influences the use of terms and concepts in reference to children living and/or working on the streets. On one hand, and in consideration of the manner in which society responds to the challenges posed by this phenomenon, hinges on perception, understanding, and interpretation of the manifest images of children. The images are derived from what children do on the streets, their survival culture and how they relate to the general society (Ennew, 1994).   Media plays a major role in reinforcing the images thereby shaping public opinion. On the other hand, the label 'street children' is a stereotype and confusing as it implies that there are children who belong to the streets. More importantly, children themselves reluctantly accept the label and its use (English, 2002).

We deal with concepts separately and as the discussion progresses the reader will notice how easily the concepts interact and how they are used interchangeably. It is plausible that the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets can be perceived on one hand, as an ordered distinct phenomenon from the rest of mainstream society, which is noticeable and has to be reckoned with because of its survival characteristics conspicuous to public in a city or town streets and as highlighted by media, (http://www.suntimes.co.za/durban: 3/2/2003). On the other hand, it can be seen as the antithesis of established social order whereby it challenges the values and norms of every society (Jubasi, 2001; Swart, 1990). In this respect, one is left to wonder who are children living and/or working on the streets?

2.4.1   Who are Children Living and/or Working on the Streets?

The term "Children living and/or working on the streets" is descriptive and focuses attention on the lack of a residence or a place to stay, house, or a roof over a head as well as what children do on the streets. In reality, the street in this sense is a home, a school, and an environment of life experiences. Categorising 'children living and/or working on the streets in a 'special way' can be tricky and problematic because although children living and/or working on the streets exhibit characteristics, derived from their street life culture, that mark them in a 'special way' differently from the rest ordinary (normal) children, they are children in difficult circumstances like other children in similar circumstances. The difficult circumstances that children find themselves breaches their basic human rights and is a contravention of the various international conventions which defend those rights. Children's rights and welfare is a concern for the whole world, and in 1989 the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was drawn and many nations have adopted and ratified the treaty except USA and Somalia, without giving any reasons (http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm: 23/4/2003).

The Convention seeks to ensure that children's basic rights are protected just like all basic human rights. It also sets standards for all governments to be aware of the full range of children's rights. The convention defines children as human beings who are under the age of 18 years and many nations have accepted this definition in their constitutions (http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm: 25/5/2003). The Convention further argues that, as children from their cradle, they are dependent on adults for nurture, care, guidance and their development into independent individuals. In this regard, the family or community are crucial in the early childhood development and growth of children. Where a family or community does not exist, the role is taken over by government, state or any other agency mandated by society or government to play the role guardianship to ensure that children do not grow and develop with adult supervision. (http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm: 25/5/2003). The role of family or community in the life and development of a child is particularly important in the tentative age when children are very vulnerable during early childhood development. When children leave the family or community environment to live and/or work on the streets interferes in the process of early childhood development exposing children to hazardous and difficult circumstance which necessity some form of intervention.

In different societies, children living and/or working on the streets have been labelled according to what people see them do e.g. in Kenya, they are known as 'Chokora', (a Kiswahili word meaning to scavenge). A chokora is a scavenger, eats from dustbins, is rough in manners, behaviour and in dressing. Muriagoro writing in the East African, Business Opinion (May 1, 2000) observed that, Kenyan society would do well to change the labels which define children living and/or working on the streets as "street urchins, chokora,...viruka njia, children of the lesser gods". Swart, (1990: 42) stated that in Hillbrow children living and/or working on the streets used slang Zulu names 'Malunde' (those of the streets) or 'Malalapipe' (those who sleep in the pipes) refer to themselves. Researchers have argued that it is preferable to use the describitive term on what do on the streets 'work' and where they stay 'live' (Ennew, 1994). The descriptive and explanatory term attempts to combine who the children are and their reality 'on' the streets. This use is preferable than the label 'street children'. Despite the hazards of life on the streets, the street provides an alternative from the circumstances at home, in community, or at school (Barrette, 1995: 22; 30-31; UNESCO, 1995: 303). This dissertation has used the term 'children living and/or working on the streets' and it means all children who have been in the streets and were admitted in the four shelters in the research sample.

2.4.2   Shelters and Children's Homes

Chapter 17 of South African Children's Draft Bill (October 2002)[1] (seeks to repeal existing children's acts and amalgamate all sections of the law pertaining to children) deals with 'shelters and Drop-in centres' particularly for children living and/or working on the streets. The Bill and defines a Shelter as "a facility located at a specific place which is managed for the purpose of providing basic services, including overnight accommodation and food to especially children living and/or working on the streets who voluntarily attend the facility but who are free to leave" (South African Draft Children's Bill 2002:155. In this view, a shelter is transitory process of intervention rather than a permanent. The shelter provides basic services and in order to do this it has a managerial structure, is regulated and registered with the government. Children in the shelters are free to come or go. Children are taken or referred to shelters either by law

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[1]   Government Gazette No. 25346 of 13 August 2003, the bill was reintroduced in the National Assembly as a section 75 Bill, and also in January 2004. And according to the South Africa Parliamentary Monitoring Group, the status of the bill is among others before committees of the house (http://www.pmg.org.za/bills/040130b70-03.pdf: 23/3/2004).

enforcement officers, outreach workers, social workers and children's peers. Shelters do not enforce that children must stay. A 'children's home' is different from a shelter in that while the law requires that both facilities be registered (Childcare Act 74 of 1983), children in children's home are processed through courts and their period of stay specified. Children have no choice to be in any children's homes nor have the liberty whether stay. 'Children's Homes' replicate 'reformatory schools' or 'places of safety'. In this regard, 'Children's Homes' are part of government budgets and receive higher financial allocation from the Department of Welfare than the shelters. Shelters were designed in three phases, first, second, and third phase shelters. While Children's home' do not follow that design.

A first phase shelter is where almost all children from the streets come after referrals by outreach workers or law enforcement agencies. Shelters provide minimum but necessary services to meet children's basic needs. The focus is to reduce harm, stabilizing children's emotional, mental and physical conditions. The period of stay is minimal and during that time, efforts are made to reunite children with their families or communities of origin. Further, shelters move children to second phase shelters where their services are comprehensive and period of stay longer while continuing with the efforts to locate their relatives. The notion of first, second, and third phase shelters sees intervention strategies in array of stages and continuity and the key is to link children's developmental needs as they grow. Shelters consider that children reorientation and needs will change as they grow and mature. In this regard, it would be self-defeating to combine all children in one program or place who have different levels of needs.

Second and third phase shelters replicate 'Children's Homes' in that the duration of stay is longer, services include formal education, skills development, and children are more stabilised emotionally and socially. There is a debate whether to merge second and third phase shelters into children's homes in order to avoid the duplication. The research sample included first and second phase shelters consequently both terms 'shelters and children's homes' are used in the dissertation. The main point to bear in mind is that children in the shelters (first and second phases) are not processed through courts but are there of their free will, and shelters are financially under-funded. Shelter's intervention strategies assume that children stay in the shelters for a short

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period of time preferably to a maximum of 6 months while waiting to be reunited with their families or reintegrated with the mainstream society. Children in shelters were aware that shelters are transitory and services were, provisional (South African Draft Children's Bill 2002: 155-156). Shelters in the eyes of the children were temporary and unreliable while the streets were reliable. In this regard, children looked forward to moving on to other permanent programs or be reunited with their families/communities. Life in shelters and in the context of transitory was a contradiction of what a family or community is supposedly perceived or construed to be, particularly the nuclear family as Bottomore (1971) and Giddens (1993) have observed. The family or community has a form of stability except where the family has been impacted on by factors that cause it to malfunction. Elliot (1986) argued that a family demand obedience and have a right to discipline. The transitory characteristics of shelters and the children's freedom of choice to live or leave the shelters made maintenance of discipline less difficult. It could be reasonably argued that there is a need to redefine 'shelters' and their services so that a degree of permanency and reliability can be reconstructed, and hopefully attract more children living and/or working on the streets to believe and make use of the shelters.

Table 1: Showing the Differences of Shelters and Children's Homes

Children's Home	Shelters
Registered Children's home	Registered as a shelter
Funded by Government	Funded according to the number of residents
Children sent there by a court order children have no choice	Come of their free will, but referred to by outreach workers, police or social worker
Duration of stay determined by a court	Minimum stay before reunification
Regulated with rules to be followed	Rule not enforced

2.4.3   The Shelter Residents

Shelter residents were previously children living and/or working on the streets. Being a child on the street necessitated life in the shelter, but shelters admitted children based on their residents capacity. In this regard, not all children living and/or working on the streets were admitted into the shelters and accessed services. Arising from this, is the concern as to how some children became shelter residents while others remained on the streets? Discussing pathways to human service organisations, Hasenfeld (1983:185) argues that there are two critical variables that predetermine entry into organisations: the amount of control that residents have over their choices: and the organisation's admission control mechanisms.

Outreach programs were designed to win the trust of children living and/or working on the streets, disorientate them from street living while encouraging them to go into shelters or be reunited with the family. In this context, outreach programs were efforts by shelters to prepare children for admission and it could be plausibly argued, that they were mechanism to control such admissions. Outreach work was important because children had to be persuaded and motivated rather than coerced to move away from the streets, stay and participate in shelter's programs. The process of disorientating and re-orientating children was un-avoidable and slow and took time. Shelter staff acknowledged that children who had been on the street longer made the process of intervention and reintegration very difficult to attain. It was easy to intervene and reintegrate children who are newly arrived on the streets. In this regard, researchers have argued that early interventions are more conducive to reintegration processes (English, 2002: 10). The observations by Swart (1988) with regard to undertaking outreach work during apartheid South Africa was non-existence due to political reasons but after 1994 South Africa embarked on the process of reform subsequently outreach work was possible. The sampled shelters relied on outreach workers to reach and refer children to the shelters. Children were first assessed to determine their immediate and long-term needs, and which of those needs a shelter had the capacity to provide. Where children's needs were beyond the shelter's capacity, shelters operated referrals to other organisations e.g. HIV/AIDS testing, diversion program that caters for the

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children who have broken the law, formal and informal educational capacities. The referral programs relied on the good relationships shelters maintained with other organisations and institutions of society. Residents received services from shelter staff. The interplay between the children's self image was derived from their perception of the staff's self image and vice-versa. The interplay was self-reinforcing and created a level of understanding that facilitated mutual relationships between staff and children. The relationships were demonstrated within the parameters of the shelters, in the programs of intervention/reintegration and in the delivery/reception of services. Shelter staff held a higher moral authority in that they determined what quality of service residents received. Children, on the other hand, as recipients of the shelter services, influenced the success or failure of the programs and delivery of services. In this regard, the relationship between the residents and staff was interlinked, intertwined and complementary this confirms Hasenfeld's (1983: 194-199) argument that human service organisations also depend on staff-clients relationships.

2.4.4   Reintegration or Reunification Programs

Integration or reunification these two concepts carry different emphasis but intersect each other. Children are born and reared in a family, Children came from families to live and/or work on the streets, returning them to their families would be the ideal option. However, it must be remembered that children abandoned their families in the first place and for certain reasons. In this regard, sensibly it would be good to find out from families first the reasons that brought children into the streets. Family reunion is neither easy nor successful without community's involvement, children and families need to be integrated in communities they live and come from (Ennew, 1994:118-119). Reunification is between children, their families, and communities. Reintegration encompasses children's and families reunification and not the other way round. This study uses this meaning and makes use of both concepts where applicable.

2.5 Conclusion

Contextualising the contemporary phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets locally it could be argued is a necessary good thing, because the local context gives the phenomenon a local content and avoids replicating intervention and the provision of services. However, it is not enough to conceptualise the local context and content as ends in themselves. It is necessary to consider the external and influencing factors which impact on the national socio-economic performance and consequently affect negatively the family and communities. The inter-link is inseparable. Dealing with the local situation alone will not eliminate the growing phenomenon nor comprehensively address the plight of children living and/or working on the streets. Organisations like UNICEF and World Bank link the problem of children living and/or working on the streets to the spread and rising levels of poverty, particularly in developing countries (http://www.worldbank.org: 24/5/2003; http://www.unicef.org: 26/03/003).

The chapter has also dealt with definitions of the concepts. This endeavour was to help eradicate the confusion inherent in the meaning and usage of social concepts, and because there are no agreed definitions on social science concepts, it is arguably consistent with the endeavours of social scientists to define the concepts and underline their usage (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:1, 20; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 1-7). Social science concepts require defining and redefining to make it clear how they are used and applied in any study. This chapter has discussed the meaning and usage of the concepts 'children living and/or working on the streets', the 'shelters or homes', which attempt to address the plight of children living and/or working on the streets and 'children as residents' who receive services of such shelters and the 'reintegration or reunification programs'.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

Commitment to the plight of children living and/or working on the streets has remained a personal motivating factor. My interaction with children living and/or working on the streets began in Kenya (my home country) and continued in Pietermaritzburg as part of my MTh thesis. Research projects, it is argued, demand a commitment of the researcher both to the project and to the processes of undertaking the project (Fay, 1996: 216-219). The commitment symbolises the driving power or fuel to an engine without which the engine may fail to move. The focus of the research design is to study shelters as organisations, the views and experiences staff and children in Durban. In this regard, the research design identified four variables: the shelter's organisational structures; the shelter's directors or managers and staff; the shelter's programs; and, finally, the shelter's residents. The variables were envisaged to contribute sufficient information on experiential interplay between shelters, staff, and children. This chapter focuses on the generation of empirical data in the research project, by discussing research design, methodology and the rationale underlying the study and approach, the sample and sampling procedures, deliberations on data collection and analysis, a reflection on the ethical issues encountered, together with the limitations of the study.

3.2 Design of the research

Discussing research design Durrheim (1999:29) states "A research design is a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research". With this view in mind, the following steps were considered in the research design:

1.   Choose and determine a focus of the inquiry, which should set a boundary for the study and provide criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of any new information. Be aware of the possibilities of altering the boundaries. This study looks into shelters' for children living and/or working on the streets as organisations, the views and experiences of shelters managers, staff and residents.

2.   Establish the methodology of the research according to research demands and focus. The characteristics of the qualitative research methodology and methods were chosen to elucidate the views and experiences of shelter managers, staff and shelter residents as this fitted well with the research objectives. Four research sites were chosen through the principle of first come first served. The process of identifying the shelters was: letters of consent were written to various shelters in the region. This was to ensure that any shelter had a chance to participate in the project. The first four who responded in time indicating their willingness to take part in the research project were chosen.

3.   Gaining Access and Exiting from the Sites Lofland and Lofland (1984: 25) believe that researchers are more likely to gain successful access to situations if they make use of contacts that can help remove barriers to entrance; if researchers avoid wasting respondent's time by doing advance research for information that is already part of the public record; and if they treat respondents with courtesy. It is also important to provide respondents with a straightforward description of the goals of the research. Neuman (1997:351-353) argues that researchers need to know how best to deal with 'gatekeepers'. Bearing this in mind, researchers have to consider negotiating and re-negotiating entry to the site and their role once inside the site. This consideration must take into account the time factor for the researcher, the subjects, and remain in line with the research time frame. In this regard, this researcher made prior arrangements and arranged appointments telephonically with the four shelters managers. Following this, interview schedules were drawn up and in every shelter a timetable was worked out that suited the researcher and the interviewees. In every shelter, interviews were conducted on separate days but within the same month. This arrangement gave due consideration to the respondents' working schedule but also allowed consistency in the research process. The researcher also discussed the criteria of selecting staff and children who would take part in the focus groups (Krueger, 1988). The early appointment helped to speed up data collection and provided the researcher the opportunity to be familiar with shelters environment and duty schedules of staff and children routines.

4.   The researcher drew a schedule for interviews in individual shelters at different days and times, and with full consultation with management, due consideration was

given to the demands of shelter programs, routines and times. This was to establish the flow of the inquiry in stages and to ensure constancy in the research project.

5.   Determine additional methods that will be required other than the researcher as the human instrument. To facilitate this, a tape recorder was used to record information and daily notebook kept.

6.   Map out how data will be collected, recorded and stored. This should include detailed and specific research questions, and how data will be reproduced. A detailed open-ended questionnaire was formulated, with full consideration of enlisting in depth information from the interviewees. Open-ended questionnaire allows respondent the freedom to answers questions in their own words. (Krueger, 1988:30). Participants were encouraged to be free to express themselves in the language they were comfortable with. Some preferred to speak in Zulu rather than English their second language. In this regard, a participant volunteered to interpret. The role assigned to the interpreter was to translate word for word without any editing and participants cross checked to make sure that the translations remained as they expressed them. In that manner data was recorded

7.   Chart out the logistics, schedules and budget of data collection. Initially it was planned to include all the shelters in Durban, but this idea was later abandoned due to time and financial constrains.

8.   Determine and plan the procedures of data analysis. To do this, the focus of the study and the problem the study addressed were the main building blocks upon which data analysis was based. Constantly the researcher reviewed the purpose of the study to ensure that the study remained focused.

9.   Plan the techniques that will be used to determine trustworthiness. The study conducted unstructured interviews with shelter managers, focus group discussions with staff and residents (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 126). Focus groups discussions were intended to yield information from a wide range of participants and ensured that a broad spectrum of views and experiences was covered. Krueger (1988: 41) argues that "Focus groups are valid if they are used carefully for a problem that is suitable for focus group inquiry". Ennew (1994: 65) state that focus group discussions work well with children who tend to be more talkative, the numbers of participant balance is necessary because focus group discussions evokes some power relations that would bias the discussion and the balance has been found to be useful when

finding out about sensitive issues. Babbie and Mouton (2001:292) argue that focus groups allow the shaping and reshaping of opinions. Focus group discussions validity depends not only on the research procedures and techniques, but also on the whole process of research including the competence of the researcher. Validation thus depends on the good craftsmanship of the researcher, communication of the research findings, and the by-product of the research; the main ingredients of validation in this context are coherent and competent (Krueger, 1988: 41: Henning, et al 2003). The context and content provided the field of study, and the units of analysis. The researcher facilitated the discussion guided by the themes that were agreed for discussion by the participants. Each session was preceded with the researcher answering questions from the participants regarding his country and people and whether or not there similar challenges of children living and/or working on the street. That process helped in building confidence and trust between the researcher and the participants.

10.   This research was designed to take approximately three months in the field but this time schedule was abandoned later due to the complexities of shelter programs and the availability of managers, together with staff and children. It was realized that the time schedule of the researcher and that of the shelters differed to a large extent; hence the researcher was forced to reschedule dates, days and months. By the time all the interviews were finished another three months had passed; thus time on the fieldwork took a total of six months. Because the interview schedules were negotiated and renegotiated, there were lengthy intervals between moving from one shelter to another which resulted in the research taking more time than was expected hence a period of nine months from January to September 2001 was spent with interviews. I adapted flexibly to the schedules of participants, as they were the vital and primary source of information and data. When designing a qualitative study, researchers undertake designs that are open, flexible and changeable whereby research is an interactive process (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 31).

11.   Termination and ending of interviews, qualitative researchers have few strict guidelines for when to stop data collection process, in particular focus group discussions. However, Krueger (1988:88) suggest that the moderator can conclude a focus group discussion by thanking the group for their participation or by summarizing briefly the deliberations. In doing this, this researcher was mindful of the participants'

views and perceptions over the topics covered and made summaries on the contributions. The researcher also allowed participants' comments to either agree or disagree with the summary. At most, the summaries were a true reflection and representation of the discussions. Participants were not promised gifts and the researcher thanked participants for their contributions and discussions ended at the right time for other shelter activities. At the latest they culminated within time for coffee/tea or lunch. Time management was a major priority without which other shelter activities would have been interfered with and participants would have been exhausted. As noted earlier all the interviews and focus group discussions lasted between one and a half and two hours. Focus group discussions were preceded by a fifteen to twenty minute discussion regarding the researcher because participants wanted to know about the researcher's nationality and of the people of his country.

3.3   Qualitative Methods

Ennew (1994: 61-78) discussed several methods that could be used in researching children living and/or working on the streets. Among them is focus group discussions and this study relied on this technique to collate and collect data from shelter staff and residents. According to Ennew, (1994:65) focus group discussions are part of participatory methods and are advantageous in giving an idea about a general opinion among a wide spectrum of people. Focus group discussions with shelter staff and residents were found reliable in the pilot study and participants freely engaged each other where an expressed opinion of an individual did not reflect other participants' views. In this regard, focus group discussions were a catalyst to validate the reliability of the information. Henning (2001: 53) argues that reliability in data could be archived if several interviews with one or several people and at different times were conducted. This study conducted focus group discussions with staff and children at four different shelters and at different times. The same issues were discussed and shelter managers were each interviewed separately.   Several considerations need to be taken into account when deciding to apply a qualitative research methodology. Strauss and Corbin (1990) make the point that qualitative methods could be used to make better the understanding of any phenomenon about which little is yet known. Qualitative methods also could be used to gain new perspectives on insights and objects of what is already known, but more significant in the use of qualitative methods is the in-depth analysis

which reveal more than otherwise would be difficult to convey quantitatively. In this regard, qualitative methods are appropriate in situations where the variables are first identified and possibly later tested quantitatively, but also, where the researcher has determined that quantitative measurements cannot adequately describe nor approximate a given reality. In this case, research problems tend to be framed as open-ended questions that will support discovery of new information and clarify a situation. For example, Gaitskell's (1998) study on shelters for abused women in Durban raised questions on the efficacy of shelters to help abused women and what were women's perceptions and feelings. Similar concerns will be explored in this study on shelters for children living and/or working on the streets. The ability of qualitative data to capture and describe a phenomenon is an important consideration not only from the researcher's perspective, but from the reader's perspective as well. Qualitative research reports are rich in detail and insights of all experiences of the involved participants in any given situation or world of study and in this sense, are more meaningful to the reader. The researcher hopes and expects that the process of qualitative research faithfully followed will derive useful information not only on the nature of the shelters, but also on what they do on a daily basis. Qualitative approach allowed managers to be interviewed and focus group discussion to take place in the shelters, as the participants' natural setting. The process divulged information regarding the views and experiences of shelters staffs as service providers and of children as recipients of the shelter services. The choice of a qualitative approach is significant and valid, not because as some people suppose that qualitative research is soft and demands less rigor (Neuman 1997: 328), but because it allowed flexibility in the process of the project, and therefore had the potential and capacity to derive data which when interpreted will fit the situation under analysis. Consequently, the information could inform policy makers on how best and at what cost the intervention and reintegration of the deserving children living and/or working on the streets can proceed because the phenomenon persists.

3.4   The Researcher in Qualitative Inquiry

The researcher in focus group interviews functions in several capacities concurrently: as a listener, observer, moderator, record-keeper and later analyser of data and according to Krueger (1988:30) is the inductive thinker. The researcher is, arguably, as significant in qualitative study, just as much as in other inquiries. In this regard, Neuman (1997:332-333) addresses the integrity of the researcher; while Fay (1997:216-219) argues for accountability in social science, and Henning, et al. (2003) argues for craftsmanship of the researcher. The person of the researcher not only determines the design, and data collection but how to make use of the research findings. It is worth mentioning here, as Fay (1997:199-205) argues, that objectivism without self evaluation of the researcher is liable to abuse for propaganda purposes which for decades has plagued social science research findings (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:11). In this regard, the researcher's motivation, commitment, perception and the whole process of craftsmanship are the hallmark of this endeavour. The researcher was aware of the vulnerability and potentiality to abuse of children living and/or working on the streets.

3.5   Sampling and Data Collection

In this study non-probability sampling procedures were used and the method of purposive sampling was found reliable. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 164) describe sampling in social science research 'technical' in this regard, purposive sampling technique enabled the researcher to select four different units of analysis thus shelters, managers, staff, and children (residents) they were the sources of information and data. Four shelters, i.e. A, B, C, and D, were visited having been identified and selected as we discussed earlier. In each shelter, the manager was interviewed, and two separate focus group sessions held one each with staff and children. The size of each focus group composed of eight participants, making a total of 64 participants. The 'n' of the sample size was 72 made up of four shelters, four shelter managers, thirty two shelter staff, and thirty two shelter residents. The interviewees presented rather than represented the views and experiences of the shelter staff and Residents. Interviews with shelters managers were scheduled to last one and a half hours, however some sessions exceeded the time limit but not beyond two hours maximum. Focus group discussions sessions lasted a little longer but depended on talkativeness, concentration and interest on the topics of the participants. Babbie and Mouton (2001:

289) argue that qualitative interviewing is characterized by being flexible, interactive, and continuous, and further underline that such interviewing is conversational. The flexibility allowed interviewee and interviewer interaction so that the talking was a social action. This approach made the interviewees feel comfortable to talk freely and openly. Henning, et al (2003: 56) emphasize the importance of interaction as a social activity but also underline that the researcher has to guide the interview to ensure that focus of the interview is not lost. The researcher conducted the interviews, listened, observed, recorded information and moderated the focus group discursions. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) argue that qualitative interviews are used as either primary strategy for data collection, or in conjunction with observation, document analysis, or other techniques. Patton (1990) describes three types of qualitative interviews: (1) informal, conversational interviews; (2) semi-structured interviews; (3) standardized, open-ended interviews. An interview guide or "schedule" is a list of questions on general topics, which the researcher explores in the interview. The guide is prepared to ensure that basically the same information is derived from each person taking part in the interview, but does not evoke any predetermined responses. In semi-structured interviews the researcher is free to follow up and explore more within the predetermined inquiry areas and topics. Interview guides are very necessary to ensure good use of time limit in the interview; they allow for systematic procedures and comprehensiveness in cases of interviewing multiple subjects; and they help to maintain focus of the interviewing interactions. Following the principle of flexibility in qualitative research designs, it is possible to modify interview guides over time, which allows focus and attention on areas of particular importance, but significantly exclude questions which the researcher would consider to be unproductive, or irrelevant to the goals and objectives of the research (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). This study relied on semi-structured and open-ended interview guide. This format allowed the respondents the freedom to discuss the points and gave their views and experiences in the shelters. The discussion below is the selection criteria of each sample.

3.5.1   Sample A.   Shelters

Shelters A operates both as a first phase shelter and a second phase. Shelters B and C are second phase shelters. Shelter D is a first phase. We observed earlier that second phase shelters are similar to 'children's homes' the different being children's admission and funding. Phase two shelters admitted children from phase one shelter

which means children there, are stabilised behaviourally and disoriented from street life culture. Most children attended formal schools nearby. Three shelters were affiliated to other NGOs working with children not necessary children who live and/or work o the streets. The other shelter was managed by an NGO whose role was working with children living and working on the streets.

3.5.2. Sample B. Managers or Directors

The title of manager/director was interchangeably applied without shelters attaching significance to the technical and professional meaning by the shelter, as the case would be in the corporate business world. The titles carry no other value other than that the manager or director is a leader or the one who makes sure that a shelter is functioning normally, and that the programs are adhered to daily. Shelter managers or directors hold the key of success or failure in their organisations. They keep records and administer all the operations of the shelters. In this regard, due consideration was given to the role manager or directors play and consequently they were interviewed with the aim of deriving information concerning their views and experiences regarding:

A.   The physical structure and/organisation of the shelter, the management structures, staff, children, and any volunteers

B.   The capacity of the shelter

C.   Goals and objectives of the shelter/organisation

D.   Shelter finances

E.   Shelter networking

F.   Shelter activities

3.5.3. Sample C. Shelter Staff

Shelters staffs are the backbone of the whole operation of the shelter. Their role is very significant because they are the ones who not only interact with the residents, but handle the details of programs implementation. They were interviewed in focus groups in each of the shelters. The criteria for selecting the participants was based on; (a) education, in order to make sure that all levels that staff had achieved in education or luck of it, were included; (b) years of service in the shelter, to make sure that a broad spectrum of staff working experience in the shelter was represented; (c) permanent or voluntary basis, to ensure that a range of views and experiences was presented; (d) skills, or lack of skill, to make sure that all levels of staff roles in the shelter were

represented. The study focused on the number of participants in the focus groups, rather than the total number of staff employed in the shelters because staff varied and shelter's total staff employees was based on the number of residents in the shelter. To elucidate the views and experiences shelters staffs regarding shelter's services and programs of intervention and intervention, discussions focused of the following themes:

A.   Demographical information from all the participants

B.   Information regarding the shelter/organization and management

D.   Perceptions of children living and/or working on the streets

E.   Recruitment and training

F.   Morale and commitment

3.5.4   Sample D.   Shelter Residents

The main concern and emphasis of all the shelters or homes is the well being of the children living and/or working on the streets. They are the recipients of the shelter services, their participation and perceptions of the services is paramount to guarantee the progress and survival of the organization. For this reason, they too were included in the focus group discussions. The criteria for selecting participants was; (A) Age (both lower and upper age limit were included); (B) educational background (both those attending school and those who were not were included); (C) Length of stay in the shelter those who had stayed long and new arrivals were included. This criterion was to ensure that a broad spectrum of children's views and experiences was presented and represented. Their views on how shelter's services contributed to their needs, and as a result facilitated the physical, emotional and mental development, further how they experienced the interaction between managerial leadership, staff and programs of intervention/reintegration. Consequently, the discussions focused on the following themes:

A.   Demographical information

B.   Developmental needs both physical and mental of the children

C.   Health and well-being

D.   Education and learning

E.   Shelter routine and discipline

F.   Social and recreational activities

3.6.   Other Sources of Information

Qualitative research also relies on other sources of data, which can be valuable for research and in data analysis later on. These sources include official records, letters, newspaper accounts, diaries, and reports, as well as published data used in a review of literature. In this regard, it would be wise for researchers to keep their eyes open while on the site for any recorded information, and if not found to politely ask for such as part of the interview (Patton, 1990: 65). Henning, et al (2003: 90) argues that documents and other artefacts are valuable sources of information in a qualitative inquiry and where they are available should be made use of. In this regard, in three shelters, the managers allowed the researcher to take and access some documents and pamphlets, which added valuable information to the study. They are listed in the table, but for ethical considerations due to confidentiality have not been attached in the appendix.

Table 2: Documents from Shelters

Shelter	Documents or Pamphlets
A	Caring For Homeless Children (pamphlet)
B	Children's Home (pamphlet)
D	Progress Assessment Report On 21ST September 2001 Newsletter from the shelter vol.1.nr.2. November 2000

3.7   Recording Data

The researcher has to make a basic decision when designing an interview as to how the whole process will be captured and recorded as data. This decision is based on the knowledge the researcher has of the interviewee and the venue of the interview, but also on the availability of interviewing tools. Whether one relies on written notes or a tape recorder seems to be a matter of personal preference. For instance, Patton (1990: 348) argues that a tape recorder is "indispensable" while Lincoln and Guba (1985: 241) hesitate to recommend recording except for unusual and exceptional circumstances because of the intrusiveness of recording devices and, more significantly, the possibility of technical failure, which might include electrical availability or failure. Worth noting, however, is the advantage of recording in capturing vocal sound data and optical images more reliably than hurriedly written notes. In this way recording makes it easier for the researcher to focus on the interview, although some attention has to be

paid to the recording devices. The study relied on the use of tape recording data. The tapes were immediately transcribed while the memory of the interviews was still fresh and this allowed time to prepare for the next interview and discussion, Field researchers also rely heavily on the use of field notes, which are running descriptions of settings, people, activities, and sounds.

According to Neuman (1997:363) field notes may include drawings or maps. There is, however, the need to acknowledge the difficulties of writing extensive field notes during an observation. Lofland and Lofland (1984) recommend jotting down notes that will serve as a memory aid when full field notes are constructed. This should happen as soon as possible after the observation and preferably the same day. The researcher made notes of the observations of respondents' gestures, laughter, facial appearances and expressions, high and low tones on arguments on certain topics. The observations added value to interviewee's and participant's views and experiences with regard to shelter services and programs (Henning, et al (2003: 68-69).

3.8   Data Analysis

Bogdan and Biklen (1982: 45) define qualitative data analysis as "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others". Qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of data, i.e. noting how critical themes emerge out of the data (Patton, 1990). Qualitative analysis requires some creativity, because the challenge is to place the raw data into logical, meaningful categories, to examine them in a holistic fashion, and to find a way to communicate this interpretation to others. Sitting down to organize a pile of raw data can be a daunting task. It can involve literally hundreds of pages of interview transcripts, field notes and documents. In this case, data analysis began with identification of the themes emerging from interviews with the shelter management, staff, and residents. Janesick (1994:215) argues that data analysis in qualitative method has no "best analytical method". The researcher has to find the best and most effective way of telling the story.

This researcher identified and tentatively named the conceptual categories into which the observed phenomena were grouped. The goal was to create descriptive, multidimensional categories to form a preliminary framework for analysis. The categories were gradually modified or replaced during the subsequent stages of analysis that

followed. As the raw data was broken down into manageable blocks, the researcher also devised a scheme for identifying the data portions according to their speakers and their context as argued by Brown (1996) and Duffee and Aikenhead (1992). Qualitative research reports are characterized by the use of "voice" in the text that is, participant quotes that illustrate the themes being described. The views of the shelter managers, staff, and shelter residents were enlisted with regard to shelter location and structures, goals and objectives, shelter managerial and administrative structures, shelter services, shelter programs, staff recruitment, remuneration, morale and the interpersonal relationships between the staff and residents. These were in line with research questions and concerns in regard to intervention and reintegration strategies.

Strauss and Corbin (1990: 57) state that during the coding process, the researcher is responsible for building a conceptual logic by determining whether sufficient data exists to support the type of interpretation chosen. In this regard, the sampled shelters together with their managers, staff and children provided more than sufficient information that has built a relevant picture representing the organisational interactions and interplay between managers, staff and children and shelter programs on intervention and reintegration. Finally, the researcher must translate the conceptual logic into the story that will be read by others. Henning, et al. (2003) stress that analytical craftsmanship processes are indicators of researcher's capacity of understanding data. In this regard, an ideal research report should reflect a rich but tightly woven account, which "closely approximates the reality it represents". The shelters exist to facilitate service delivery and the intervention and reintegration of the children into mainstream society. The purpose of this research was to study how the organization of the shelters and the interaction of the shelter and the children made the process possible. Therefore, the themes demonstrate the big picture of the interactions between shelter service delivery and intervention and reintegration programs, on one hand, and, on the other hand, the experiences of the shelters staff the service providers and the children the service recipients.

3.9   Validity and Reliability

The issue of reliability and validity in any research is an open discourse. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 118-125) discuses reliability and validity, and they conclude that utility of concepts justifies the meaning assigned to the concept, because social science

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researchers need to agree or disagree on the methods used in measuring any variable. Krueger (1988: 41) and Fay (1996: 136-140) argue that people are not always truthful and information can be intentional or unintentional. The possibility of individuals withholding necessary information and therefore the researcher deriving meaning from misinformed background leads to scepticism or relativism. Henning, et al (2003:131) argues that validity depends on the good craftsmanship in an investigation. Validity in this sense means competence and precision in the research process. Such a process involved conceptualisation of the topic, research design, methodology and method, to presentation of research findings. According to Patton, (1990) qualitative research should meet certain criteria to address the issue of validity:

- The techniques and methods used to ensure the integrity, validity and accuracy of findings

- The researcher's experience, perspectives and qualifications brought to the study

- The paradigm orientation guiding the study

The character and person of the researcher has been discussed above. However as an instrument of data collection in a qualitative inquiry, the issues of objectivity and subjectivity raise concerns; so too the final interpretation and presentation of research findings. It is arguable that these concerns were reflected in the researcher's orientation and commitment. And all along the way the rigor of professionalism was prevalent by the constant reference to the research purpose. The study endeavoured to comprehend data categories, interpretation and explanations to present the views and experiences of shelter managers, staff and residents. This consistent effort served as a strong bond of the study's validity. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999: 128) discusses triangulation as the craftsmanship of a researcher collecting data from different and diverse sources this study elucidated information from various sources to reveal the views and experiences of shelter managers, staff and residents.

The trend and themes of their responses were differently categorized to reflect their views and experiences and the purposes of the study. The researcher triangulated the responses from the four shelter managers, staff and residents to validate the sequence of responses on a particular topic as the valid view of the respondents. The reasons and rationale for using the qualitative approach was also influenced by the researcher's appreciation of the field of study and application of interpretive procedures which are

adaptable in addressing the concerns of shelters for children living and/or working on the streets (Henning, et al 2003:129). The use of focus group interviews was to enhance the study's reliability and validity where the interaction between the researcher and subject formed the basis for reliability. Krueger (1988: 41) argues that validity is the degree to which the procedure really measures what it proposed to measure and continues to state that another way of testing the validity of focus groups is the interaction between participants; a good observer can notice when participants either are for or against any input of individual participants, and where the interviewer would pose a follow up question to clarify the position or issue. Krueger (1988: 42) further state that 'typically, focus groups have high face validity, which is due to large part to the believability of comments from participants'.

3.9.1   Pilot Study

A pilot study was undertaken in shelter 'E' prior to undertaking the study. The pilot study provided the opportunity to test the reliability and validity of:

- theoretical frame work
- research methods and tools
- time keeping and management, participants' punctuality and concentration in the interviews and focus group discussions
- whether the interpret (one of the participants) kept to the role assigned or deviated thus translating word for word from the mother tongue (Zulu) into English as a second language. Participants would node as sign of agreement or swing their heads to disagree with the interpreter
- the respondents' expectations, views, and experiences of the shelter service delivery and programs of interventions and reintegration.

The pilot study revealed that:

- Shelter manager together with the social worker were weary of the shelter having a large managerial and administrative structure. In their view, such a structure was not necessary because it would shift the focus from meeting the needs of children to the concentration on management and administration.
- Time management was a constant challenge because children had not learned to be disciplined to keep time and shelter's routines.

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- Staff morale was high when motivated to concentrate on serving the children and meeting their needs

- After negotiating the participants consent to record their responses, staff and children were eager to be recorded. This came about when the researcher invited a volunteer among the participants to speak and say something short while testing the reliability of the tape recorder. The researcher replayed the recorded talk to the participants. As they listened to the talk of one of them, emotions of curiosity were evoked, they nodded, laughed and where the speaker was not audible the participants were dismayed and wanted the speaker to be loud and clear. That brief recording testing the tape recorder became an opportunity for the researcher to train participants how to project their voices and to speak clearly. The enthusiasm to be recorded provided impetus in the focus group discussions.

- Staff and children participants were interested with the researcher because though black African, did not speak Zulu as they expected. The researcher became the researched, they wanted to know more about where he comes from, how far is his the country and is it in Africa, what language people speak, what food people eat, and whether there are children living on the streets etc? The process of allowing participants to ask the researcher questions and getting answers from the researcher made them feel recognized and equal in the construction of knowledge and changed their views on being subjects of interviews but participants. (Henning, 2003: 63-65). The researcher used the opportunity of answering the questions to communicate in a manner that built trust and rapport with the participants. This process took fifteen to twenty minutes. A time that the researcher found worth for the research project. The disadvantage of not knowing Zulu became the advantage and building block of trust and confidence.

- The tape recorder and other research tools were reliable and valid in measuring what the research sought to measure.

This approach was applied and followed in the study.

3.10   Constrain and Limitation of the Study

In every endeavour there are obstacles and constraints. It is, however, paramount to be aware of such limitations in embarking on any research technique of gathering information. According to Krueger (1988) focus groups face at least six shortcomings, which the researcher should be aware of:

- The researcher has less control in the group interview
- Data is more difficult to analyse
- There is a need for carefully trained interviewers
- Groups can vary very considerably
- There are difficulties in assembling groups
- Holding discussion in an environment which enables conversational dialogue

This researcher faced most of these shortcomings, particularly in children's discussions. There were certain areas and concerns that they felt uncomfortable to discuss while others elicited more discussion. The concerns of their health, family, and education were sensitive and children were reluctant to openly discuss them. The researcher kept the discussion focused and at the same time respected children's feelings. The same attitude was noticed in discussions with staff, they were not comfortable discussing salaries and remuneration. They were more interested with the welfare of the children than their personal benefits, but would welcome a rise in the salaries and better working environment. Assembling the participants was also not easy because they, particularly the staff, had other shelter responsibilities. This meant that a participant would attend the discussion and at the same time have something waiting to be attended to. A few participants walked out when duty required in the course of the discussion. Assembling child participants was constantly negotiated and renegotiated because this researcher wanted them to attend voluntarily, and due consideration was given to the children's daily commitment to school and other shelter activities. Time was a constraint because shelters have scheduled regular programs. In this regard interview days were altered and changed. Krueger (1988:99) argues that focus group interviews should avoid sessions where there would be a conflict of interest or where there would be an existing community activity. The researcher planned the interviews to fit in with the shelter timetable rather than imposing his schedule on the shelter.

3.11   Ethical Considerations

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 520) argue that ethical issues involve compromises between interests and rights of different parties. In any research project there are ethical considerations that need to be taken into account, particularly social research, because of intrusion into people's lives (Bailey, 1987, Babbie, 1992). Issues of informed consent, no harm to the participants, confidentiality, and trustworthiness and the right to withdraw cannot be dispensed with and need to be addressed. Henning, et al (2003: 69-70) argues that the researcher remains accountable for the ethical quality of an inquiry. Consequently this researcher paid special attention to ethical concerns as follows:

3.11.1   Informed Consent

This is a debatable issue particularly in relation to children and staff in the shelters. Many felt that since the manager or director had sanctioned the research, they were under an obligation to participate. In this regard the shelter authority served as a parental authority. This researcher explained to the participants in focus group discussions in each shelter the purpose of the study without making any promises, explained their rights to voluntary participate and that each had a right not to take part, and at any point, they had a right to withdraw from the discussions. That no harm would come to them by revealing any information that would jeopardise their work or stay in the shelters. The researcher allowed time for participants to think and discus among themselves what informed consent implied and decide on their voluntary participation disregarding the sanction of research by shelter manager. The researcher re-emphasized their right to or not to take part (Rubin and Babbie, 1989). The study commenced after participants agreed to take part freely.

3.11.2   Confidentiality

Disclosure of personal information raised many concerns. Participants feared that disclosing such information would possibly expose them to serious repercussions, particularly information that was considered incriminating in connection with the running and management of the shelters. Sensitivity to the feelings and experiences of the participants led the researcher to reassure them that all information was to be treated with utmost confidentiality. Participants in the focus group discussions were also reminded of their obligation to treat members' input confidentially. They were assured that all the information would be used solely for research purposes. The identity of the participants was concealed and their names not used.

3.11.3 Trustworthiness

In focus group discussions trustworthiness is a concern. How much an individual participant could disclose in a discussion was addressed. Participant fears of witch-hunting and intimidation arising from such disclosures were appreciated as real concerns. Shelter staff and children have little or no trust for each other. Some participants felt disquiet to discuss issues, which they felt would reveal their personal characters in the presence of other members of the group. For example the younger participants were reluctant to discuss the behaviour of the older participants in front of every one else. They considered the information would jeopardize their interaction and relationship thereafter. So too some staff members were apprehensive discussing issues while a senior staff member was present. Participants and the researcher agreed that no names should be mentioned and issues would be discussed in general rather than in reference to a particular person or incidence. Participants also agreed that total confidentiality is a problem they grapple with as a community in the shelters and in this regard felt that as long as their concerns were treated with carefulness they were happy to participate. Discussing the issue of ethical considerations, Henning, et at (2003:70) admits that guaranteed anonymity is a problem in cases and issues of sexual orientation or disease, and argues that the researcher must make sure that participants consent are treated with utmost discretion. The respondents were assured of confidentiality and reassured of the purposes of the research, that it was not designed to report to the management or directors for their use to intimidate but rather to reveal their views and experiences as staff the service providers and children as service recipients on shelter programs of intervention and reintegration and service delivery.

3.12 Conclusion

The debates between quantitative methods and qualitative approach in research is in the researchers view heuristic and serves certain purposes of the academic world while leaving the concerns of the children living and/or working on the streets unattended. In this regard, the methodological debate was critical to ensure that the researcher was immersed with vital learning process of learning and doing (Silverman, 2000; Holliday, 2002). The principles of qualitative research were made real in the real world of shelters for children living and/or working on the streets, The researcher's dedication to the plight of children living and/or working on the streets has ensured that all data collection, recording, and analysis were designed to divulge information telling a story of the experiences of the shelter staff and residents, service delivery programs, the design and implementation of intervention and reintegration strategies.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1   Introduction

As discussed in chapter three which dealt with research methodology and methods, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion were the tools of collecting and capturing data from four different shelters. Shelter managers were each separately interviewed, staff and residents participated in focus group discussions. The process was undertaken at different months, days and times. Shelters were the natural settings for the interviews and focus group discussions. Information was audio-taped with the consent of participants. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999: 128) argue that data from different sources can be triangulated and triangulation also involves research methods. This study triangulated information from the different sources whereby trends and themes emerged. This chapter discusses data analysis and research findings, verbatim quotes are indicated in italics and the chapter ends with a conclusion.

The responsibilities of data analysis depend on the researcher and the exercise can follow different analytic traditions, e.g. qualitative or quantitative depending on the paradigm chosen by the researcher. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999: 3) argue that background knowledge shapes the way events and empirical data is interpreted and reported. According to Janesick (1994:215) the researcher has to find the best and most effective way of telling the story. Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999:129) emphasise that consent of the interviewees is important before taping interviews. With the consent of interviewees and participants the researcher audio-taped interviews and focus group discussions. The recordings were thereafter transcribed and assigned categories according to key concepts and themes. The next step was coding. In the process of analysing the data the researcher followed the inductive approach to identify emerging patterns, themes and categories. Two schemes of developing emerging patterns from the data were applied: the researcher's own construction and the data's own categories reflecting the views and experiences of interviewees' and participants in the focus groups discussions. The process of analysing data should be based on the experiences

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and language of the interviewees and participants in the focus groups discussions (Terre Blanche and Kelly, 1999:141). In keeping with the purpose of the research, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collate views and experiences of four shelter managers or directors. Views and experiences of shelters staffs and residents were expressed in focus groups discussions. The views and experiences were with regard to motivation and philosophies behind shelters intervention and reintegration programs, management style, physical structures, goals and objectives, recruitment of staff, admission of shelter residents and their participation in shelter programs, service delivery, funding, routine and recreational facilities and activities. Four shelters in Durban were visited at different times conveniently arranged with the shelter management to suit the shelters' routines and availability of the interviewees.

(1)   First, interviews were with managers from shelters A, B, C and D at different months, days and times convenient to the time schedules of the interviewees, because the researcher honoured time schedules and programs of the shelters. Henning et al. (2003: 56-60) argues for use of discursive oriented interviews. Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999:128) state that interviews are simply conversational. Interviews with shelters were semi-structured which allowed free and flexible interaction between the researcher and the interviewees. Managers were very cooperative and freely engaged in the interviews.

(2)   Second, focus group discussions with a selected number of staff members and children living in the shelters. As noted in chapter three, the criteria of selection was previously discussed, time constraint was also experienced hence the focus group discussions were spread over a period of time. Each focus group discussion was undertaken at different months, days and time. Residents in shelter are constant for a period of one year except in shelter D where children have a choice whether to remain in the shelter or not to remain. Consequently, different of time and days did not affect nor impact on data collection, as would have been the case if the residents changed. Discussions followed after the researcher answered participant's questions and the process eased the anxiety of the participants.

4.2. Shelters Services and Programs

This study focused on four shelters A, B, C and D. The researcher visited them and shelters managers volunteered information regarding each shelter's services delivery, programs of intervention and reintegration, residential capacity, physical location, structural set-up, admission procedures, daily routines, and social and recreational facilities as following.

4.2.1 Physical Location and Capacity of Shelters

There was a debate surrounding the location of shelters. On one hand, the proximity of the shelter close to the city centre worked against the process of removing children from the streets. The city centre offers the same excitement, and former friends and confidants of children were a great temptation to those in the shelters because peer pressure is a culture of children living and/or working on the streets (Osborne 1995: xiii). On the other hand, shelter's proximity to the city centre, offered easy access for deliveries of essential commodities and making service delivery quicker and communication faster. It was observed further that taking children away from the city would be disorientating them from their habitual environment. Consequently, it was not the location of shelters that mattered, rather the programs of intervention and reintegration.

The two perceptions have their merits, but need to be evaluated within the context of the re-integration process cognisant of the fact that a majority of children are drawn from rural communities, townships and informal settlements. Re-integration into mainstream society, therefore, would mean going back to their same old places and habits away from the life on the streets. Taking them away from the street may trigger a resistance and unwillingness to cooperate or participate in the intervention programs. According to Basson, (2001) and English, (2002) the shelters did not need children who resisted their programs. None of the shelters rented buildings they occupied; the buildings are donated and maintained by the umbrella organisations to which they are affiliated. Running costs of water and electricity bills together with other overheads are met by (the shelters) rather than by the umbrella organisations.

During festive seasons the number of children living and/or working on the streets increases considerably as holiday and festive seasons attracts more fun and people, consequently more children are likely to get lost. Also children living and/or working on the streets find it right time to be adventurous. Numbers fluctuate according to the period of festivities. Shelter D, as the first phase shelter, the resident numbers increased during the cold months, as children needed the shelter to keep warm. The shelter did not restrict its intake while other shelters did because they did not take children straight from the streets; their residents are mainly referred from the first phase shelter consequently they did not experience the same impact of residents fluctuations.

Table 3 Resident Capacity and Gender of the Shelters

Shelters	Resident Capacity	Gender
A	6-15	Girls
B	30-40	Boys
C	60-65	Boys
D	80-120	Mixed Majority Boys

4.2.2 Objectives

Shelters shared same objectives. First, shelters desired to make it possible for children to come off the streets. It was perceived and unacceptable for children to live and/or work on the streets, because the street exposed children to hazards health conditions, deceases, unhealthy lives, violence, abuse, vulnerable and at risk habits, and potential criminality. Consequently, street life jeopardised the future of children and required intervention to redress or reverse the conditions and circumstances of the street. Shelters did not debate on the factors which brought children on the streets. They responded to children on the streets through programs of outreach work, drop-in centres and shelter services. The second objective was to meet the basic needs of children i.e. food, clothing, and shelter to live. The third objective was to re-unite

children with their families where possible or reintegrate them in the communities of origin or the mainstream society. The process of finding and identifying families or relatives was daunting but on going. Shelter faced dilemmas in fulfilling this objective. Social worker's role was crucial, as stipulated by government regulations (Child Care Act, 1983; http://www.acts.co.za/child_care/index.htm: 22/5/2003). HIV/AIDS pandemic compounded the challenges as children become affected and infected. Once the family was located then children and the family were re-oriented to prepare and accept the return of the child. The process of re-unification started with allowing families to visit their children in shelters and children visiting their families at home during weekends.

4.2.3   Shelter Services

Basic needs of children include food, clothing and a place to sleep. Shelters endeavoured to meet these needs. Efforts were made to stabilize children emotionally and physically while initial assessment followed and children counselled. Shelter D is the only shelter where children from the street directly were placed. Shelter A also admitted children directly from the streets combining with accepting children from the first phase shelter. Children in the first phase shelter had two options open to them on entering the shelter they either leaved the shelter or stay promising to improve behaviour that made possible to be transferred to another shelter. If children chose not to stay in the shelters, they were free to return to the streets. Programs of intervention involved attempts to re-unite children with their families early to prevent children becoming street wise and where that was possible. Once children were above the age of 16 years, shelters were not able to keep them because they had become young adults. A suggestion to start skills training for children was made with an aim of providing children with skills that could give them hope for the future by empowering them to be employable or be self-employed. However, the project required the approval of various government departments and was taking considerable time to start, (Basson, 2001:3). The process of children's referrals to other shelters depended on the needs of children and shelter's residential capacity. Other services included formal and informal learning opportunities. Formal schooling was arranged with surrounding public schools. Health care and counselling, health education including HIV/AIDS awareness, where

children's health needs exceeded the capacity of shelters children were referred to public hospitals. Shelters conducted substance abuse awareness and advocacy in particular for children in trouble with the law. Shelter D services included 'harm reduction' this was specifically and specially designed program aimed at reducing physical harm form violence, drug and sexual abuse, health condition of children experienced on the street. The intervention was to stabilize children from street social world before moving them to second phase shelters. As we observed earlier the process of harm reduction could be delayed by children's frequent absconding, in tandem with the shelter's respect of the child's right to make voluntary choices. In shelter D, children came into contact with shelters services for the first time. On arrival they were made to feel welcome.

4.2.4   Shelters Admission

Shelters managers stated that, the procedure of referring children into the shelters was as follows: Once a child had been spotted within the city precincts South African Police Services (SAPS) or the Durban Metro City Police duty officers would contact outreach workers. They would mount a search, pick up the child or children and take them to phase one shelter. There was an elaborate system of outreach workers who run drop in centers, outreach street bus, or meet children while walking on the streets. Once outreach workers made contact with children, first, they initiated the process of building trust and then introduce them to services available in shelters. Children living and/or working on the streets themselves and members of the public also played a role whereby they would inform a newcomer on the streets of the existence of shelters. Once contact is made and initial rapport is built, children were taken to the first phase shelter where the process of stabilizing the child started. The hope was that outreach programs would diminish the role and involvement of the police in children lives. The desire to minimize and do away with police involvement in the lives of children was favoured because police involvement in the past generated negative responses. Police were accused of mishandling and harassing children on one hand, and, on the other, created the image and stigma that children living and/or working on the streets were criminals. Shelters advocated that children should be free to be in the shelters and take part in the activities. Each shelter formulated and decided its admission criteria guided

by the shelter's philosophy, goals, and expectation of the organisation sponsoring the shelter. Shelters B, and C admitted children if they attended school. The shelters followed different admission procedure simply because majority of their admissions were referrals from the first phase shelter. These two shelters because they are second phase shelters did not admit children directly from the streets. Admission procedures were made very informal and simple. The admission process was organized in a manner that reflected a caring environment, and focused on providing children with basic needs. The admission criteria were as follows:

- child is a street child referred to the shelter either by Police, or out-reach workers, or who comes voluntarily.
- child voluntarily agrees to stay in the shelter.
- child is between 10-16 years (occasionally there were children younger than 10 or older than 16).
- has a willingness to abide by the shelters' rules and routine.
- has a willingness to provide information for registration and further follow-up action by the social worker.
- shelter must have capacity to accommodate, and meet the basic needs of the child.
- child must show willingness to take part in the shelters programs.
- child is not a frequent absconder.

Table 4: Summary of Admission Criteria and Procedures of Shelters

Shelter	Admission criteria	Admission practice
A	Referrals by out reach workers/Police or child volition. Direct from the streets Addictive substances not allowed.	Any street child is welcome. The maximum number 30 but mainly 15-20 girls. Establish special needs. Allocate child-care worker. Attend some form of learning.
B	Referrals from shelter D through social worker. Establish child's background information. Addictive substances not allowed.	All children living and/or working on the streets are welcome. Free to stay or leave. A maximum number of 30-40 boys. Provide basic needs. Establish special needs. Allocate childcare worker. Institute formal or informal learning. Hold a welcoming party.
C	Referrals from shelter D or the courts. Establish child's background information. No addictive substances allowed.	Attendance at school or institution of learning is important. A maximum capacity of 60-65 boys. Shelter re-orientation program spelling a child's responsibility and the shelter's expectations. Allocate a childcare worker.
D	Referral from Police, out reach workers, or a child comes on own volition. Establish child's background information. No addictive substances allowed.	The maximum capacity number is 80-102. Free to stay or leave. Mixed gender, but majority boys. Provide basic needs. Attendance at school or some form of basic learning important. Shelter re-orientation program spelling a child's responsibility and the shelter's expectations. Allocate a childcare worker.

4.2.5   Shelter Routine and Regulations

Each shelter followed a regular routine there were times to wake up, make the beds, shower, and then have breakfast. Those children who attended formal school would get ready early for school. Some shelters had transport to and from school while in others children walked. Once a child was admitted, part of the re-orientation process was to make the shelter regulations known to the child, and the child to pledge adherence to the laid down rules. Some children kept the rules while others did not and those were mainly the absconders. Absconding was widely evident in shelters D and A and the factors that influenced the behaviours were noted as:

1   the respect of a child's right of choice to freely stay in the shelter

2   boredom, particularly for children who did not attend mainstream school or any informal learning, the lack of not attending an institution of learning was linked to the age of a child, the level of education, the period a child had been on the streets and the time of admission in the shelters

3.   children's desire to earn money on the streets and

3   the desire to be with either their boy or girl friends.

While shelters had a policy regarding absconders, they found it difficult not to re-admit children after absconding considering the risks to the lives of children on the streets. Absconding was also influenced by children's freedom to chose to remain in a shelter or not.

Table 5: Shelter Activities and Routine

Shelter	Monday to Friday	Weekends
A	Rise early, take a shower/bath, have breakfast, go to school. After school, light lunch, washing school Uniform/clothes. Depending on the day have sports (soccer). Do homework, have supper. Finish house chores. Watch and listen to the TV/radio. Sleep.	Soccer competitions and practices, and other games. Attend Church services, some cleaning and ironing. Visits to families.
B	Rise early, shower/bath, breakfast, and go to school. After school, light lunch, lean school uniforms/clothes homework, (depending on the day do sports) supper. House chores, homework, watch and listen to the TV/radio. Sleep	Soccer competitions and practices, and other games. Attend Church services, some cleaning and ironing. Visits to families.
C	Rising early, shower, breakfast, and Attend numeric/literacy classes. After classes light lunch, cleaning clothes homework, supper. Practises watch and listen to the TV/radio. Sleep	Soccer competitions and practices, and other games. Attend Church services, some cleaning and ironing. Visits to families.
D	Rising early, shower/bath, breakfast, go to school. After school, light lunch, cleaning school uniforms/clothes Depending on the day, attend group work, homework, supper. Homework, watch and listen to the TV/radio. Sleep	Games and other practices. Attend Church services, some cleaning and ironing. Visits to families.

Shelters daily routines were generally similar with very few variations. Children woke up early and prepared themselves for the rest of days activities. During weekends, children mainly rested or had times to visit or be visited by their families. Otherwise they would clean and wash cloths, play games and on Sunday attend church services. Leisure time included watching television or listening to the radio. These depended on whether the equipments were in good working order.

4.2.6 Policy on Visitors

The four shelters had a policy regarding visitors. The general rule was that visitors, particularly relatives, family, and those known to the child could visit and were welcome. Visitors who donated commodities and services to shelters were preferable. All visitors, however, needed to make prior arrangement with shelters to avoid complicating and affecting shelter's programs. Weekends were most favoured times for visiting because during weekdays most of children were either attending school or were engaged with other shelter activities. Families and relatives who wished to visit their children followed a weekly or monthly visitors schedule unless there were unforeseen circumstances to necessitated special or ad-hoc visits. Family visits were encouraged by shelters because they helped bridged the gap between children and their families or relatives. Children who did not have any relatives or families to visit them and children whose relationship with their families or relatives were strained such visits triggered old memories and did not take place. Shelters A and B invited children's families on special occasions when children were involved in sports competitions or when going on an outing.

4.2.7 Organisational Structures

Organizational structures of shelters varied. Shelters affiliated to a larger or parent organization depended on and replicated the larger organizational structure. The parent organization exercised oversight, control and power over shelter's performance. In this regard, shelters while exercising their relative management independence, were to a large extent dependent on the larger organizations on matters of board of trustees and governors, election of office bearers, written constitution and finances. The four shelters were dependent on the structures of the parent organization, but managed their programs with relative independence from the parent organizations. The management structure of each shelter, together with the personality of the individual manager and the leadership style, impacted differently on staff performance in each shelter. For example, in shelter B the process of management had no separation of management oversight and operational functions of the manager.

4.2.8 Supervision

The roles and responsibilities of managers and social workers were not clearly defined and understood by individuals and at times there was a conflict of interest between the two. Some shelter structures allowed for a social worker and a supervisor two individuals with different professional skills. One professional social worker while the other was a childcare worker. Such arrangements made it difficult to supervise shelters activities and children because of different perspectives and opinions regarding children living and/or working on the streets, i. e. disciplinarian or none disciplinarian approach towards keeping and regulating the shelters. The situation in shelter C was replicated in shelter A except that at times the social worker differed to an even larger extent with the shelter manager. In shelter D the roles were totally confused. This situation was indicative of the circumstances in which the shelter found itself, which necessitated operational and managerial changes to the point that the shelter had three different managers within the period of this study. The situation effected negatively on the delivery of services and the shelter's harm reduction program was overshadowed. Supervision in the shelters was a daunting task.

4.2.9 Activities

Shelter activities and programs were designed to cater for children's growth and development. Consequently, shelters followed a regularised routine during weekdays and also during the weekends. During weekdays, the day began at dawn 6.00 am or sometimes earlier and finished after 9.00 pm when everybody went to sleep. Most children in the three shelters attended either formal or informal learning. Shelters A and D ran in-house literacy and numeracy programs and also life-skills learning. Child-care workers of shelter D found that moving venues periodically from in-house classes and away from the shelter, into the city environs, e.g. using Botanic Gardens and other city parks, eased the children's boredom, improved their concentration and attention (Basson, 2001:2). The co-ordinator of shelter A acknowledged the contribution made by the University of Durban Westville students who tutored on one-on-one basis. This arrangement helped the shelter, as it did not have enough child-care workers. Shelters A and C used volunteers to help with children's homework. Staff, particularly those responsible for recreational activities arranged the types of games and activities which

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children played; this was done depending on the weather and the time of the day. The routines were followed but flexibility was exercised particularly where certain individual children felt uncomfortable about taking part in a particular game. The shelters made use of sporting facilities close to them, consequently shelter managers made ample arrangements with the institutions who owned sporting facilities near the shelters. Children were regularly taken to the beach and taught to swim. Soccer for boys and netball for girls were common sports. Musical instruments, radio, and television sets were often broken thereby frustrating the efforts of the shelters to offer the children some entertainment. In general children were encouraged to participate in recreational activities. House chores in all the shelters were done in groups and children were assigned to a particular childcare worker. Childcare workers gave guidance to children as well as making sure that each group did their chores at the right time and correctly.

4.2.10 Funding and Finances

Since the inception of the Durban Streets Children's Forum most if not all shelters in Durban have been registered. Registration resulted in shelters accessing government funds. Shelters receive very little funds per child per day as compared with children in 'children homes'. Figures below show a significant disparity and indicate the quality of services one can expect with the amounts received. The four shelters participating in the study, two were registered as 'children's homes' (phase two shelters), while two were registered as children's shelters. Shelter D fared worst of all the shelters, which could be one of the reasons why the shelter has had several managerial and staff changes. This further affected the morale of staff and discipline of children (the shelter has since been closed due to several other serious difficulties). Debate continues regarding how best to fund shelters and by how much the government should contribute for the upkeep of the children in shelters. The debate revolves around the issues of transparency and accountability and good management. In this regard, shelters needed to develop an evaluative mechanism which would ensure that all programs were evaluated regularly to determine their quality, success or failure. This study found that funding of shelters depended on the number of shelter residents and on the registration.

Table 6: Registered Shelter and Government Funding Per Child for a Day

Shelter	Date Established	Registration Status	Capacity	Funds Received
A	1996	Shelter	6-15	R. 4.50
B	1989	Children's home	30-40	R.75.00
C	1993	Children's home	60-70	R.75.00
D	1996	Shelter	6O-70	R.4.50

Funding is a crucial issue with shelters and impacts on the whole exercise of getting children living and/or working on the streets out of the street. This situation will change once the South African Children's Draft Bill of 2002, designed to amend the Child Care Act (1983) is enacted into law and hopefully implemented particularly chapter 16 because it recognises and addresses the issues relating to children with special difficult circumstances, while chapter 17 deals with the registration of shelters and drop-in centres (http://www.pmg.org.za/overview/billsprogress.htm: 23/2/2004).

4.2.11 Child Care Act (1983) and Registration of Shelters

Shelters for children living and/or working on the streets fall under the South African Child Care Act of 1983; however children in shelters might have been subjected to other laws depending on their circumstances while living on the streets. The Child Care Act 1983 was amended in 1996 to bring in new dimensions regarding the authority of the children's courts which placed children in difficult circumstances in places of safety or children's homes. Under the Act, a social worker or law enforcement agents can bring a child who is proved to have lost parents or guardians before the court. The court has jurisdiction and mandate to place such a child in a place of safety. The process gives a child no choice either to be or not in children's home. The law places the child there and absconding is treated very seriously. The Child Care Act does not mention children living and/or working on the streets and their difficult circumstances. The omission is significance because shelters, unless they can convert themselves into children's homes they remain outside the legislative mechanism. The Act would have to be amended to give recognition to children living and/or working on the streets as children in a category of their own. The dilemma is the notion which accords children

living and/or working on the streets the free will to be in the shelters or not. It could be argued that the registration of shelters would get rid of the children's free choice and consequently make it obligatory for all children living and/or working on the streets to be in the shelters. The challenge would be how to enforce that requirement without coercion and taking away the liberty children enjoy on the streets. Children's free choice will have to be accommodated in some other way.

4.2.12 Shelters Networking and Coordination

Re-integration and intervention programs would falter if shelters did not collaborate and network with other stakeholders e.g. Government institutions, NGOs, and community leaders. Networking provided an enabling environment for shelters to meet and provide basic services to children. The Durban Street Children Forum was the coordinating structure aimed at facilitating the interaction between government and shelters. The focus and purposes of networking is to help shelters and children likewise. The core tasks are:

- the removal of children from the streets
- provide and meet children's basic needs
- empowering them so that they realize their full potential and contribute to the development of society and
- looking for the opportunities to re-integrate them with their families, communities or with the mainstream society.

These activities need coordinated networking, collaboration and cooperation between government institutions, NGOs, Faith Based Organisations (FBO) and Community Based Organisations (CBO). Shelters know how challenging the tasks of intervention and reintegration strategies were.

Table 7: Networking by Shelters

Organizations Name	Frequency of Contact	Nature of Contact.
Law Enforcement Agencies	Very Frequent/Monthly	Picking/Dropping Children
Social Services Department	Frequent As Need Arises	Welfare And Referrals
Hospitals/Clinics	Occasional According To Need	Diagnosis/Treatment
Legal Counsels	Not Frequent	Advocacy
Educational Institutions	Frequent	Formal Learning
Psychological/Psychiatric Centres	Occasional	Counselling/ Guidance
Religious Organizations	Weekly	Spiritual Guidance
Families And Relatives	Frequent	Process Of Unification
Community Leaders	Often	Reintegration Process
National council for Alcohol and Drug Dependency	Often	Guidance/Guidance
Other (CIDI)	Frequent	HIV/AIDS Awareness

4.3 Views and Experiences of Shelter Managers

Four shelter managers expressed their views and experiences with regard to their work in the shelters. While they noted areas that caused them considerable challenges and underlined that these areas needed attention so that shelters provided children with adequate quality services. They however expressed a degree of satisfaction with the performance of the shelters despite the circumstance the shelters were working under. This section details the concerns of the managers the findings will describe the common themes and trends because the challenges of children living and/or working on the streets are similar and intervention/reintegration strategies present similar challenges.

4.3.1 Structure and physical location of shelters

The managers held to two different views but did not commit themselves to any of the perceptions rather carried on with their obligations regardless of the location of the shelters. Like we observed above, the managers felt that shelters could be located anywhere as long as, children were able to access easily and the location did not complicate or hider delivery of services to children.

4.3.2 Shelter's Objectives

Managers were devoted to achieve the objectives of shelters and in their view, shelters staff contributed significantly. In this regard, they endeavoured to keep the morale high by improving wherever possible the working environment and conditions of service. They argued that shelters should enhance service delivery and in the process facilitate shelters organization to attain the objectives. Providing services to meet children's basic needs and implementation of intervention and reintegration programs posed constant challenges and the managers grappled to meet the challenges.

4.3.3 Management Styles and Administration

Shelter managers did not worry themselves about ascribing to a particular style of management. They took consideration of what works for shelters and in particular delivery of services to children. Shelters management structures reflect loosely coordinated structures (Hasenfeld (1983:150-151). However, management structures of each shelter, together with the personality of the individual manager and the leadership style, impacted differently on staff performance in each shelter. For example, in shelter B the process of management had no separation of managerial oversight and operational functions of the manager. The manager involved the staff in the process of decision-making and valued the input of personnel in shaping the shelter's image. The manager felt that working closely with the shelter staff would provide a good working environment thereby motivating staff morale and performance. Armstrong (1991:27, 144) made the same observation that staffs are motivated when they are involved in decision-making process. Managerial structures in shelters A and C reflected both the human relations model and decision making perspectives in management as stated by Hasenfeld (1983: 23-29) which confirms our earlier observation that shelters did not adhere to a single style of management. The managers employed any style they considered practicable in the shelters.

Management styles were also influenced by management structures of the parent organisation to which shelters were affiliated. The managers held regular weekly meetings with staff to brief them on all decisions affecting the operations of the shelter made by board of managers. Managers felt that circumstances determined how closely to work with shelter staff but admitted that they endeavoured to provide a good working environment thereby motivating staff morale and performance. In shelter C the role of the manager was more difficult and kept the manager under pressure with constant supervision to make sure that the shelter was working and in order.

4.3.4   Admission Procedures

Shelters managers shared a common assumption that children should not be left on their own in the streets because doing so would harden the street life survival culture which increased the possibility of their drifting into crime. The longer a child remained on the streets the more difficult it was for any intervention. In this regard, they felt that the residency capacity of shelters could be increased but structural size and location of shelters inhibited that to happen. They also expressed fear that a large number of former children living and/or working on the streets would present serious challenges to maintaining discipline and/order. In deed, shelter managers advocated for preventive strategies to be put in place to prevent children coming or drifting to street living or working. They argued that such an endeavour required government in collaboration with other stakeholders to develop and implement such preventive programs.

4.3.5   Shelters Staffs and Residents

Supervision, discipline, and morale of staff and children presented shelter managers with constant challenges. This situation arose because of (a) lack of clearly defined roles of managers, social workers and supervisors. (b) Social workers served as deputies to managers and acted in that capacity when managers were attending other meetings or were away for other reasons. The situation in shelter C was replicated in shelter A except that at times the social worker differed to an even larger extent with the shelter manager. In shelter D the roles were totally confused. The manager said

Social workers, childcare workers, educators and volunteers each have their own agenda on what programs should be followed

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Apart from management of shelters, managers had other social responsibilities in society which took their time and concentration from the running of shelters. Ennew (1994: 157) discusses the difficulties projects dealing with similar shelter programs face when managers become preoccupied with matters away from their projects. The four shelter managers faced similar difficulties.

4.3.6   Services and Routines

Provision of services to meet children's basic needs presented different challenges for the managers. Most of these challenges were compounded by the availability of human and material resources in particular finances. Like we noted earlier shelter accessed meagre funds from the government and as a result sourced funds from private donations. This increased the workload of managers in that they had to conduct fund raising which takes considerable time and efforts. Managers were faced with the dilemma of providing adequate and quality services with insufficient financial resources. In this regard, managers felt that the number of residents should always correspond with available resources and the capacity of shelters to provide quality services to children. They felt that shelters could do more for children if shelters had more human and material resources.

Keeping order and discipline in the shelters was another challenge managers faced. These were derived from staff and children as follows. (a) Few staff members meant that when one staff member for any reason was absent, finding a replacement was difficult, another staff member would fill the gap consequently working double. Managers were handling staff grievances and relational problems at work, improving staff salaries or remuneration and the management of time. (b) Challenges from children mainly concerned following a regularised order which children were not used, concentration and keeping focus on certain issues which children did not consider important, keeping basic health and cleanness e.g. use of flash toilet and keeping them clean, brushing their teeth, washing their hands before meals and after using the toilets etc. Like we observed earlier when children felt bored, wanted money or wanted to see their boy/girl friends, they absconded. Absconding delayed and complicated the process of intervention. The managers did not know how best to respond to children who absconded or how to solve the difficulties of shelters routines and discipline.

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4.3.7 Shelters Activities

Managers often reminded staff and children the importance of keeping time but like we have observed this was a continuous challenge. In certain circumstances, some activities were abandoned due to lack of enough time. Shelters did not own certain facilities e.g. play grounds consequently they relied on surrounding institutions to provide them. The challenges were to keep the facilities in the same order after using them. Managers negotiated with the institutions concerned the availability of the facilities and their maintenance. Other social and recreational equipment broke down after a short period of time, e.g. guitars, televisions, radios, pianos etc. It must be emphasised here that this challenges are not peculiar to shelters, that it happens with other public facilities and maintenance of the facilities is always a mater of concern for public leaders. Managers were more concerned with the cost of maintenance while they operated with small budgets due to financial conditions in the shelters. Time and lack of adequate facilities constrained shelter activities, which further contributed to children's boredom leading to absconding. Managers felt that shelters were in no winning situation as one thing lead to another.

4.3.8 Registration and Funding of Shelters

Shelter managers felt that there is a need and room for shelters to be registered as shelters for children living and/or working on the streets. Giving the shelters that recognition in the law would broaden their financial based. However, managers were concerned whether doing that would empower the shelters capacity to offer quality services to children and as result attract more children on the streets something that should not happen in the first place. They felt that government should lead by providing a policy guideline specifically dealing with children living and/or working on the street. They further expressed that shelter residential capacity should not exceed 30-50 residents because more than that number would not be adequately managed. Managers had a perception that shelters play the numbers game to access more funding from private donors or government. They felt that treating children as a source of income was in itself an abuse of children's rights and unacceptable. They also expressed that some programs were not fully implemented due to the shortage of adequate funds e.g. follow-up programs once children were re-united with their families or communities and skills training to empower children to be employable or self-employed and as a result contribute economically to society.

Regarding transparency, accountability, and governance in the shelters, the managers expressed that the issue was tied to skills training of staff and linked with availability of resources. They argued that once shelters train a member of staff, that should result to remunerating that staff accordingly, where that is not possible staff looked for better rewarding jobs elsewhere and that is normal in most institutions. In this regard, shelters needed a mechanism to keep the staff they had, but also train them with a view of improving their output and at same time keep the staff happy by remuneration. They felt that the issue of transparency and accountability was complex, involved shelters staff capacity and competency, and needed to be further thought through.

4.3.9   Networking and coordination

Networking, collaboration and cooperation were key words that managers felt shelters need if they were to provide adequate service to children and intervene fully in children's lives. They expressed strong commitment to networking particularly with NGOs, law enforcement agencies, government departments and institutions, private sector in particular businesses because they all have an interest in children living and/or working on the streets. Such involvement required a mechanism to coordinate the efforts in order that everything is done in the best interests of a child. The endeavour would shift the perspective that intervention programs were the prerogative of shelters. The coordination would eliminate duplication of programs and diversify shelter services.

4.4.   Views and Experiences of Shelters Staff

The success or failure of any organisation depends to a very large extent on human resources. Veldsman (2002:29) argued that, "People effectiveness is becoming the strident rallying cry within organisations, why? Because increasingly people are seen to play the pivotal and indispensable role in ensuring business success". This fact cannot be over-emphasised particularly with the shelters for children living and/or working on the streets, because staffs are responsible for care and ensuring that children's needs are met. Staff also facilitated the running of programs of intervention and reintegration. Charlton (2000:18-28) states that it is increasingly recognised that human resource function is of crucial significance to any organisation's success or failure, hence the need for organisations to continually train, reward, and support their staff. The following are the views and experiences of staff in the shelters as they implemented delivery of services and intervention/reintegration programs.

Table 8: Staff Participants: Social, Academic Levels and additional Skills

Gender	Level of Education and additional Skills				Marital Status		
	Below matric	Matric	Above matric	Additional skills	Single	Married	Divorced
Male	1	2	1	3	3	1	-
Female	6	7	11	24	16	6	2

The figures represent not the total number (n) of participants in focus groups discussions, but the distribution of academic levels, other skills and the social status, in this regard a member of staff could be represented at all levels. The figures indicate a variation between matric and tertiary levels of education, and nearly all staff had additional skills relevant to working in the shelters and related to social and childcare skills. The skills include: child and youth care; youth development; human resource and personnel management; secretarial and receptionist; social work; catering; supervision; behavioural management; cookery; music and physical development. The academic level distribution varies between male and female of all participants in the focus groups discussions and nearly all female participants were single or unmarried women. Skills training were concern for the shelters as has been previously observed and it appears that efforts were made to improve staff skills in matters that directly impacted on service delivery and programs implementation.

4.4.1 Location and physical structures

Staffs like managers earlier on were divided on the issue of location of shelters. On the one hand there were participants who held to the view that the shelters needed to be relocated outside the city centre for three main reasons:

- location should allow enough ground to accommodate sporting, recreational and other facilities
- the location should also have farm area to facilitate rearing of domestic animals e.g. cattle, sheep, goats, or chicken, grow some vegetables which would contribute and supply shelters with necessary foods, as well introduce the idea of work ethic to children and
- close proximity of the city lures children into the streets which they need to get away from.

Staff expressed that children should be kept busy at all times till bedtime and the shelters should see to it that that happens. They argued that children became mischievous when idle and they needed re-orientation to move away from street life culture. Shelter's physical structures needed maintenance continuously and in the views of staff it was the duty of government or local authorities to help keep shelters in good condition. They argued that an alternative would be the development of skills training programs and learning would be part of repairing and maintaining shelters and any other broken facilities. Skills like masonry, carpentry, or electrical training would be utilized effectively. Shelters could become self-sufficient in the supply of basic goods and maintenance through the use of human resource of children while learning skills that would empower them for jobs and labour markets in the future.

4.4.2   Shelter Objectives

Staff participants were not very particular with the objectives of the shelters. In their view, intervention strategies were necessary because life on the street was dangerous for children. Consequently, action was necessary to remove children from the streets and make sure that they were at school and where it was not possible they be placed in some informal learning. Children should never be on the streets for whatever reason. In this regard, shelters were doing a good job.

One participant summed up staff views and stated,

> *Unless a form of intervention is done, children living and/or working on the streets will become hardcore criminals making the streets very unsafe even for the children themselves. Just don't know what makes children ran from home into the streets. Perhaps it is better to intervene in the family first and following that intervene with the children. But already children are on the streets. Maybe intervene in both situations. Yet the possibility is difficult to come by because of funds* (translated).

However, they observed that when life in the shelters is so organized and services are of high quality that would create some dependency, attract more children on the streets in order that they also could be placed in shelters to receive the good and high quality services. In this context, staff were weary and ambivalent whether to improve shelters services much more than they were. They argued that what could be done is to expand intervention programs and include programs which would stabilize families and communities from where children came from before and after children were on the

streets. Programs should also include follow-up programs to ensure that children did not once more come into the streets and monitor the progress children were making. In this regard, shelter programs had room for further developments, improvements and expansion. However, participants did not entirely rule out changes and improvements, they felt that in the following areas shelters essentially needed adjustments:

a) Structural changes particularly the dormitories and the bathrooms. The dormitories had no lockers to secure children's particularly the older ones, their few valuables as a result, children often complained that they had lost their items and suspected other children were responsible. Improving the dormitories in this manner would resolve the friction, quarrels and fights among children.

b) Participants argued that shelters flow of finances needed improvements otherwise programs of intervention and integration had become difficult, but not impossible to implement. Participants did not know how the financial situation could be improved.

c) Participants felt that staff recruitment, employment and remuneration needed changes to harmonize remuneration with qualifications and skills.

In their view, were shelters able to make the above changes that would have fitted well with the stated objectives and would enhance the intervention/reintegration programs through improving the conditions and working environment staff were under.

4.4.3   Admission and Children's Needs

Participants expressed that shelters should never exceed their residential capacity. However, they observed that shelter's capacity left out many children living and/or working on the streets. Those children who had been admitted were lucky not continue living on the streets. Participants had different opinions regarding children's needs and the best means to meet those needs. This trend replicated itself in all focus group discussions and generated arguments for and against the different opinions. The issue was whether physical growth and spiritual development formed part of children's needs. Some participants held the opinion that physical growth and spiritual development were inseparable. Consequently argued and advocated for their inclusion in all shelters programs. However, they were quick to point that different religions and denominational backgrounds would have to be accommodated in the programs. They expressed that shelters resources should be more focused on children's physical and material conditions. They argued that meeting children's physical and material welfare

was immediately reassuring to children, and alleviated their immediate poor physical conditions. Individual children would be left free to determine their spiritual development. However, they expressed that shelters would have to introduce some form of religious teaching in order that children could choose from. Participants emphasized that the shelters should not be places of religious indoctrination.

4.4.4   Staff Training

Participants discussed the need of new skills in particular relating to counseling HIV/AIDS affected or infected children. This challenge was becoming common among children living and/or working on the streets and was out-stretching staff's capacity and capability to deal with it in the shelters. They expressed frustration of inadequacy in dealing with HIV/AIDS infected children. Staff training had to include the component of HIV/AIDS and how to counsel children, offer quality services that can prolong lives, and instil a culture of behaviour change in children.

4.4.5   Recruitment

Participants argued that the main problem in the shelters regarding staff recruitment was financial resources. They expressed that shelters could not afford to hire highly qualified staff. To do so would mean salaries would have to be adjusted accordingly to suit the qualifications. Shelters did not have the financial capacity and consequently they felt salaries would continue to remain low which tempted them to look for other opportunities elsewhere. Discussing this further, the participants were unable to reconcile their welfare and the welfare of children in the shelters. The argued that the two had to be merged in some form but did not know how.

4.4.6   Staff Morale and Commitment

Participants were concerned that job description and educational qualifications did not correspond. They expressed the need to have a mechanism that will tally the two to improve job satisfaction. Participants expressed that their morale is linked to their commitment and vocation versus remuneration. They admitted that remuneration was unsatisfactory and that they would like it improved if funds permitted. One Participant stated,

> *I just see children living and/or working on the streets like any of my own child or nephew in difficult situation and feel a heart to help* (translated).

Participants were happier and felt satisfied when children appreciated their services. One participant summed their views and said:

> At most one feels satisfied when a child who came here hungry, dirty and sick has recovered and is able to interact with other children, many of us feel happy when children respond with appreciation to the services and care we give. One goes home feeling that something meaningful has been done, but some children never appreciate our work, they keep complaining of this or that, but why mind or take notice children are just children (translated).

The majority of participants agreed that they did not want to openly show any signs of disagreement among themselves precisely because they are role models for the children. Some participants stated that they started working in the shelter as volunteers trained as child-care workers, which gave the possibility for them being absorbed and employed permanently. This view is emphasised by the shelter's rationale of on-the-job staff training. Staff commitment was exemplary and vindicated by the fact that few disciplinary cases were on record.

4.4.7   Registration of Shelters

Participants felt that registration of shelters would lead to improved funding and consequently lead to better pay and improved programs. The participants further observed that some form of strategy should be developed that would ensure that all children on the streets are dealt with without them having to chose one thing or another. Such a strategy would make sure that all children living and/or working on the streets benefited from the programs of intervention and reintegration. They stated that this was a better option, because then it would place the shelters under some form of authority and control over the activities and behaviour of children living and/or working on the streets. Participants argued that the law needed to be amended in order to leave no room for children to result to live and/or work on the streets. Staff indicated that registration of shelters was crucial in ensuring that shelters do what they are doing under the law.

4.4.8   Routines and Discipline

The issue of shelter routines and discipline generated participants heated discussions. There was different opinions expressed without consensus and the trend replicated in all focus group discussions. One opinion expressed dissatisfaction on children's free

will to choose whether to or not live in the shelters. One Participant summed up this idea and stated'

> There are certain issues at home that we do not allow children to choose, there must be boundaries and when children cross them, they should know the consequences.

They argued that children had too much freedom which was harmful to their well-being. The choice should never be between the shelter or the streets, rather shelter or home for any child. The shelters were offering children an opportunity to redress the poor living conditions they faced on the streets. Other participants expressed that children were precisely on the streets in pursuit of their liberty and also running away from families' heavy discipline, abuse, and neglect. They argued that children have rights that need to be protected. Participants holding to this opinion stated that children should be guided in order that they can make choices that would not harm them, but which will facilitate their growth. Participants expressed disappointments that shelter routines were at times not observed or kept. They attributed this to children's lack of time consciousness. They argued that life on the streets disoriented children with the regularities of life. They observed that children on the streets slept irregularly and that behaviour was manifest in the shelters. Staff stated that they found some children sleeping in the morning when it is time to wake up, or not sleeping after hours. Staff admitted that time keeping and management was a challenge that required patience to deal with.

4.4.9   Social and Recreational facilities

Participants argued that recreational facilities and equipments were frustrated in that they broke down very often and replacements or repairs were not quickly effected. They underlined that some programs of social and recreation were hampered by children's actions, their opinions were summed up here by one of the participant that:

> There are some programs that the shelters are unable to meet, look shelters have e. g. this one had a TV set it was broken, a guitar and children broke, they keep breaking things and it cost money to repair them, the shelter has little money, so the shelter had to prioritise the needs against financial resources (translated).

However, participants were glad when children were wining games when plying other teams e.g. soccer, netball, swimming and when children presented song and dance to visitors. They felt satisfaction that somehow their work was recognized and rewarded.

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Participants felt more encouraged when children returned to the shelters after spending a weekend with their families or relatives. They expressed further satisfaction when children progressed well in formal learning at schools. Participants were dismayed and disappointed when children absconded. They expressed frustration because absconding complicated the process of reorientation and interfered with progress.

4.5   Views and Experiences of shelters Residents

Children living and/or working on the streets are the recipients of shelter services as shelters residents. They are the core of and the reason for the shelters' existence. Children from each shelter took part in focus group discussions and participated with vigour and happiness. At times the discussions generated heated exchanges between them particularly on certain points of view and perceptions about which the participants disagreed.

4.5.1   Focus Group Discussions with Children

Four focus group discussions were held with children in each of the four shelters. Participants started with brief background information of their lives before and after coming on the streets. They told how difficult life was at home and as a result were forced to run away from home into the streets. Most participants had similar experiences and this study has below two stories to indicate the experiences of female and male participants. Translation is word of word to ensure that the stories remain those of the participants.

> *After my mother died, at that time I was nine years, my father abandoned me and was left with granny (Magogo) and she is very old. Father drink the 'umcombothi' zulu home made beer or when has money 'Ugologo' (spirit) from the bottle store. When drunk is fighting every one except Magogo. No food to eat, no job, no money and fighting. I ran away from home to the city to look for some work. The police pick me up lock me in the cell with big adults. I am raped by two am breeding and get sick. Can't report the rape adults will kill. The court send me to the shelter. It is a little safe here and have something to eat.*

> *My mother died when I was very young. My father married another wife and she did not like us at all me and my brother. She gave us no food and when father is away she is fight particularly me as a girl. I ran away to live with my 'Malume' (uncle) in the village. My uncle is abusing me sexually every night. I am young and get pregnant. Then miscarriage and I am very sick. They take me to the*

Sangoma (traditional doctor) and I am well for a time. Then my uncle wants again to have sex with me again, It is painful and breeding, I ran away to the streets with another girl. On the streets we meet these big boys and they take us at 'KwaMfudisi' shelter. There are many boys and girls they are fighting every time they drink and have sex with everyone. Each boy has two or three girlfriends the boys go to the streets and make money. They buy their girls nice things and food but must have sex each day. We sleep most of the time. We get drunk and smoke 'dagga'. I am sick again and after that I go back to the streets. The social work bring me here to the shelter. I can't go home there is no home. I am happy here in the shelter.

This study found that children were talkative and responded well in discussions (Ennew, 1994). The discussions at times became heated with disagreements on certain issues and participants held different opinions. On other issues there was consensus and individual participants would summarize the groups points of view and experiences as recorded in the study. Some participants were good in English and a volunteer translated without editing what others said in Zulu.

4.5.2   Developmental Needs

Participants were divided regarding life in shelters some argued that shelters were ideal alternative home where there was security, love and care. Further pointed out that life in the shelters were different from life on the streets. Participants felt shelters saved them from living in the streets and kept them away from harsh and difficult conditions at home. They argued that in the shelters there was food, clothing, a place to shower, sleep, one goes to school, and when sick is taken to see a doctor.

However, other children did not enjoy the shelter's image as home because they perceived the shelters reviving the memories of their home's routine and environment, which they were trying to run way from. They did not appreciate shelter services, and consequently absconded because they did not like the mundane regular shelter chores. Participants felt that services provided particularly food was not what they had expected. They felt that although living on the streets was not good, yet the street offered an alternative to unbearable circumstances at home. They further argued that the street opened a way for earning money, and gave them liberty to do and go

wherever one wanted. Participant's main complaints were the shelters chores and one said:

> One reason that made me run from home is because I did not like to do home chores; I am here not expecting to do them either (translated).

Participants argued that shelters were okay as long as they allowed flexibility to allow alternatives and free environment for life as they had come to know previously. Older participants stated that they should be allowed to stay otherwise they were back again in the streets as young adults. One of the older participants said:

> You do not tell how old you are exactly because they make you go away from the shelter. It is not easy there lots of violence (translated).

On the issue of reintegration, participants had a consensus and emphasised that shelters be considerate before they were reintegrated with families or communities. They said shelters should ensure that the situations in the family or community, which caused us to run away, had changed or stabilised. Their views are summed up in the statement of one of the participant who said:

> We come into the shelters and before we are ready, that we have learned certain things that can make one employable, the social worker want to take us home. You see home there are many problems, with step parents, other siblings, no money, no food, these are some of the reasons some us run away from. Before the situation can change it is of no use taking us there, one just have to run away again (translated).

Participants argued that when we are taken home and the circumstances had not improved or changed we find it difficult to stay there and just run away again back into the streets. It is better for shelters to stabilize first the conditions of our families, give us skills so that we can be employed or can find jobs first and then we are ready to leave the shelters. They listed several family dynamics, which made it difficult for them to consider being reunited with their families. Participants felt that reunification with families is done in too much of a hurry, before the family is socially and economically ready to receive them back. However, participants expressed dissatisfaction on dormitories and sleeping arrangements one participant summed up their views and pointed out that:

Look at this shelter look at the doors, go to the toilets, bathrooms, windows, most are broken. Tsotsi steal our little belongs and when we suspect who stole we fight, but nothing so far has been done to rectify or replace the broken doors or window panes (Translated).

Participants expressed a desire to be consulted and their input valued. Their opinions are summed up hear by one of the participant:

You see when decisions are made, no one ever thinks it matters for us to say anything, they go on without asking us what we would like to see or do, we are not very important, but it is fine and okay with us, so long as we have something to eat and a place to stay other than the street, it is fine (translated).

As long as they lived in the shelters, they were happy with the services.

4.5.3   Health

Participants expressed that regarding health the shelters were okay. The female participants were more satisfied that shelters included cookery, knitting, and HIV/AIDS training programs. These programs help us to take care of our lives and live a healthy life. Their opinions are summarized by one of the participants:

Before coming to the shelter, I was often sick with colds, headaches, and fever. In the shelter here I have seen doctors and been to hospital several times. No longer worried about getting sick my life has changed and health improved. I like other girls here am happy so far.

Male participants wanted skills that would help them get rid of glue and other substance use. They argued that substance abuse was difficult to get rid off unless one is helped.

4.5.4   Education

Participants who attended normal school expressed that they were happy to be back to school. That was a step to deal with their fear of the future. Participants who did not attend formal school expressed hope that chances will open for them to learn. One participant summed up and said:

It is very good that they teach us how to read and write. I like learning counting, this way I can count money when I grow up and keep a business. I hope one day I will be one. It is not good we are poor young and when old as well. We hear that some children like us have become rich and drive their own cars, live in nice houses and wear nice clothes. I want to be like that one day (translated).

Table 9: Children Participant's Level of Education

Gender	Never been to school	Lowest grade 1-5	Highest Grade 6-10	Total
Male	2	14	6	22
Female	0	2	8	10

The summary indicates that the children's level of education varied between those who had never been to formal school about 7%, those who had just started formal school 50% made up of male approximately 43% and female 7%. Participants who were attending higher grade 10 approximately 43% and made up of males approximately 18% and females 25%. The majority of the girls (25%) were in the upper grades of education and the minority (7%) were in the lower grades. The large number of boys was attending lower grades 43% while 18% were in the upper grades and 7% had never been to school. The ratio was approximately boys 68% and girls about 32%. This could be attributed to the age at which girls come to live and/or work on the streets compared to the age of boys. Participant's age was for boys 7-18 and for girls 11-17 years. This indicates that there are younger boys rather than girls on the streets and in shelters, but it could be that researcher is not conclusive on girls who live and work on the streets (Ennew, 1994). Participants were happy that shelters had programs of developing learning skills whether formal or informal and they expressed their appreciation to the service.

4.5.5   Routine and Discipline

This issue generated heated discussions among participants. They held different views and consensus was not be arrived at. On one hand there were participants who expressed strongly that shelters should not be rigid on rules and regulations. They argued that shelters' rules and regulations needed to be flexible, particularly rules governing leisure time, time to watch the television or listening to music. Their opinions are summed up in the words of one participant who said:

> it is very boring doing homework, we come from school and then books, not time
> to rest and watch television, can't shelter staff leave us alone at least
> (translated).

Participants further felt that control and/order were some of the issues which caused their coming into the streets they felt that shelters need not be seen to be controlling every activity and program participation. They argued that a flexible approach was

preferable. Participants continued to make the point that visits from their boy/girl friends should be allowed. A participant summarized their views:

It is very bad that our good and reliable friends cannot come to visit us, for me my boy friend was my security and made sure that I had enough money to buy the things I needed. When am in my bed, miss him and wonder what is he like and doing at that time.

Another participant stated:

My girl friend is there out alone and no one to take care. I feel bad, the more I stay here the more likely I might loose her to other men. You see, on the streets it is tough and one has to fight for his woman or man. Those people come with lots of money, cars, and very good cloths. Before you know it your woman or man is taken. We stand at the corner and shout no! no! and when the woman loves you, and knows you will provide when in need, they do not let us down. They come out of the car and follow us quickly to another place where it is secure from the world of power and wealth. We are simple in life but strong at heart. But need each other to survive. Why cannot we stay here with our friends? They need us more (translated).

Participants expressed that shelters should employ people who would do shelters chores rather than have residents keep the place tidy all the time. One participant summarized and said:

One reason that made me run from home is because I did not like to do home chores; I am here not expecting to do them either (translated).

Participants stated further that shelters needed to consider the duration of stay in the shelters, and in particular whether children who are above the age of 16 years continue living in the shelters. Participants stated that when things were not changing in the shelters, they were liable to abscond. One participant summarized their views and said:

Some of us abscond because we do not like the mundane regular shelter chores. Our friends cannot visit us when we or they want us, and when we need some money to keep us going while in the shelters. We stay here and get no money. It is fine in the shelters, but we also need some cash. When we are on the streets we make money and we are happy (translated).

On the other hand, other participants argued that shelters were right to ask that order and discipline in the shelters. Through the words of one of the participant's they stated:

It is okay that shelters have some regulations, it is not right for any one to do and live like other people are not there, in the shelters it not like on the streets,

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where we do whatever is right to us. We need clean place who will clean for us? We need clean food but if plates are not clean how do eat clean food? Just that some of us are not okay to wash and clean. But must do that otherwise will become dirty as in the streets. Then what will be the different? (translated).

Participants further said that shelters should not allow girl/boy friends visit.

If they come where will others sleep? We have dormitories here and beds together, how will some sleep with girl/boyfriends on top of my bed? We think that the best thing shelters can do is to allow those who want to see their girl/boyfriends time and day every week to go as long as they come back if they want, but if they do not want to come back then others can take their place (translated).

Participants reached some consensus on the issues of absconders and bullying. They argued that absconders make life in the shelters a laughing matter. One participant summarised their opinions and said:

When one absconds and goes to live and/or work again on the streets other comrades want to know how we live here. One cannot refuse to talk and when they here the laugh at us. Then absconders come with money, some drugs, and are high. They make everyone jealous, and every body want to go into the street to make some money and meet old friends, but when they absconds they miss too much learning and other activities. We feel sorry when they come back and are sick (translated).

On the issue of bullying, participants agreed that it was bad and caused friction and fights among them. One participant summarized their feelings and said:

Bullying happens every time among us, the older participants bully the young and also the younger ones call names to the older ones. Sometimes individuals fight and hurt one another. Then staff come and before they resolve that one another child is bullying another one. We do it even at streets and sometimes it is fun to see how the big ones respond to the young ones. It is bad when it ends in a fight and somebody is injured (translated).

Participants argued linking the issue of bullying to the issues of bed wetting, and homosexuality behaviour. They said in the words of two participants:

When other girls know that one is seeing that one they whisper and talk behind them. They sit away from the two, don't play with them and make fun. It is bad when one is not liked by others (translated).

It is okay when one is going with another one so long as they do not do it in the open. We shift sleeping arrangements so that the two sleep close to the other. We don't talk about them otherwise there will be a fight. It is their matter not every boy (translated).

Those who wet the bed, make us free bad in the morning the whole dormitory is smelling and worse when the bed wetter is one sleeping on top of you bed (translated).

It is very bad and annoying when one is bedwetting. It is smelling and not good. Then one has to clean and wash the beddings and the room. They should not drink anything after supper or before going to bed. We really laugh at them, we don't know what is wrong with their bodies. May be they should see a doctor but how does one tell the doctor? It is bad (translated).

Participants agreed that shelters should have in place a means to deal with bullying, but did not have a suggestion how to deal with it effectively.

4.5.6 Social and Recreational

The issue of social and recreational facilities, participants felt did not meet their expectations. They said in the words of one participant:

Not all boys liked or play soccer likewise not all girls like or play netball. We all don't enjoy swimming, or this or that game, we have different likings, but shelter's recreational program included all boys at that time slot. They take us all for swimming or this game or that one. Some of us get very bored there and want to do something else. They could allow us to have a choice of what we want to do at that time (translated).

Participants further argued as summed by one participant:

Games should be some for big boys and girls and for small ones. The big ones can play their game and the small ones play theirs (translated).

Participants wanted shelter's staffs not to treat them as children. One participants summed up their argument and said:

Staff always treat us as children, they don't understand that although we are young and look young we know more of the things the grownups do and talk about, ask any one of us and we will tell you the bad or sometimes good things adults have done to us... we know them (translated from Zulu into English).

In general, the participants as shelters residents and the recipients of shelters services were happy because they no longer lived and/or worked on the streets consequently they appreciated what the shelters were doing for them and on their behalf.

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with data analysis and research findings. Shelters for children living and/or working on the streets as human service organisation affect and effect behavioural changes on individual children. Shelters internal physical structures, delivery of service, objectives, registration, funds and networking with other organisations were crucial components of intervention and reintegration strategies. The views and experiences of shelters managers, staffs and residents were important and in line with the focus of the study. The whole aim of shelters existence was to intervene on the lives of children living and/or working on the streets and through interventions, reintegrate children into mainstream society. On one hand the shelters managed to deliver and fulfil their mandate while on the other hand the availability of resources and organisational/management style presented challenges to the programs of intervention and reintegration.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS ON FINDINGS

5.1   Introduction

Hasenfeld (1992) describes different characteristics of human service organizations that deal with and process people. Human beings are their raw materials and this makes them unique in character and in their organizational structures. Consequently he argues that no single organizational theory could account for all the features of their work, and duly combine numerous different theories. Cognizant of the fact that shelters for children living and/or working on the streets are complex institutions and as human service organizations deal with very complicated situations of children, this chapter draws upon different theories to describe the issues derived from the study. The chapter focuses on three parts, which relate to different theoretical backgrounds arising from the inquiry: Firstly, organizational theories endeavouring to show the complexity of shelters as institutions of intervention, reintegration and service providers to children as shelter's residents. Secondly, the dilemma shelters face as they intervene to address the plight of children living and/or working on the streets. Thirdly, the views and experiences of shelters managers and staff, the service providers and children the shelters' residents the service recipients.

Manager's beliefs, attitudes, vision and practice influences how organizations function and behind every managerial decision or action are assumptions about human nature and human behaviour. Hasenfeld (1983:149) argues "the distribution of authority and the control of workflow are guided by a norm of rationality". Push (1971:9) argues that organizational theory refers to the study of structure, functioning and performance of an organization together with behaviour of groups and individuals within organization. Theorists (Aldrich, 1979; Hannan and Freeman, 1977; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Williamson, 1975) suggest and point the fact that there is no one best way to structure an organization, and there are several theoretical paradigms upon which organizations could be structured. However, there seems to be general agreement that what is important in an organization is a healthy balance between its structure and output. This notion implies that where an organization's structure is weak the output will reflect. Organizations invariably are concerned not only with their structures but have to adapt to their environment. This perspective is known as "contingency theory" (Blau, 1970; Chandler, 1962; Woodward, 1965; Perrow, 1967). In

this theory several factors form basis of organizational strategies: size; technology; environment; coordination; adaptation; dependence; and the division of labour, each factor being considered as a contingency variable. With these factors in place it is easy to identify a structure of an organization and what concerns are of significance to organization (shelter). All shelters' structural and/organizational concerns were service delivery and intervention/reintegration programs, in that they considered care and services to children their priority. However, structural design was also important, not only for easy access to service delivery, but as a requirement for the registration of shelters by government and as stipulated in the South African Children's Draft Bill (2002:156) http://www.pmg.org.za: 24/1/2004. As a result, shelters were organized in form that Hasenfeld, (1983) refers to as "a loosely coupled system".

5.2   Shelters Organisational Structures

5.2.1   Physical and/organisational Structures

It was the view of managers or directors that management structures should remain simple with emphases on service delivery and implementation of intervention programs. In this regard, most of the shelters wanted to avoid setting up bureaucratic structures where much of the finances would be spent, rather than meeting the needs of children. This perception was derived from the view that shelter's main objective was the provision of service to the children. In this regard, shelters managers were concerned with the following: first, easy accessibility by children and communication infrastructure was viable; secondly, shelters were closely linked with other institutions which back up their services, i.e., schools, hospital or clinics, recreational facilities, water and electricity. This was to ensure that they meet the legal, constitutional, regulatory and legislative requirements of the government, that all shelters meet minimum standards for the safety and well-being of the children as contained in the South African Children's Draft Bill chapter 17   (2002:155-156) and in the amended regulations contained in the South African Government Gazette no 18770   (1998:14-23). The legal requirements stipulate that all shelters provide a bed for each child, a nutritious meal per day, separate toilets and bathing facilities for males and females, an ablution facility per ten children, cooking facilities with an adult cook, clean water, a physical structure approved by local authority to ensure enough lighting and ventilation. Local authorities are vested with regulatory, legislative powers and authority within the constitution of South Africa should make sure that all shelters and children's homes comply with and maintain minimum standards. Within this view, registration of shelters

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is linked to the whole enterprise of intervention and re-integration together with provision of services to children living and/or working on the streets.

The sampled four shelters, except shelter D, occupied buildings that were physically well maintained, with good sanitation, well ventilated. Shelter D buildings needed some attention, of doors, windowpanes, and improvement in showers and bathrooms. The manager was at pains discussing the condition of the shelter. He together with staff members argued that due to the number of children in the shelter, and the lack of manageable discipline of children, it was difficult to maintain the physical condition of the shelter. Children kept on breaking either doors or windowpanes. Further the shelter finances did not allow spending more finances on maintenance.

5.2.2   Shelter Staff

The strength and success of an organization depends on its staff. The role of staff was based on the allocation of duties as defined in the terms and conditions of service. Job allocation was designed to fit and meet the objectives of shelters, namely provision of services and implementation of intervention and reintegration programs. Organizational and management structures together with the shelters objectives allowed managers to access more information regarding shelters than most members of staff. Consequently, majority of staff members knew very little about shelter's objectives. Hasenfeld (1983:162) observed that authority and power in human service organizations is acknowledged when those in leadership positions make decisions which direct the actions of their subordinates or when the subordinates allow their behaviour to be guided by the decisions of those in superior positions. According to Hasenfeld (1983: 168-169) behaviour control makes it possible for an organization to develop precise job specification and reduce worker discretion. In this regard, it could be argued that staff concerned themselves primarily with their work, i.e. the care of children, rather than be concerned with the details of the shelter's objectives which in their view was better left to management together with the social workers whom staff viewed as more knowledgeable and professional. Hasenfeld's (1983:162-165) observed that in human service organisations, power and authority could be acquired through professional status. Shelter's managers and social workers at times issued conflicting instructions that left staff confused e.g. in shelter D the manager observed that social worker, and childcare workers had their separate agendas which needed to be harmonized. Hasenfeld (1983:151) has observed that staff in human service organizations are often subjected to multiple and often conflicting lines of authority. Reporting to the annual

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general meeting of the Durban Street Children's Forum, the chairperson noted "Our dedicated care-workers at the initial intake shelters work very long hours on low salaries and with limited benefits. Without their vocational devotion many children would be without care or supportive help" (2001-2002:6). McNeely, (in Hasenfeld. 1992:224) states that job satisfaction is not merely important because dissatisfied workers provide poor services, but because the social functioning of the human service organisation depends on the level of staff job satisfaction therefore organisations endeavour to boost the morale of their staff. Staff in the shelters had contradictory views and experiences regarding their Job satisfaction. On one hand they were considerate to the welfare and care of the children. On the other hand, they were mindful of their salaries and remuneration in tandem with further skills training which would improve their chances to get better employment.

Staffs' consideration of children's welfare and care was derived from: first, children's immediate needs of food, shelter, clothing, and medical care. Secondly, the long-term needs that included education, skills training, rehabilitation from drug, alcohol, substance abuse, emotional stabilisation after sexual and violence abuse accrued from home and street life experiences. Staff viewed that shelters were organized to meet those short and long term dimensional needs. At the same time shelters tried to locate children's families or relatives and communities with a view to reuniting them. For those children whose families or relatives could not be located, shelters tried to find foster families. The activity was carried out in conjunction with the Child Welfare Department and shelter's social workers.

5.2.3   Shelter Residents

The existence of shelters is derived from concerns that there are children in need of care and the South African Children's Draft Bill (2002) chapter eleven explicitly lists the categories of children in need of care, and children living and/or working on the streets are among the categories. In this regard, shelters are necessary to provide care and protection of children living and/or working on the streets from harm resulting from harsh conditions of living on the streets. Residential capacity of each shelter influenced their admissions. In this regard, number of children in the four shelters indicated that there were many children living and/or working on the streets left out on the streets because shelters could not accommodate more than their capacity. Munusamy (2000) writing in the Sunday Times and quoting the co-ordinator of the Durban Streets Children Forum, Julia Zingu, said:

There were about 100 new abandoned children on the city's streets every month. The situation was already "unmanageable", with children as young as six sleeping in alleys and on pavements while shelters and homes were "bursting at the seams" Zingu said the forum was unable to calculate just how many children lived on Durban's streets, but the numbers grew daily as more adults died as a result of AIDS (http://www.sundaytimes.co.za: 21/2/2003).

On the same issue, Jubasi (2001) Writing in the same news paper, said that

"Children living and/or working on the streets are threatening the status of Umhlanga Rocks as an upmarket tourist mecca - and the police seem to be helpless in the face of the invasion (http://www.sundaytimes.co.za: 21/2/2003)

One can therefore argue that, the existing shelters needed to expand and extend their facilities, capacities, services and programs to cater for more children living and/or working on the streets. The main limiting factor was funding which impacted on human and material resources. Funding was influenced by the status of shelters within the registration requirement in the Child Care Act 1983 and by pressure from business community who wants children to be removed from the streets (http://www.sundaytimes.co.za: 21/2/2003). There has not been a study done to ascertain the notion that HIV/AIDS and abandoned children exacerbated the population of children living and/or working on the streets. This is a popular believe among many people and media plays a major part in portraying the notion. Managers particularly of the first phase shelter confessed that at certain times of the year, the number of children exceeded the number of beds available in shelters. When that happened, shelters had contingent arrangements to accommodate the extra children. Consequently, shelter's dormitories had double-decker beds, which meant some children slept above the others. Children's antisocial behaviour, the impact that would have to the larger society and to the individual children made some staff members to argue that the best ways to deal with children's behaviour was through instilling of discipline in shelters. They emphasized that the effects and influences of e.g. sexual, drug and alcohol abuse, rape, prostitution, criminality, gangs and gan-sterism on children made them worse. Such behaviours would negatively impact not only on the individual children but on communities in the sense that society condoned such behaviours. Consequently there was need for intervention and shelters were acting in response to the threat posed by children living on the streets not only for children's future good but also for the good of society.

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The challenges of children living and/or working on the streets are multi-dimensional and the approach to deal with the multiplicity of their problems should be multi-disciplinary. In this regard, designing, development, and implementation of shelter's services and programs should take cognisance of the multi-dimensional nature of the problems. Consequently, the input of shelter's staff, the residents and other professions e.g. counsellors, psychiatrists, doctors, nurses, teachers, families and community leaders etc could enrich the design of intervention programs. The South African Children's Bill amending the Children's Act (2002:138-159) takes cognisance of the multi-dimensional approach and recognizes the need for shelters to act in tandem with other institutions of government.

According to the South African Children's Draft Bill (2002), the South African government ideally would have children re-united with their families or communities as the first priority and shelters only when that is not possible. The government also acknowledges that there are circumstances where family bond is unattainable and therefore, a child needs other forms of care, e.g. children's homes and shelters. The period of stay is also defined and ranges between 1-6 months and during that time efforts to locate children's families and communities are in place in order to re-unite them. However, children argued earlier, in chapter four, that shelters be considerate in allowing them to stay longer in the shelters and reunification programs be done after families' or communities' circumstances are stabilized. Consequently and despite the concerns and fear of dependency, shelters would have more time to work with children in training and instilling skills, that opens chances for their being employed or self-employed in the future. Certain skills require more time to teach and learn, and because they are significant to equip and empower children, shelters needed more time beyond the six months to one-year limit.

5.3 Shelter's Objectives

Hasenfeld (1983:7) state that human service organisations share similar characteristics with other bureaucracies in that they are goal-objective oriented, derive their sources from their environments, and seek to produce a specific set of products to legitimize and maintain themselves. Shelters objectives were to intervene in children's lives to redress the circumstances that excluded children from accessing services from society. In this regard, shelters were minimally organised as organisation to provide services, and implement programs of intervention and reintegration of children in their care. The objectives did not state what exactly constituted 'basic needs of children' nor state

whether shelters had the capacity to provide them. In this regard, and because the spirit of the South African Children's Draft Bill (2002) implies that children's needs must be met through multi-sectoral collaboration involving several role players, shelters had to meet the multi-disciplinary challenges. To meet these multi-disciplinary challenges shelters needed more human resources and they did not have them.

Intervention strategies had not clearly stated how to resolve 'residents' self-will', the liberty to choose either the shelters or the streets. A mechanism was needed to ensure that all children (without exemption) living and/or working on the streets benefited from shelters intervention programs otherwise shelters would be perceived to exclude some children. The other problem with the objectives involves programs of reintegration, there were difficulties derived from families and communities' social and economic difficult circumstances that needed redressing before and after children come to live and/or work on the streets. Shelters did not have the capacity to deal with these challenges. They did not know how to deal with children who returned to the streets after re-unification with their families or communities. That complicated further the processes of re-unification. Shelter's objectives were faced with unforeseen challenges and shelters did not have a program of action to respond to the challenges. In this regard, Hasenfeld (1983: 84) emphasises "Much contemporary criticism of human service organisations centres a round the apparent discrepancies between their stated goals and their actual performance". As observed previously, the objectives of the shelters were to address the needs of children living and/or working on the streets, intervene to remove them from the streets and reintegrate them into the mainstream society. This process seems easy but was very complex and caused challenges and dilemmas to shelters.

5.4   Shelters' Routine and Regulations

Shelters need discipline as a way of reforming children living and/or working on the streets culture. Discipline is one of the components of the intervention and re-integration processes. Children were basically required to follow shelters' rules and regulations at the time of admission, and their agreement to live in the shelter was an indication that they had accepted the laid down rules and demands. In this regard, rules were there to be followed. Although shelters did not enforce their rules as mechanisms of rewards and punishments, residents were made aware of the requirements and efforts were done to inculcate in children behaviour of self-discipline. The feelings of children participants with regard to rules and regulations in shelters

differed greatly from the feelings of the staff participants and managers of the shelters. Managers argued that children should adhere to rules and regulations because they were necessary to regulate and maintain order in shelters. Shelters staff and residents held divergent views. Some staff and children held that part of children's re-orientation was instilling of discipline and as a result shelter rules and regulations should be adhered to as part of learning and training of children. Other staff members and children held the view that flexibility was necessary in keeping rules and regulations, particularly rules governing issues of leisure time, visits from their boy/girl friends and the reintegration process. These two divergent perspectives was characteristic of the differences between children the recipients of shelter services, and service providers lack of knowing that rules and regulations were not in place as mechanism of punishments but were there to facilitate order in the shelters and consequently lead to delivery of timely services. Hasenfeld (1983:4) argues that the interaction between service recipients and providers is characterized by dependency on the part of the recipients, and coercion from the service delivery organization. In this regard, shelters needed some form of rules and regulations and every body had to adhere to in order for shelters to function smoothly.

Maintenance of property and equipments, particularly the dormitories, was of immense concern both from residents and service provider's points of views. Broken facilities meant that some necessary programs of leisure and recreation were difficult to carry out. In this regard, children found shelters not providing them with quality services and complained of boredom in the shelters. It could be argued that regular consultations with children would instil some form of responsibility in their actions and behaviour when making use of shelter's facilities to avoid unwanted breakages. Ennew (1994: 33-35) discusses the process of involving children in decision-making process, and argues that it is not easy nor would it happen overnight, but it is necessary. Shelters would initiate such a process in order to make use of children's human potential. This would reverse the notion among children that shelters were providing services for them, rather than working with them. Once children gave meaning and attached value of shelters efforts and own those efforts, they would contribute constructively to shelters programs and value services. Ennew (1994: 35) concludes that projects that rely on children's competence are proving successful in their programs elsewhere. Shelters managers and staff were indecisive whether to provide services to or work with children to find solutions to their challenges. In the context where discipline involved children's understanding and participation, it would be broadening their resilience and capacity to

coupe with difficulties they exhibit living and/or working on the streets and in this way, shelters would utilise and make use of children's human potential and contribute meaningfully to the shelters' efforts.

5.5   Physical and Structural Changes

Shelter's physical and structural changes needed financial resources, which would allow them to attract more and better skilled workers, to improve intervention and reintegration programs. These two pillars, i.e. human resources and programs, were factors determining the success of shelters in their efforts to change and nurture status of children who came under their care, and improve intervention and integration strategies. Tapping into new financial resources, particularly from government, would mean changing the status of shelters as per registration Child Care Act (1983) whereby shelters are regarded as temporary halfway houses in the process of reintegration and reunification. Registration of shelters would in this context ensure that shelters adhered to minimum standards enshrined in the South African Minimum Standards of Child and Youth Care (1998). Registration of shelters would include accountability, transparency in management structures. This would require shelters to build human resources to ensure that they had the capacity that facilitated the processes of accountability. In this regard, meeting the stipulated minimum standards included not only, quality services of nutrition, health, and sleeping places, but also competent staff with knowledge and experience of children's needs, how to work with them and competence in administrative work. Such changes would mean enlarging physical structures to accommodate extra staff, equipment in modern technologies i.e. computers and shelters were to change from minimum organized organisation or loosely coupled systems to reflect other organisations. Such a change would shift shelters' manager's perspectives from emphasis on providing children's needs but focus on management and administrative requirements. Other required changes were in programs of out-door and indoor recreational facilities and equipments.

5.6   Dilemmas Facing Shelters

According to Hasenfeld (1992), human service organisation process human beings as their raw materials. Children were not only raw materials but shelters residents who received services. Children living and working on the street develop behavioural characteristics that enable them live on the streets. These behavioural challenges they brought into shelters. The process of reorientation or re-socialization was one of the challenges shelters faced. Staff stated that it was difficult to deal with children who had

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been on the streets for a very long time and it was difficult to re-orient them away from the street characteristics. The process was slow and time consuming. Ennew (1994: 151-154) argues that the best solution to these difficulties was for shelters staff to learn to listen and work with children themselves. In this regard, children would inform on what they like to do, how that would be achieved, and what programs would best work for them. Working with children rather than providing services for them would be the best ideal form of intervention.

5.6.1 Children's Behaviour

Children's behaviour was shelters first dilemma and included (1) meeting the needs of individual children. Individual children came to the shelters with different difficulties and different expectations. (2) Their problems were individually experienced at home and on street environments. For example, not all children experienced sexual abuse or exposure to criminality either as victims or perpetrators. (3) Once children were admitted and made to live in the same dormitories, some children carried on with their habits of either sexually abusing other children or stealing from other children. (4) Shelters in the sample had difficulties of instilling discipline to children and maintaining order in the shelters. In this regard, the regulations and routine in the shelters mirrored the organised society which has the prerogative of establishing and maintaining order. (5) Fay (1996:69) argues that society, like culture' acts as enabler and constrainer of certain individual actions and behaviours viewed this way, shelters' regulations and routine allowed children to do certain deeds and at the same time constrained their behaviour. For example, shelters' rules prohibited children to smoke in shelters on one hand 'constrained', but on the other hand, allowed them to use their creativity in numeracy and skills training 'enabling'. This perspective raises complications in the roles that shelters should play in the lives of the children. Should the shelters recognize and support children's world of street characteristics or would shelters' restrict and deny children the right of expression and in this case 'street life experiences'? For example, the habit of early sexual experiences was felt not good for children and was to be stopped yet older children found it difficult to stop and wanted shelter's flexibility over the matter. The question remained open what shelters would do. Children's behavioural characteristics were constantly of concern to shelters managers and staff and left them baffled as to the best way to handle intervention and reintegration strategies effectively.

5.6.2 Funding

Funding shelters was a thorny issue simply because existing registration under the Child Care Act (1983) does not allow for registration of shelters as shelters for children living and/or working on the streets. The act does not specifically mention or deal with this category of children. The act deals with all children in difficult circumstances. Under the law children living and/or working on the streets should be filtered into 'children's homes'. Shelters dealt with the specific category of children who live and/or work on the streets. In this regard, shelters found it difficult to be turned into children's homes. This difficulty arises out of the current different perspectives on children living and/or working on the streets. One view holds that they are like any other children in need of care, while the other sees children living and/or working on the streets as belonging to a unique category with special needs, and in different circumstances. It is difficult to find common ground between the two perspectives in order to influence policy formulation, development, and implementation. It must be emphasised that the available funds are inadequate to meet the expenses required for the upkeep of children in the shelters.

Gronbjerg (in Hasenfeld 1992: 73) highlights the point that 'while the public sector directly controls and administers most systems of cash assistance, non-profit organizations provide a large proportion of human services by means of raising their own funds'. Shelters for children living and/or working on the streets fall under the domain of non-profit making organizations they source funds from private donors to supplement funds from the government. The issue of funding shelters is further complicated by the fact that shelter services do not appear to contain or halt the influx of children living and/or working on the streets on to the streets. In this regard, their services are not detailed or elaborate enough to meet the challenges of children living and/or working on the streets adequately and thereby solicit more funds. Funding for shelters remains a challenge and dilemma which hopefully will be met when the South African Children's Draft Bill (2002) will be enacted into law. It has not yet been tabled in parliament and its status according to Parliamentary Monitoring Committee, is one among many bills before the Committee of the House, until then, everything is on hold (http://www.pmg.org.za: 22/1/2004). According to Hasenfeld (1992:76) human service organization sometimes form coalitions with other organizations, and achieve common interests. To achieve their objectives, each of the four shelter relied on several volunteers. The volunteers were recruited on the basis of their skills, considering the needs of children in shelters. Some volunteers were recruited locally, while others were

from the overseas. Some of the local volunteers ended up being employed after spending a considerable time in the shelters as permanent paid employees. Voluntary services at times complicated times and programs of shelters, consequently some managers felt that they needed to constantly revise their voluntary services to reduce conflict areas.

5.6.3   Absconding

Reporting to the annual general meeting of the Durban Streets Children's Forum the chairperson stated,

> These youngsters are not criminals as so many perceive but children who from no fault of their own are denied shelter, family life and a basic support system. Many still do not realize the enormity of the vulnerability of these children and even fewer have an understanding what is needed to care for them (2001-2002:6).

According to this view, children living and/or working on the streets are unfortunate because by no fault of their own are made to suffer the difficulties of life on the streets. Consequently, shelters aimed at removing children from a hostile environment, providing care, rehabilitation from possible substance dependency, counselling, and an attempt to re-socialize them with a view to reuniting them with their families or communities. These efforts, however, did not fully succeed particularly with children who frequently absconded or came to the shelter to sleep and left in the morning. Staff pointed that children did not like to stay in shelters because on the streets they made money, and coupled with the children's sense of liberty, absconding was inevitable. The practice of allowing children's 'self choice' is consistent with the Convention on The Rights of a Child (1990: 120), which allows children the freedom of choice. However, this freedom of choice could be construed detrimental to children's well being, in particular children who live and work on the streets. It placed management and staff of shelters in a predicament because letting children choose between a place of safety or streets, thereby exposing them to more harm, was a "no-win" situation. Absconding was a dilemma that constantly faced shelters and children alike and complicated the process of intervention.

5.6.4   Children's Behaviour of Dependency

The notion of living and staying in shelters as 'home', it could be argued, creates a form of dependency which researchers discourage and defeats the whole enterprise of reintegration of children into the mainstream society. Ennew (1994: 151-153) discusses dependency and states that children and staff may develop dependency on each other. Adult dependency on children could be derived from their sense of insecurity and social status in society. Working with children would be the easy way because children would not question adult's power and authority. In this context, abuse is very likely to happen. Children's dependency on adults would be derived from their need for emotional recognition and support but when withdrawn or not available, children would feel abandoned. The views of children challenged the notion of dependency, and argued that the period of stay in shelters should take cognisance of the unstable and unpredictable home and community situations before integration process was commenced. In this regard, children's perspective on dependency was plausible in as far as other children within mainstream society and from poverty-stricken families depend on child support grants (Cassiem et. al. 2000:138-142). Further they admitted that child support grants system in their present form left out significant numbers of poor children. Hasenfeld (1983:3) rightly argues that the responsibility of individual's welfare, once transformed into public concern, is the enabling factor for individuals to access human services, which are essential to their welfare. Welfare of children living and working on the streets is public concern for several reasons and among them is how to access children's welfare grants. It must be noted that children living and/or working on the streets have no way of accessing child support grants because, first, they have no legal identification documents and as a result find it very difficult to access available human services. Secondly, those children who live outside shelters are unaccounted for and do not benefit from shelter services. Children living and/or working on the streets in one way or another and like all other children need some form of intervention and the fear of creating dependency is insignificant.

5.6.5   Holistic Intervention Programs

Researchers have argued for holistic intervention programs as most preferable. For shelters, this is difficult due to scarce finances, which impacts on human and other resources. This dilemma is a vicious circle, which needs intervention by other organizations and by government. Such interventions could strengthen and enlarge the range of services and intervention programs to include preventive and supportive

programs to communities and families at risk. It could be argued that, in designing shelter intervention and re-integration strategies, there is a need to bring in children's perceptions and feelings together with those of the parents. Re-designed re-integration programs would include families and communities involvement and participation to address issues of poverty, diseases and human interpersonal relationships which impacts negatively on many families and communities from where majority of children come.

5.7   Views and Experiences of Managers, Staff and children

The focus of this study was on the shelters as organizations designed to intervene in the lives of children living and/or working on the streets, the experiences of managers, staff the service providers and children the service recipients. The following discussion is on those views and experiences.

5.7.1 Managers

The views and experiences of managers were the same with regard to the overall objectives of shelter's interventions and service delivery. Their views and experiences varied slightly depending on individual personality, working environment, staff, and the residents of shelters. They faced common problems of attending and reporting in regular meetings, lack of adequate finances, staff complaints, management and administrative problems and resident's complaints against staff and children etc. Their major concerns were the implementation of shelters programs and delivery of services. The manager of the first phase shelter due to several factors derived from the numbers of residents who constantly changed, more staff, had additional problems because as first phase shelter, was the sorting out place of children, their needs and multiple problems before they were channelled to other second phase shelters. Managerial personalities changed several times in the course of the study due to the challenges they faced in the shelter. However, managers shared a view that despite managerial/administrative difficulties, intervention programs were necessary because children were living and/or working on the streets and they were not supposed to therefore shelters acted to:

- remove children from the streets and address their plight by
- meeting their basic needs
- reducing harm that might have been caused physically, mentally and emotionally

- enrolling them to institutions of learning and skills training
- advocacy in order that children get their official necessary documents
- reintegrating them with their families or communities where possible and
- Shelters were to implement the programs of interventions/reintegration through networking, collaboration and coordination.

5.7.2 Staff

Staff experiences can be categorized in two divergent points derived from their concerns and perceptions with regard to shelters, low pay, non-participation in decision-making, and the problems of children's discipline.

1) Staffs were selflessly dedicated to their service to shelters and children. They saw shelters as purposeful and functional institutions in society. Shelters were providing necessary basic services to children in need and welfare of children and as a result shelter services were essential to society at large. In this respect staff valued shelters and their services, more than their self-interests. Consequently they reasonably saw no need to raise the issues of salary increases with managements. This was in line with their desire to go along with the perceived and defined role of shelters in society. Consequently, they worked with vigour and determination because they viewed it their mission to help children. Even when they were not involved in decision-making processes, they felt that it was immaterial or of no consequence because the purpose of shelters was to address the plight of children. Staff repeatedly stated that children living and/or working on the streets needed help because of the difficult circumstances they experienced on the streets. The streets, in the views of staff, exposed children to crime, alcohol, substance and sexual abused, and risk behaviours, consequently, intervention and reintegration programs were necessary.

2) Nicholson (2001:48-49) noted that there was a high rate of un-employment and cognizant of this factor, staff did everything possible to hold on to their jobs. In this regard, low pay and difficult working conditions was inconsequential. They individually had capacity and tendency to reinvest themselves within the broad framework of governance, thereby suppressing any reason to question how things were run in the shelters. In this regard, it is possible that individuals become 'self-actualized', which Foucault referred to as self-governmentality (Dean, 1994:197-199). Self-actualization by staff hinged on their desire to work and to remain employed which, as they

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explained, was their priority. It is plausible to conclude that due to the lack and non-availability of jobs particularly in South Africa, any employee would be tempted to play safe and hold on to available job (Nicholson, 2001). According to Archer, (2000: 9-11) human beings have the capacity that allows them to conscientiously reflect on their actions and behaviour. This realism with regard to staff could be construed as a form of conformity, that is, the capacity to re-invent oneself in line with the objectives of the shelters and positions of managements. Staff in this regard, subjected their power of agency as individuals and as a group to serving shelters. In their view, their services, contributed to the welfare of children in need and this provided them with impetus for job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was also based on children's responses to services they received. Staffs were happy when children valued their services. Further, they were satisfied when children advanced well in education and excelled in sports.

5.7.3   Experiences of Children

Ennew (1994: 19-20) argues that there has been little research done to correspond what children say regarding their families. However, according to Schurink (1993) life of children living and/or working on the streets begins with problematic experiences from home, the community and from school. Ennew (1994: 19) further notes that rather than the families abandoning the children, they abandoned their families due to difficulties and poor relationships at home. When children abandon their families, they leave their communities and loose the chances of attending school. Giddens (1989) argued that the three structures of society are the primary agents of socialization and when they become dysfunctional the process of socialization is put on hold or becomes problematic. In this regard, when children abandon their home or families' environments they consequently put on hold the normal processes of socialization. On the streets, they come into contact with second environmental experience which introduces different forms of socialisation. While on the streets children experienced harsh conditions, but the streets offer children chances of expressing their liberties, have opportunities to make and earn money through various activities that help them live. Faced with street conditions, children living and/or working on the streets develop tactics that help them cope and survive, which include support groups from other children and their peers. The support groups have elaborate survival mechanisms which are visible on the streets (Ennew, 1994; Aptekar, 1991; Blanc, 1995; Swart-Kruger and Donald, 1994). However, due to public opinion pressure amounts that children be removed from the streets. Once interventions take place, shelters',

intervention programs and provision of services are the third level of experiences of the children's. Shelter intervention programs, first, are focused on removing children from the streets, secondly, disorient them from street life behaviours, and thirdly, reintegrate them into mainstream society. Consequently, children's experiences have three dimensions i.e. the home or community, the street culture and shelter's intervention programs which lead to re-integration into the mainstream society. A child from the streets has more to tell with regard to what he/she has gone through in life not withstanding experiences of abuse by adults on and off the streets. This study concentrated on children's experiences in the shelters, and the interplay of children, shelters staff, services, and programs of intervention/reintegration.

5.8   Reintegration and Reunification Process

The process of reuniting children with families or communities of origin was not instant, or direct. Several factors hinder or derail the process. A major difficulty is poor information children give regarding their families or relatives. This arises because of children's fear and insecurity coupled with lack of trust in adults. Children in the discussions indicated that they knew finally they would be taken home or back to the communities they came from. They expressed their fear and doubt that if the same conditions which forced them into the streets still persisted, they would once again return to the streets. This uncertainty about their future caused some participants to suggest that shelters should devise a program that would retain them in shelters for a longer period of time. This view contradicts the rules governing the establishment of shelters and places of care (Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983, also the South African Children's Draft Bill 2002), because the Act stipulates clearly the duration that children should live in shelters, and that time should be spent to allow social workers to locate their families or relatives and communities of origin, but when that was not possible to try to find foster families. It could be argued that shelters' intervention programs should be redesigned to include: first, the perspectives of children, families or relatives and communities from where children come from. Secondly, to include preventive measures that would prevent children running away or abandoning their families to live and work on the streets. Preventive measures could focus on circumstances that affect family relationships, external factors of poverty and decease including the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Factors that trigger the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets should be addressed before, but the reality was shelters arose because children lived and/or worked on the streets not to prevent them coming on to the

streets, consequently, shelters intervened to first address the challenges posed by children on the streets and in the process reunite them with their families or communities. Reintegration programs raised concerns of factors that affect families and communities where children come from.

5.9   Conclusion

Interpreting and discussing research findings focused on shelter organizations as human service organizations. Shelters employed different organizational structures placing their emphasis on the delivery of services and implementation of programs of intervention and reintegration. The views and experiences of shelters' managers, staff and residents were other components of the discussion. Shelters were faced with dilemmas of accessing sufficient funds derived from government regulations and registration of shelter within the existing Child Care Act. Other difficulties and challenges included the discipline of children and the maintenance of order in the shelters, derived from children's world of experiences acquired from the streets. Staff as service providers and children as service recipients experienced the shelters differently and had different concerns. However, the importance of shelters as organization that provided care to children in need and the role they play in intervention and reintegration programs ensured that some children no longer lived and/or worked on the streets. The provision of services to children cannot be over-emphasised and in our view, shelters need help to enable them build the necessary capacity to ensure quality service delivery and further develop, implement and sustain intervention and reintegration programs. These programs should include preventative and follow-up strategies before children come into the streets and after they are re-united with their families and communities of origin.

CHAPTER SIX

THE WAY FORWARD: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Conclusion

Shelter managers and staff expressed that there is need to enlarge intervention programs in order to deal with the pull and push factors simultaneously. They were aware that the factors are complex, multiple and interlinked. In this regard they saw the need to collaborate with government and other organisations whose programs deal with social and economic development of communities. Such collaboration necessitates a creation of a coordinating mechanism to ensure that all shelters participate and benefit from such efforts for the success of intervention strategies. A starting point would be for the two houses of South African parliament to act on the Children's Draft Bill and thereafter for the president to quickly assent it into law. The Children's Draft Bill 2002 envisages the following points that relate to the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets:

(i)   Preventing children from leaving their home environment to live and work on the streets;

(ii)   Providing children living and/or working on the streets with access to basic nutrition, basic health care services and shelter, including drop-in centres and halfway homes;

(iii)   Providing outreach programs for and counselling to children living and/or working on the streets, rehabilitating them and reunifying them with their families;

(iv)   Integrating children living and/or working on the streets into the education system or into a system that includes both education and other services to meet their needs (http://www.communitylawcentre.org.za: 3/5/2003; http://www.pmg.org.za: 3/5/2003).

The Draft Bill further states that in South Africa all metropolitan and local municipalities have the responsibilities of monitoring and supporting children in special difficult circumstances. The Draft Bill in this regard recognises the role that shelters play in intervening in the lives of children living and/or working on the streets and their strategies and programs to reintegrate the children into their families and communities. (http://www.communitylawcentre.org.za: 3/5/2003). The development, implementation, and sustainability of shelter programs of intervention and re-integration remain the prerogative of individual shelters. The shelters do this according to their own

perspectives, understanding, and capacity to identify the needs of children living and/or working on the streets. Identifying children's needs and the capacity to meet them is enormous challenge to shelters and staff. Not every need is met, particularly where it involves financial resources. Children's views ranged within children's needs as individuals, the challenges in their families and communities of origin. They felt that intervention programs should include programs that eliminated the circumstances of violence and abuse within the family and community, the chances of substance abuse, development of good parenting and communication between the children and their guardians, creating chances for their continuation with education, skills development which would open opportunities for employment.

6.1.1   Conclusions Regarding the Background Theories

The study found it practical to use organisational and social exclusion theories (chapter one) as the guiding framework. Shelters as organisations, intervention and reintegration programs are derived from concerns with the plight of children living and/or working on the streets. Children are deprived and socially excluded categories within society, living and/or working on the streets further compound and complicate their social exclusion. Consequently organisational structures of the shelters were found to be crucial components in effecting intervention and reintegration programs. In this regard, shelters as organisations were studied as varieties of human service organisations identical with similar organisations extensively discussed by Hasenfeld (1983, and 1992). For the same reason, the interaction of shelter organisation, management, and staff with the shelter residents (the children) as the recipients of the shelter services and programs was itself a phenomenon worth the enquiry. The outcome of the interplay between children and shelters staff, service delivery and programs are the determining factors of the effectiveness of intervention/reintegration programs to redress the social exclusion of the children. The causes of children's social exclusion are many, complex and interlinked. Shelters are the organs or institutions of society determined to rise above the difficulties and challenges posed by the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets. The irony is shelters have difficulties accessing enough public funds to be effective. Cost-effectiveness of the shelters, the provision of services, coupled with the implementation of intervention strategies was a persistent concern of the managers and staff. In a report to the annual general meeting of Durban Streets Children Forum, Khoza (2003) said that shelters

operated with meagre financial resources, and as a result found it hard to hire and keep qualified staff. Hasenfeld (1983) argued that human service organisations face difficulties between the recipients of the services (clients) and the expectations of the society. In this regard, shelters were no different and a lot was expected from them both by children and society. A significant concern was the level of or the lack of participation by children in the decision-making processes. The study found that 'children's voice' was lacking in matters relating and affecting their lives. Children were excluded from designing and implementation of programs: for example, and in particular, the design of shelters' their location, the managerial structures and the shelter's organisation, even though the document on the Minimum Standards of Child and Youth Care (1998:2-4) states emphatically that clients must be involved in decisions that concern and affect their lives.

UNESCO states that children living and/or working on the streets are "Almost always left out of government budgets, only social welfare organisations, religious institutions and individuals cater to the urgent survival needs" (http://www.unesco.org: 23/4/2003). UNICEF says that engaging children in dialogue and exchange allows them to learn constructive ways of influencing the world around them (http://www.unicef.org: 23/4/2003). Ennew argued that children 'are responsible' by virtue of working to support themselves and their families, and the fact that they live without adult supervision (1994:33).

The above views represent the need to listen to 'children's voice' in general, and in particular, children living and/or working on the streets in matters that affect their lives. It could be argued that this lack of involvement and participation extends the children's social exclusion. On the involvement and participation of children in projects or programs of intervention/reintegration, researchers acknowledge that it is a process and that children will need guidance from adults to be able to participate or make meaningful choices (Ennew, 1994:33). The luck of 'children's voice' ignore the fact that children while living and/or working on the streets construct a world of their meaning and that they are capable of influencing social change in societies. They have the capacity of agency coupled with their resilience. The street culture is children's constructed world of meaning and value or more precisely, their discourse and according to Henning et, al, (2003) people create and construct discourses which give meaning to life, and any learner desiring to interpret meaningfully has to un-pack and

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understand such discourses. Through the street, the children learn how to survive and become resilient. They build support mechanisms and a sense of belonging. The street groups not only provide peer cooperation but help to meet their needs for love and belonging, self-esteem, self-actualisation, freedom, interaction with the environment, and play. In this regard, the street is their home and dwelling place. The capacity to construct a world to live in despite difficult and harsh conditions signifies that children have a capacity of experiential knowledge, which the shelters could make use. This would motivate and encourage the children thereby boost their morale and commitment in the shelter programs of intervention and reintegration. This experience could be constructively utilised by shelters to enhance their programs and services (Allsebrook and Swift, 1989; Ennew, 1994). The lack of the children's 'voice' can be construed to imply that children are denied the opportunity to co-construct and own the shelters. In this regard, it could be argued that children living and/or working on the streets suffer loss of not being co-authors of the programs and services designed for their benefit. Children in general and in particular those in the shelters are within the domain of adult discretion, in which society hopes and expects that adults will always consciously act in their best interests. To a very large extent this appears to be the case, while on the other hand the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets is an indicator that this assumption or expectation is not realistic, because the adult world is power-dominated consequently subjects minority and vulnerable groups into marginalisation and domination. Children living and/or working on the streets are one such minority vulnerable group. Their status is further exacerbated by the media which influences and shapes public opinion and perception. Children while on the streets present and represent the images that mark them out as a subculture and thereby intensify their alienation and exclusion from the mainstream society.

6.1.2 Conclusions Regarding the Definitions

The phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets arises from many complex and interlinked factors, therefore dealing with the phenomenon means dealing with all the factors that trigger it. Any attempt to intervene and deal with a few of the factors rather than all, only intensifies rather than reduce the challenges or problems thereof. For example, reintegrating children into the mainstream society before tackling the causes and the impact of poverty among communities and families only recycles children back on the streets. Researchers have identified poverty as a major contributing factor, which impacts heavily on families and communities (Aptekar, 1988;

Blanc, 1994; Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). Poverty and its effects impede and plague the efforts of the shelters, particularly the reintegration programs whereby children re-enter the streets when circumstances that triggered the first problem are not dealt with. Another task that shelters need to consider is the follow-up programs whereby children who have been re-united or re-integrated can be continuously visited and supported until such a time as they are fully self confident (Ennew 1994:119-121).

No single word can capture the definition of 'children living and/or working on the streets'. Researchers discredit the use of the label 'street children' because of its derogatory or demeaning connotations. It must be remembered and as we observed earlier that, children living and/or working on the streets themselves do not like the label (Swart 1990; Agnelli, et.al 1986). The label in the contemporary debate been dropped in favour of the descriptive term 'children living and/or working on the streets', which explains what and where children are. This descriptively approximates and captures the idea of street living without categorising children as 'street children'. Perhaps it would be productive to involve children in the construction of a name that would bear their full meaning of the world of street life experiences and may be that would be a solution to the definitional challenges. Shelters for children living and/or working on the streets also need to be re-designated so that they can achieve legal recognition and status. As noted earlier, when the proposed South African Draft Children's Bill 2002 becomes law, the situation and status of the shelters will change and will solve their financial situation. Under-funding of shelters means poor quality in service delivery, program development, management, poor staff remuneration and consequently low morale, all these factors impact on shelter's service delivery. In this regard, and because the shelters are perceived to be the best form of interventions their financial support is crucial in the delivery of services. Shelters managers and staff felt that they could do more if they had resources (financial and material). There was need for some help so that they could develop structures and systems that could ensure that they became more answerable, accountable and transparent in their management and the use of funds. The difference between the children's homes and the shelters should be narrowed down and a link established so that both children's homes and shelters can be valued on the same level. As maters stand, phases one represent shelters while phases two shelters reflect children's homes. The present circumstances give privileges to children living in the children's homes at the expense of children living in shelters.

6.1.3 Conclusions Regarding Research Findings

It was observed in chapter four, dealing with research findings, that those shelter managers or directors who involved the staff or children in the decision making process raised the morale of the staff and invoked positive feelings among children in the shelters on one hand, while on the other the managers who didn't consult with staff or clients problematised working relationships. The style of leadership was the main cause of the shelters problems. Consequently, the management structure of the shelter needed to be re-oriented to reflect the participatory style of management whereby the staff or the children did not feel left out in matters that affect their lives. Service delivery depended on several factors and particularly on financial resources, which are linked to the registration of the shelter as noted above. Most important is the hiring and attracting of quality qualified staff to develop, manage, and implement service delivery programs and skills training programs. The lack of such quality staff meant that shelters remained wanting in he eyes of staff and children. Luck of quality supervision exacerbated children abuse and Cockburn (1994:11) argues that children get sexually abused in prisons and police cells. Institutional abuse of children in this regard is not uncommon. While shelters and children's homes have in place policies and mechanisms to deal with such offences, where poor supervision of staff and children prevailed, such unethical behaviour was found. Researchers have argued that It is more important to define and describe what is sexual abuse from the point of view of a child rather than from the adult perspective, to get to grips with what a child thinks, feels, perceives in that world of sexual exchange and discover what drives the child into such practises and behaviour (Cockburn, 1994:11; Morolong and Cowley, 1994: 3; Skelton, 1994:3). Shelters need to build the capacity to deal with such offences, but that depends on the hiring of quality staff, and staff training in the areas of children and staff relationships and interaction, which links with the funding issue and shelters financial resources. The location of shelters and the availability of recreational facilities were among the concerns, which children raised. In this regard, shelters did not adequately provide the necessary recreational or social facilities. Where such were available they were available for limited time only. This is one of many dilemmas facing shelters endeavouring to intervene and reorient children in the manner that will empower them to be resourceful and constructive citizens. On the one hand, shelter's interventions endeavour was to disorient children from the street culture, which is full of risks and make the children vulnerable to insurmountable problems. For example, a

recent study on the lives of children living and/or working on the streets utilizing shelter services in Sao Paulo Brazil found that children's most meaningful experiences could be grouped into distinct categories of family, the street, friends, drugs, the police, life in the shelters and the children's hope for the future (Ribeiro, 2001:1). In all of these phases and experiences exposes children to relentless serious problems and by the time, they enter the shelter phase and in the mind of the child, the shelter is between the past history and the future aspirations. Consequently, children gave in to the demands of shelters because the shelters are the alternative to the streets and home environments riddled with problems. The program run by the Undugu Society of Kenya has a condition whereby the children have to commit themselves before they are admitted. "If the boys are willing to give up begging and the use of drugs, they are allowed to knock on Undugu's door for a roof above their head" (http://home.planet.nl/~heinies/html 24/6/2003). The conditions or criteria for admission in the four shelters sampled were influenced by other factors, for example physical structure and occupancy capacity. As a result, there are many children left in the streets. Furthermore since the numbers of children living and/or working on the streets are increasing, it would be reasonable to argue that there should be more shelters or the existing ones be enlarged to accommodate more children. To contemplate, plan and implement the idea would require deployment of more resources, particularly finances and personnel.

One important dimension of street living is the culture of rebellious independence and conformity. The children initiate a form of sharing of everything they get from the street which symbolizes communal living, and through this they support each other. The older children are held with honour and command respect from the younger ones, in particular the newly arrived on the streets. The bonding provides among other benefits, peers with who to share foods, play, and sniff glue and share other resources. The support mechanism facilitates and empowers the children to cope and survive in the streets. The survival culture epitomises the capacity of active agency of the children. In this regard, the shelters need to recognise the children's active agency and motivate it to make the children feel that they can participate in the shelter programs. The active agency also indicates the children's capability to construct their world of meaning, which they value. Children from shelter D gave a good example by painting the children living and/or working on the streets's outreach bus (Khoza, 2003). Intervening in the children living and/or working on the streets's world needs sensitivity, patience, respect

and appreciation that the children have created their own meaning and discourse. Without that awareness, the children would construe intervention as a negative intrusion and a disregard of themselves. The understanding of the children is that they are disoriented and consequently become more confused with the shelter intervention and reintegration strategies.

7. Recommendations and the Way Forward

There are numerous NGOs and government programs in South Africa designed to find solutions to the problems of children living and/or working on the streets. Kanji (1996) in a study of issues affecting children and women in Eastern and Southern Africa, states that in spite of goodwill and expensive programs, children living and/or working on the streets population continues to grow along with an increasing consensus that the intervention programs have not proven effective. Consequently, this study has observed that shelters in their present format do not have capacity to intervene at the family or community level. Therefore there is need to collaborate with stakeholders in designing and developing intervention/reintegration strategies and programs in order to involve Community Based Organisations (CBO). Research on children living and/or working on the streets done in Kenya observed that, intervention strategies should include programs of Community Based Organisation (CBOs) Ayuku (2002). CBOs symbolizes the ideas of 'Kibbutzs' planned for children living and/or working on the streets in Cape Town (http://www.sundaytimes.co.za: 23/2/2001). CBOs would seek to provide resources, particularly financial ones to support children in schooling, skills training for employment, and recreational activities such as sports, art, and music as Ennew (1994) observed that involving communities would ensure the sustainability of intervention/reintegration programs. Where communities are not involved, children find it difficult to express and be who they are. This approach also is cognisant of the fact that the child is an active agent, one who must be motivated to participate willingly in any intervention strategy. Researchers have argued that attempts, for example, of forcibly relocating children living and/or working on the streets into shelters or sending them back to their communities without the children's consent, bore little success. They continue to emphasis that children ran away to live on the streets again (Acker, 1986, Agnelli, 1986, Swart, 1991, Richer, 1991). Children observed that intervention programs based on the ideas that reflected the family environment, reminded them of the circumstances that lead them to ran away from the families into the streets. Shelter programs also overlapped and duplicated the efforts. Shelters staff had different

assumptions and knowledge about children living and/or working on the streets and their aspirations arising from the different shelters put on the causes of children on the streets. Programs of intervention and reintegration were aligned according to the shelter's perceptions and understanding of who the children were and why they were on the streets. As noted earlier there was a degree of competition and rivalry in the intervention and reintegration programs.

8. Challenges to Intervention/Reintegration Programs

The Rights of Children are enshrined in the South African constitution (http://www.polity.org.za: 22/2/2003) and in the United Nations Conventions of The Rights of Children (http://www.unicef.org: 22/2/2003). The rights include meeting the basic needs of children. Shelters were faced with challenges in providing the basic needs as stipulated in the constitution. First, shelters were eager to instil normative values and disciplined living among the children. Children felt that their potential and world of experience were not respected or valued. They felt that shelters were pushing them into conformity to adult expectations, values and control. Futher argued that shelters would start by recognizing their strength and capacity of self–empowerment, capacity to organize themselves into small groups for support, security and self-reliance. Ennew (1994:33) argued that children are the best resource. Outreach, childcare, and social workers together with shelter managers could familiarize themselves with that potential harness and apply it in the intervention programs. Intervention programs could avoid replacing children's support group systems and their communal living because in the eyes of the children, that eroded their self- esteem and character. Shelter programs could show some appreciation of the diversity of gifts children processed and give due respect to their survival strategies even when they involved inconsistencies. Before reintegration, there was need for shelters to familiarize themselves with the coping capabilities of families or communities who have not been interrupted by socio-economic factors, hence remain interact. Make efforts to support and strengthen the family bond, this would ensure the self-respect maintain the integrity of the families and communities. In this regard, children would find family or community support and be encouraged to remain in the family or community rather than ran away into the streets. Where children have no family or immediate relatives, social service agencies could focus on strengthening the relationships and bond between children living and/or working on the streets and any primary caretaker, even where the caretakers are the children living and/or working on the streets themselves.

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Shelters could endeavour to reinforce the structural resources of the primary care givers by carefully diagnosing the children's social world of meaning and value with a view to revealing the relations that can be mobilized on behalf of the children. Instilling a normative behaviour is a process that takes time and patience and this dimension could be incorporated in the policies regarding children living and/or working on the streets. Williamson (2000: 5-6) has emphasized, the imposition of institutional values was counter-productive because the process devalued children's ability, and consequently children become dependent on the shelter. Shelters were constantly in a dilemma as to which approach to apply in the programs to realize the best desired results. But it is possible that rather than devaluing children's capabilities, shelters could build on the children's strengths and resilience, guide them to become responsible for their inputs and contribution of ideas when planning, designing, developing and implementing programs and services. It is plausible that shelter programs that value and are sensitive to the children's active agency would be the best models. Shelters staff would be trained in the skills to handle and respond to the children's capacity of active agency. Other challenges that shelters faced were the capacity to respond to children's exposure to the dangers of substance abuse, sexually transmitted diseases and other physical harm while living on the streets. Shelters needed not only identify the conditions of children but reduce the harm before referring them to experts. Nutrition and poor dieting was another condition that affected children while living on the streets, consequently children came to the shelters poorly feed. Shelters needed to immediately address children's nutrition problems.

9   The Way Forward

It is reasonable to chart a way forward, and therefore suggest an ideal model program of intervention and re-integration. Because the numbers of children living and/or working on the streets are increasing un-abated due to a multiple, complex and inseparable factors, and because when children continually live on the streets, they expose their vulnerabilities and are placed at very high risk, which according to Desmond and Gow, (2001), include HIV/AIDS infection. Intervention of a certain form is deemed necessary to redress children's circumstances and plight. There is a need to re-organize shelters. The challenge is where to begin. We propose that drop-in centres be envisaged and if they exist, they be strengthened through equipment and personnel of multi-disciplines with a view to weaning children from the streets. The personnel should be skilled in a manner that is sensitive, communicative and which can attract

children with a view to developing a trust and establishing a rapport. Drop-in centres would need to be placed in several strategic places where children are frequently found. The South African Children's Draft Bill 2002, categorises and envisages drop-in centres as the first step in the intervention and reintegration programs and defines the drop-in centre as "a facility located at a specific place which is managed for the purpose of providing basic services, excluding overnight accommodation, to children, including children living and/or working on the streets, who voluntarily attend the facility but who are free to leave". In this view, a drop-in centre would be open and free for children to come and go at will. A drop-in centre should have the capacity to provide for the basic needs of the children and introduced them to intervention programs in the shelters. The endeavour would also include the efforts of stabilising the children's physical and psychological situation. Drop-in centres would also collect data regarding children, information concerning children's families and communities with view of reuniting them very early before children become streetwise. The next step would be the visualisation or creation of rescue centres with a capacity to accommodate and provide the children with temporary shelter for care. The period of stay would be on average 3-6 months.

During this time, social workers would endeavour to establish existing bonds or links with the children's families or communities in order to effect early reunification. In the meantime, children would be provided with temporary shelter, care and protection, and the necessary basic and immediate services, e.g. food, clothing, and opportunities for counselling and the weaning of the child from substance abuse. The third phase would be the halfway house for children who have been on the streets longer, and whose families or communities have not been identified or located. This shelter could be in two categories first children below ages 14 and the second, older children living and/or working on the streets above ages 14-22. This age category is necessary because the age bracket was not catered for in the intervention programs. Once children are over 16 years of age they did not find a place in the shelters and live on the street as young adults. The halfway house would be structured to provide children with basic skills that could lead to self-employment or empower them to become employable. Another dimension of the half way house would be to encourage the children to become responsible by introducing them to a system of renting premises rather than living for free in the shelter. The process would succeed if the children were guided and assisted on how one manages minimal finances to meet the cost of rent and daily amenities.

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The effort is to move the children away from becoming dependent on the shelter's provisions of services. The process would be best achieved by avoiding large numbers of rules and regulations. Consequently children would be encouraged to form co-operatives and communities of their choice. Through the co-operatives and armed with some skills the children would produce some goods which they would be helped to sell and as a result make money which would be used to support themselves. It must be emphasised that skills training and the production of products for sale should be organised with a view to avoid the perception that children would be working so as steer clear of breaking the labour laws which prohibit the employment of children. The co-operatives would be meant to provide basic organisational skills, to impart business insight, and to organise educational and recreational activities. This approach would be cognisant of the fact that children organise themselves and conduct small businesses while living on the streets. The idea of renting a place to live in would make the children feel more independent hence valuing their freedom.

As argued above, another way forward is to shift the emphasis in intervention and reintegration from residential care to community and home-based care. In this regard, the co-operatives would become the forerunners of the Community Based Organisations (CBO). CBOs have been tried elsewhere e.g. Kenya (Ayuku, 2002) and symbolises the ideas of 'Kibbutzs' planned for street children in Cape Town (http://www.sundaytimes.co.za: 23/2/2001) Ennew, (1994: 144) argue that working with communities is helpful because communities and children identify easily within communities, and communities would be resourceful in support. Children would be encouraged to join the CBO before and after they have been on the streets.

Governments together with all other role players and (NGOs) working with children living and/or working on the streets could play the role of coordination, overseers, and guarantors of the CBOs. Consequently, there should be a greater and enhanced collaboration between the government, NGOs and the community-based organisation. Community leaders, including elected representatives, together with religious leaders and educators who by the nature of their professions work very closely with people would be in the fore-front championing the course of the CBO, and sensitising the community and child service providers on the need to take care of children in need of special protection within the community. Resources, both human and material, would be directed towards the community environment to enhance the children and youth

participation in all care and support initiatives. The interaction would be focused on the development of alternative and flexible formal and informal education systems that would accommodate and captures the aspiration of children living and/or working on the streets, who find themselves excluded from the normal learning environment. A study made in Kenya revealed that:

> The majority of children in institutions reported having dropped out of formal school and those in informal school were well above appropriate ages for their grades. Non-formal schools were reported to have inadequately allocated numbers of teachers and suffered from poor quality and few general school facilities. The children's education needed urgent attention to help them avoid dropping out of school (Onyango, et al, 1991).

Developing alternative and flexible educational system suggests itself as a useful intervention strategy because children in the shelters positively expressed a hope of continuing with some form of education or learning, particularly learning to read, write and be able to enumerate in a small way and, as time would permit. Children recognised that learning is their hope for the future. CBO leaders would arrange with educational authorities the possibilities of making use of existing school infrastructures. Also ensure that the buildings are maintained and kept in good order for the sake of the normal learning environment. Such an arrangement would facilitate continued learning for the children and open them to the possibility of re-integration into formal learning.

10   Summary

In conclusion, it is worth remaining aware of the fact that there will always be structural limitations to formulate, design, implement and realize the best form of intervention and reintegration strategies. It would be idealistic wish that there will be the perfect form of intervention programs because of the nature of organisational dilemmas coupled with different perceptions and understandings of people or individuals involved with such undertakings. Consequently, on the one hand, there is a need to constantly reconsider the macroeconomic and social factors such as persistent poverty, wars, and civil strife, derived from complex and linked external factors outside national societies or governments. These impact on society in general, and in particular on communities and families. As a result, the effects hit children the most, thereby triggering their migration into the streets.   On the other hand, there is an inextricable link between the

macroeconomic factors, the local micro-level factors, and mezzo factors from which children living and/or working on the streets struggle with daily. Nelson Mandela powerfully recognized the critical significance of this link when he spoke in a BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) interview and commented

> We must move children to the centre of the world's agenda. We must rewrite strategies to reduce poverty so that investments in children are given priority (http://news.bbc.co.uk/world/africa: 5/6/2003).

The practice of targeting poverty among communities and families would result in addressing the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets and reciprocally feed back to reduce the circle of persistent poverty. The United Nations Children's Fund is well aware of the dynamic link between poverty and causes of the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets and describes it as a vicious cycle (http://www.unicef.org: 25/5/2003). UNICEF in a report of a workshop held in 19994 stated that there are linkages between population-poverty-environment evident in developing countries and terms the interaction "PPE (poverty, population and environment.)-Spiral" (http://www.gcrio.org:2/1/2003). The spiral has key components that include health, nutrition, education and family planning. In this regard, Bellamy (2002) stated:

> The Rio Summit reaffirmed the World Summit goals for children, especially in health nutrition, education, literacy and poverty alleviation. And it put special emphasis on the participation of children and young people in environment and development decision-making (http://www.unicef.org.html 22/1/2003).

The three problem areas highlighted by UNICEF: health and nutrition, education and literacy and poverty alleviation are inextricably tied and associated to the concerns that impact on the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the streets (http://www.unicef.org/reseva: 22/1/2003). In this regard, any potential improvement through best practice in the field of children living and/or working on the streets can have an impact far beyond the continuum of high-risk groups and would create synchronization on the problems of the PPE spiral. There is a need for further future research in the issue of poverty spiral. This would help meet the objective of this dissertation which is to make a small, but significant contribution to the building of capacity of shelters in South Africa in particular, more so in other African countries and the rest of the world where the phenomenon of children living and/or working on the

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streets is conspicuously and increasingly evident. In the mean time, there is a need to recognize and complement shelters and other organizations that intervene in the lives of children living and/or working on the streets. They have taken upon themselves the enormous challenges of the phenomenon seriously. The efforts of national governments and local societies need to be encouraged to put in place and implement policies based on empirical evidence in regard to shelters programs of service delivery together with intervention and reintegration strategies.

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APPENCIES

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE WITH SHELTER'S DIRECTOR/MANAGERS

A: **THE STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANISATION/SHELTER:**

1. Physical (Capacity)

1.1   What is the shelter/organisation comprised of?

1.2   Is the organisation renting the premises?

1.3.   What is the maximum capacity of the shelter? What is the average capacity?

1.4.   How often does the shelter operate at maximum capacity? What could have been the cause?

1.5.   Has the shelter ever been over crowded? If so how did the shelter cope?

1.6.   Does the shelter have a regular routine?

1.7.   What are the shelter's safety regulations and conditions?

1.8.   How are the resident rules communicated to the residents?

1.9.   What is the shelter's policy regarding visitors?

2. Management

2.1.   What is the managerial structure of the shelter? For example, do you have a board of governors?

2.2.   Are board members elected to office? How regularly?

2.3.   Does the shelter have a board of Trustees?

2.4.   Does the shelter have a written constitution?

2.5.   What is the structure of decision making? How are members of the staff involved in the daily administration and/organisation of the shelter?

2.6.   How does the shelter supervise it's operations?.

2.7.   What changes would you recommend?

3. STAFF.

3.1.   **Recruitment/ Training.**

3.1.1.   What is the required minimum educational standard for employment?

3.1.2.   Does job description correspond with educational/skill qualification?

3.1.3.   What is the total number of staff?

3.1.4.   What is the average length of stay of shelter staff with the shelter?

3.1.5.   Does the shelter have any responsibility for training its staff?

3.1.6.   What is the shelter's staff remuneration structure? What other fringe benefit does the staff get?

3.1.7.   Does the shelter encourage staff to belong or organise into trade union?

3.1.8.   How would you describe job satisfaction, morale, career expectations, and commitment and staff-staff relationships?

4. CHILDREN

4.1.   What are the shelter's admission criteria and procedures?

4.2.   What is the policy regarding absconders?

4.3.   How do children know about this shelter?

4.4.   How do they come to the shelter?

4.5.   How are children oriented into the shelter?

4.6.   How does the shelter assist children to get official identification documents? What help if any/?

4.7.   Does the shelter have any "special terminology" or the calling of nicknames for example what do you call...

5. VOLUNTEERS.

5.1.   Does the shelter have any volunteers?

5.2.   Are volunteers recruited on the basis of skills and expertise?

5.3   What is the shelter's policy regarding volunteers?

B. Goals and Objectives

1.   How does your shelter's organisational activity facilitate the achievement of your goals and objectives?

2.   What changes have there been in your goals and objectives over the last Three-(3) years?

3.   What is your understanding of the role of children living and/or working on the streets shelters in South African society?

4.   Do shelters in South Africa have particular characteristics/needs?

5.   What goals and standards would an "ideal shelter" for children have?

6.   How would the shelter function to achieve the goals/standards?

C. Finances

1.   What are your sources of funding? Is it Adequate?
2.   Who are you accountable to?
3.   What areas would you feel that needs improvement?

D. Networking

Does the shelter liaise with the following?

Organisation/People	Frequency of contact	Nature of contact
Police		
Social services		
Religious bodies		
Residence relatives		
Psychologists/Psychiatrists		
Hospitals/clinics		
Legal counsels		
Schools/institutions of learning		
Community leaders		
Other		

E. SHELTER ACTIVITIES

1. Routine

1.1.   What is the shelter's routine during weekdays and weekends?
1.2.   How is the house keeping roles kept? (Duty roster, individually, or according to what the children want)
1.4.   How are the new comers helped to adjust within the shelter?

2. Discipline

2.1.   How does the shelter cope with the children who break the rules?
2.2.   What are the unacceptable behaviours in the shelter?
2.3.   Does the shelter's policy on absconders address the reasons for absconding?
2.4.   What are the procedures for children to air their individual grievances and differences?

3. Education/Health

3.1.   In what ways does the shelter cater for individual educational and health needs of the children?

4. Social and Recreation

4.1.   How are children involved with planning and decision making of the shelter?

4.2.   How would you describe the relationship between staff and the children?

4.3.   How does the shelter monitor children's progress?

4.4.   What areas would you feel that needs some improvements?

5. Reintegration.

5.1.   What programs does the shelter have?

5.2.   How does the shelter identify the needs of a child? And are the shelter's services and programs meeting those needs?

5.4.   How are these services provided?

5.5   What is the average period for a child's re-integration into society?

5.6.   How do the programs cater for the child's developmental objectives?

5.7.   How would you describe the shelter's philosophical base for the development of intervention strategies

I want to thank you very much for according some of your valuable time and effort and participating in this exercise, I greatly appreciate your insight and input. All the information will be confidentially treated.

APPENDIX 2.

FOCUS GROUPS STAFF

Please fill in this questionnaire, the information will be treated confidentially.

1.   Social and Demographic Information

Name ....Age................

Marital status: Single, Married, Divorced, Widowed. (Please circle the appropriate)

Do you have children   (YES/NO) Ages 1.......

2......

3........

Level of education..

Professional skills..

Name of the shelter..

Date..

PREAMBLE
I would like us to discuss a number of topics relating to your work here in the shelter. There are no rights or wrong answers and no one should feel intimidated, feel free to say and talk without any hesitation both positive and negative aspects of your work. Everything you say will be kept confidential.

The Shelter/Organization.

2.1. What would say are the main reasons, which made you get involved with the shelter/organization for children living and/or working on the streets?

Follow-up questions

1.   Is it employment?

2.   Is it your passion for children in particular children living and/or working on the streets?

Why particular this shelter and not any other?

Is this your first time to work with children living and/or working on the streets?

2.2. Tell me about the Goals and Objectives of the shelter/organization

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Follow-up questions

What are the shelter's goals and objectives?

Do you see your role in the shelter facilitating the achievement of the stated goals and objectives?

What changes in the goals and objectives have you noticed taking place?

Would say the shelter is meeting its stated goals and objectives?

What is making it possible?

What would be hindering the achievement of the goals?

Perceptions on children living and/or working on the streets

What is your perception and understanding of children living and/or working on the streets?

Follow-up questions

What causes the children to leave home?

What are they like?

3.   What are their main problems?

What are the main problems in working with them?

What do you see as their future?

In what ways have your views and perception regarding the children changed since working in the shelter?

Recruitment and Training

1.   Tell me about job description, remuneration and training

Follow-up questions

Do you feel that the shelter offers you good terms and conditions of service?

Do you see yourself as continuing to work in a shelter?

Does the shelter offer chances for on job training? What areas would you seek improvements?

5.   Morale and Commitment

1.   Tell me about the staff to staff relationships here in the shelter.

Follow-up questions

How does staff treats each other?

How are you involved in the decision making process?

How are staff disciplinary cases dealt with?

How would you describe your job satisfaction here?

2.   Tel me about the staff to children relationships here in the shelter.

Follow-up questions

How do the children relate to you?

How does staff handle children who break the rules? and absconders?

Thank you very much for you precious time and willingness to take part in the discussion group. Once again I want to reassure you that all the information will be confidentially kept and no harm will come out of your participation in the interview.

APPENDIX 3

FOCUS GROUPS CHILDREN

Please fill in this questionnaire, the information will treated confidentially and not to be released without your consent.

1. Name ....Age...

    Place of birth...

    Parent or guardian ....

    Date of admission ....

    Do you attend school?   Grade...................

PREAMBLE

I would like us to discuss a number of topics relating to your stay here in the shelter and your life. There are no rights or wrong answers and no one should feel intimidated, so feel free to say and talk without any hesitation both positive and negative things. Everything you say will be kept confidential

2. Tell your story in few words.
1. Tell about your parents or family.
2. How you came to be away from home or school to into the streets.
3. How you found this shelter.

3.   Developmental needs

3.1.   What do you see as being important developmental needs.

3.2.   How are they being provided for in the shelter

Follow-up questions

Are you lagging behind in any area of development?

Are you particularly strong in any are of development?

What is helping you develop, and what is hindering?

3.3.   Let us talk about our aims and objectives in life, what would want to do and become in the future.

Follow-up questions

Do you think you are achieving them?

What is helping and what is hindering in achieving them?

How is the shelter helping or not helping you to achieve your goals?

3.4. Do you feel that your involvement in the shelter activities is helping you to develop the necessary self-confidence in life?

Follow-up questions

1. Would you say that your are now very aware of the demands in life?

2. What can you say is/was different in your life before and after being in the shelter?

3. What do you feel you would not do when alone in the society?

3.5. How do you consider going back to your family and your community?

Follow-up questions:

1. What would help or hinder this?

2. How is the shelter helping?

How do you see yourself living with the people who might have hurt you?

4. **Health**

4.1. Let us talk about your health, going to the hospital and seeing a doctor.

Follow-up questions:

1. What do you feel are your health needs?

2. How aware are you of HIV/AIDS?

3. How did you know about HIV/AIDS?

4. What is your responsibility towards with HIV/AIDS?

5. What do you need to know to prevent HIV/AIDS infection?

5. **Education**

5.1. Tell me about school, your feelings towards your age, your grade and education in general.

Follow-up questions:

1. In what ways has the shelter facilitated improvements in your learning?

2. How would now describe your learning experience?

6. **Shelter routine and Discipline:**

6.1. Describe the routine and discipline here in the shelter.

Follow-up questions:

1. What is your role in the shelter routine?

2. What do you feel about this?

3. How do you feel when children abscond?

4. What changes would you recommend?

5. How is the working relationship between staff and children and children-children?

6. What other roles do you feel you would do in the shelter?

6.2. What are the rules regarding smoking, drugs/substances and sexual relationships?

Follow-up Questions

1. How do you feel about these rules?

2. What happens when you feel you want to smoke/drink or to have sex?

7. **Social and recreation:**

7.1. Tell me about recreational facilities here at the shelter.

Follow-up questions:

1. Which social and recreational activities do you take part in?

2. Do they meet your needs- explain?

3. What improvements would you like to have?

8. Any other information.

8.1. Do you have any other information you would like to share with me?

Thank you very much for your precious time and willingness to take part in the discussion group. Once again I want to reassure you that all the information will be confidentially kept and no harm will come out of your participation in the interview.