Title

"Hook-up" and Substance abuse among street children of Harare Central Business District, Zimbabwe: implications for development work

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Abstract

Very few studies have been carried on the complex relationship between hook up and substance abuse among street children of Harare Central Business District from the 'emic' world view. High risks for sexual abuse, violence, exploitation and STIs are some of the challenges this presents for development of families, communities and country. Research findings suggest that the relationship between substance abuse and hook up among children in street situations is multi-dimensional. The child rights, child agency and *ubuntu* or *unhu* perspectives were used to analyse this multi-dimensional nature of a relationship. The children in street situations demonstrate their agency when they engage in hook up and substance abuse. Through hook up and abusing substances some of the children are able to coping with their situations. However, such behaviours are considered as ambiguous of agency as they clash with moral and societal norms and values. They are also seen as self-destructive agency because of the risks associated with the social actions. Drawing from the *ubuntu* and or *unhu* perspective, hook up and abusing substances among street children of Harare Central Business District articulate moral decadence among these children. Hook up and abusing substance among children in street situations demonstrate huge child rights violations prevalent on the streets of the Harare Central Business District. The qualitative research methodology punctuated by street ethnography approach, meaning the researchers engaged the ethnographic participants as they were moving through these public spaces, to generate data for this paper. The study concludes by proffering a number of recommendations to reduce risks associated with hook up and abuse of substances among these children.

Key words

Child Rights, Harare, Hook up, Street Children, Substance Abuse

Key dates

Submitted December 2021; Accepted May 2022

How to cite this article using ASWNet style

Chikoko, W., Nyabeze K., Zvokuomba, K., Mwapaura K. and Mhizha S. (2022). "Hook-up" and Substance abuse among street children of Harare Central Business District, Zimbabwe: implications for development work. *People centred – The Journal of Development Administration (JDA)*, 7(2), 54-61.

Indexed in







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Introduction and Background

In a The purpose of this paper is to examine the complex relationship between hook-up and substance abuse among the street children of the Harare Central Business District. Paul, et al. (2000: 76) defines hook-up "as a sexual encounter usually lasting only one night between two people who are strangers or brief acquaintances. Some physical sexual interaction is typical but it may or may not include sexual intercourse." The authors added that the sexual experiences are regarded as spontaneous (something that just happens). Scholars such Paul et al. (2000), observed that in hook-up sexual behaviours, the goal of hooking up is planned but the target of the hook up or the individual with whom the hook up occurs is unknown. Paul et al. (2000) also added that hook up usually involves anonymous partners who in most cases are strangers characterised by the brief relationship which rarely continue to see each other again. Holman and Sillars (2012: 205) defines "hooking up as a phrase used to describe intimate interactions outside of dating or exclusive relationships." The authors also added that hook ups involve spontaneous sexual encounters or behaviours that are influenced or fuelled by psycho active substances such as alcohol. Holman and Sillars (2012) also observed that the sexual behaviours associated with hook ups usually unfold without communication about sexual health and consent or protection against sexually transmitted infections (STIs). The authors added that hook ups are associated with high risks for sexual abuse, violence, exploitation and STIs.

At the same time, Makaruse (2010) defines substance abuse as taking too much of a drug, taking a drug too often or taking drugs or substances for wrong reasons. Chikoko (2014 & 2017) observed that substance abuse is a complex phenomenon affecting the street children of the Harare Central Business District. Scholars such as Ruparanganda (2008); Chikoko (2014 & 2017); Chikoko et al. (2018 & 2019) noted with concern that some of the children in street situations of the Harare Central Business District engage in various sexual experiences or behaviours such as multiple sexual relationships, transactional sex, unprotected sex, intergenerational sex, sodomy, oral sex among others. Seemingly there are very few academic studies that interrogate the complex relationship between hook-ups and substance abuse among the street children of the Harare Central Business District, Zimbabwe. However, previous studies on street children of Harare by Bourdillon from 1994 up to the present, Mhizha (2015), Ruparanganda (2008) have been limited in articulating the intricate relationship between hook-up and substance abuse among street children of the Harare Central Business District, Zimbabwe. In other words, there is dearth or paucity of literature on multi-dimensional relationships between substance abuse and hook-ups among these children.

Conceptual framework

Child agency

Bell (2012: 284) defines agency as "a process whereby individuals are able to envisage different paths of action, decide among them and then take action along a chosen route." In addition, Chuta (2014: 02) has defined agency as "understood as an individual's own capabilities, competences and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their life worlds fulfilling many economic, social and cultural expectations". In simple terms agency is about choices or actions taken by individuals so as to survive or meet their daily needs (Bourdillon, 2009). Bell (2012: 284) also defines sexual agency among youth as a "processes where young people become sexually active and the strategies, actions and negotiations involved in maintaining relationships and navigating broader social expectations."

However, some scholars have criticised agency as it sometimes clashes with societal value system as noted by Bordonaro and Payne (2012). For example, Chikoko (2014) observed that commercial sex work among street children of the Harare Central Business District could be regarded as ambiguity of agency.

The actions or behaviours such as hook ups and substance abuse among the street children of the Harare Central Business District could be viewed as ambiguous agency. The ambiguity of agency is at two levels. The first context is on the fact that hook up and abuse of substances threaten the well-being of the street children. Secondly the social actions or behaviours are considered as ambiguous of agency in the context that the behaviours is against the societal values of the Zimbabwean society. In addition, the actions could also be part of the notions of self-destructive agency because of a number of risks that are associated with the behaviours.

Child rights

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (1989) defines child rights into four principles namely, the best interest of the child, the right of a child to participation, non-discrimination and the right of a child to survival and development. It can also be noted that, child rights perspective recognises the relationship between the duty bearer and the rights holders. Chikoko (2014) observed that the child rights perspective could be seen as social contract that exists between the rights holders and the duty bearers. Nhenga (2008) noted that in an effort to domesticate the provisions of the UNCRC (1989) and the ACRWC (1999), the Government of Zimbabwe has enacted a number of child rights laws, policies and programmes. Chikoko (2014 & 2017) also observed that some of the laws, policies and programmes included, the Children's Act (5:06), Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act (9:23) and the Multi-Sectoral Response to Child Sexual Abuse and the National Action Plan for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (2016-2020) among others.

However, a number of critics or flaws have been raised against the UNCRC. Scholars such as Nhenga (2009), Bourdillon (2009), Morrow and Pells (2012) observed that the UNCRC is seen or viewed as a western conceptualisation of childhood. In addition, Morrow and Pells (2012: 04) noted that "the UNCRC does not contain specific rights relating to poverty and does not define the term."

The vulnerability of the children is explained when some of the street children of the Harare Central Business District engage in hook ups and abuse of substances. In addition, the behaviours are seen as inconsistent with the provisions of the UNCRC, the ACRWC and some of the national child rights laws, policies and programmes. The behaviours demonstrate huge child rights violations prevalent on the streets of the Harare Central Business District.

Research methods

The purposive sampling was used to select eight (8) participants for the study. As a result of purposive sampling, the researchers identified and targeted participants who were known to be deviant in terms of sexual behaviours and also abusing substances. Through purposive sampling it was easier to select the participants who were considered to be hard to reach ones. This really worked for the researchers because it is suitable when working with difficult or vulnerable populations such as street children and street based sex workers. The authors added that through purposive sampling it becomes easy to identify and recruit the participants in a study. Similarly, Mhizha (2014) also used purposive sampling on his studies with the street children of Harare.

A number of the qualitative data collection techniques such as, life history interviews. The researchers had a pre-interview meeting, recorded in multiple formats, started with easy questions, sought out memory stimulation and adhered to open ended questions so as to elicit the street children' s personal experiences and the connection between them and past social events. To complement information from historical interviews, in-depth interviews were conducted with 15 key questions so as to probe further and give participants freedom to answer questions using their own words. Similarly, Bell (2012) used life history interviews, in depth interviews when researching about sexual lives of young people in rural Uganda. The data analysis focused on themes and sub themes that emerged from the study. Some of the themes and sub themes that emerged included, aphrodisiac substances, psycho active substances, oral sex, hook-up, gang rape, among others.

The researchers informed the participants about the research being conducted so that they can make an informed decision as to whether they will participate in the study or not. The people participated free of coercion. On confidentiality, any identifying information is not made available to, or accessed by anyone but the researchers. The researchers also obtained verbal informed consent and ensured anonymity by using alphabetical letters instead of writing the names of the street children on data gathering tools.

Findings

Research findings suggest that the relationship between substance abuse and hook up among children in street situations is multi-dimensional. The research findings suggest that some of the street children of the Harare Central Business District engaged in hook up when they were under the influence of intoxicating substances. The study also established that some of the street children engaged in hook ups as a result of aphrodisiac substances. It became evident from the study that some of the street children of the Harare Central Business District were abusing psycho active substances as a result to manage issues around hook ups.

Hook-ups as a result of abuse of psycho active substances

The research findings suggest that some of the street children of the Harare Central Business District engaged in hook up when they were under the influence of intoxicating substances. During in depth interviews, one of the street boys revealed that he normal conduct hook ups after taking on psycho active substances such as cannabis or marijuana, cough syrup, *maragada* among others. He had this to say:

Elder, I normally conduct or engage in such sexual behaviour after taking on psycho active substances. The substances facilitate me to do hook ups with no remorse. I take psycho active substances such as chamba, burongo, maragada among others. The substances enhance my confidence to approach a woman of any class. Also when I am intoxicated, can persuade some of these good looking girls for a fuck. I have done this for several times. Last Saturday, I enjoyed myself with one of the girls I picked in town. I was heavy drunk. It was almost 2200hours in the night. I picked her at the entrance of Big Apple night club. The girl looked stranded, I brought her to the night club. We had some dances whilst taking on psycho active substances such beer. She was drinking ciders. He had funny and when the club was closed, I persuaded her to go to my 'base'/''goshuto', ended having a very heavy fuck. However, I ran out of condoms and ended up having unprotected sex. I am regretting because, I contracted a sexually transmitted diseases (STI). I suffered elder (sobbing/crying).

The disease took time to heal. I did not have money to go to some of the doctors. I then resorted to use guchu for treatment. As of now, I am feeling better but I am not sure whether I have healed completely. The traditional medicine of guchu seem to be reliable. Some of my colleagues have also got treated by the guchu. The guchu is not only reliable but also accessible for us on the streets considering our circumstances.

During the informal conversations, one of the street girls also confirmed that hook up and substance abuse were twin complexes affecting street children of the Harare Central Business District. She also added that some of the street boys had tendencies of hooking up desperate girls. For example, some of the girls that would have been brought to the city and then their boyfriends would run away from them. Such girls become stranded as some of them might not have bus fares to go back home.

A social workers based on one of the Drop-in centres also confirmed that, hook ups and abuse of substances is part of the street life of children in street situation. She added that because of such behaviours the majority of the children had succumbed to STIs and HIV and AIDS, unwanted pregnancies among others.

Hook-ups as a result of aphrodisiac substances

The study also established that some of the street children engaged in hook ups as a result of aphrodisiac substances. Some of the aphrodisiac substances included conventional and traditional ones. During the informal conversations, one of the street boys revealed that, he does hook up after taking on aphrodisiac substances. He added that one of the days, he took *mudenha tsindi* and end up hooking up with a certain female vendor in town. The boy had this to say

Elder, I have done several encounters of hook ups. For example one of the days, when I had taken mudenha tsindi, I ended up hooking up with a certain female vendor in town. The vendor was staying in Over Spill area in Epworth. We organise ourselves and left for Over Spill area in Epworth. We boarded commuter omnibus at Fourth Street around 2300hours. When we arrived at her lodgings, we had several sessions of sexual intercourse.

During the key informant interviews, one of the social workers also confirmed that, some of the street children were involved in hook ups after taking on aphrodisiac substances. She added that the street children take on aphrodisiac substances and end up having hook ups. However, she raised concerns that the abuse of aphrodisiac substances and hook ups had exposed the children to a number of risks including contracting STIs, HIV and AIDS, death among others.

Abuse of psycho active substances as a result of hook-ups

It became evident from the study that some of the street children of the Harare Central Business District were abusing psycho active substances as a result to manage issues around hook ups. As a result of trauma and regrets associated with hook ups some of the children in street situations ended taking on substances. Some of the psycho active substances included, *maragada, chamba, burongo* (cough syrup) among others. During the in depth interviews, one of the street boys revealed that he ended up taking psycho active substances as a result of hook ups. He added that because of traumatic experiences associated with hook ups he ended abusing psycho active substances. He had this to say:

Elder, I only started taking on psycho active substances so as to manage situations that were induced by hook ups. I succumbed to a terrible STI during hook up. The STI affected me greatly to the ended that I do not want to remember such experiences. For me to forget and cope with the ordeal, I take on burongo, chamba among others. I also have serious regrets for engaging in hook ups.

During the informal conversations, one of the street girls also revealed that she resorted to abuse of psycho active substances as a result of guilty conscience induced by hook up. She added that she had a hook up with one of the vendors and ironically she knew the wife of the particular vendor. As a result of the compound effect of that her sexual behaviour of hook up is known by everyone or rather is public she preferred to stay drunk or intoxicated so as to manage the situation.

In addition, during the field work visits, the researcher noted that some of the children who were known to be 'champions' of hook ups were always intoxicated. They had uncombed hair, with seemingly bloody drunken eyes, smoking *chamba* and drinking *burongo*. For example, when the researcher visited their 'bases' there were empty

bottles of super *chibuku*, cough syrup. Some of the so called 'Jazmen', people who were trading the substances were also frequenting the 'bases' because of the already existing markets. The street children were buying a lot of cannabis, cough syrup from the 'Jazmen'.

Discussion

The abuse of substance and hook ups among the street children of the Harare Central Business District illustrate their agency. As social actors the street children as social actors Chuta (2014) noted that they navigated and sustained with lives in harsh childhood realities characteristic of street life. The ability of the street children to make decisions around hook up and abuse of substances demonstrate agency of these children.

On the other hand, hook up and abuse of substances among the street children of the Harare Central Business District could be viewed as ambiguity of agency. Bordonaro and Payne (2012) observed that ambiguous agency is when the decisions or actions are inconsistent with existing societal values or norms. Hook up and abuse of substances among the street children of the Harare Central Business District are inconsistent with expectations of the Zimbabwean society. For example, children including those in street situations are to be asexual (Chikoko, 2017).

However, the reality is that street children are sexual beings as noted by Beazley (2003). In addition, Bordonaro and Payne (2012) noted that ambiguity of agency is explained when the behaviours threaten the well-being of children. For example, hook up and abuse of substances affect the well-being of the street children of the Harare Central Business District. Through these actions they are exposed to a number of risks such as death, cancer, diseases among others. In other words, as highlighted in the above presented narratives, some of the street children succumbed to sexually transmitted diseases as a result of hook up and abuse of substances.

Hook up and abuse of substances among the street children of the Harare Central Business District highlight the 'thin agency' concept. Thin agency is when the decisions or actions are conducted in a very restrictive environment. Therefore, the behaviours of these children could have been only viable survival options of them. The children were able to sustain their lives through hook up and abuse of substances given circumstances surrounding their harsh childhood realities (Chikoko, 2017).

Hook up and substance abuse among the street children of the Harare Central Business District could constitute self-destructive agency. The behaviours constitute self-destructive agency on the basis of risks associated with hook up and abuse of substances. Some of the risks could be contracting sexually transmitted diseases and subsequently HIV and AIDS among others. Also these children were prone to further abuse, violence and exploitation as a result of hook up and abuse of substances. For example, one of the street boys lost his valuables such as money and mobile phone when he had hooked up with some one's wife in Over Spill area, Epworth. The boy was thorough victimised by the husband of the female vendor he had hooked up with. The street boy had to endure chilly weather during the early hours of the morning when he was killed out of the house by the husband of the female vendor.

The narrative illustrates the increased level of vulnerability of street children as a result of substance abuse. Hook up and substance abuse implies increased levels of child rights violations among street children of the Harare Central Business District. Hook up is a serious form of sexual violence, abuse and exploitation as it contravenes the provisions of the UNCRC principle of the best interest of the child. It is not in the best interest of the street children to engage in hook up and abuse of substances because the behaviours expose the innocent children to a lot of risks.

As highlighted in the presentation of results section, one of the street boys ended up contracting sexually transmitted diseases as a result of hook up. The boy had unprotected sex under the influence of intoxicating substances and later on succumbed to sexually transmitted diseases. There are also high chances or incidences of contracting HIV and AIDS in particular cases of this street boy. There is increases of getting HIV and AIDS in a context of untreated sexually transmitted diseases.

Drawing from local child rights laws, policies and programmes, children who are exposed to hook up and abuse of substances are defined as 'vulnerable'. They vulnerabilities are in the context of exposure to violence, abuse and exploitation. In addition, vulnerabilities as a result of contraction of sexually transmitted diseases among others. They are considered as 'vulnerable children,' according to the National Action Plan for orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (2011-2015& 2016- 2020).

The Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act (9:23) also defines such children including those who engage in hook up and abuse of substances as 'in conflict with the law'. They are in conflict with the law because of the criminalisation of abuse of substances and hook up among minors in Zimbabwe. There is need for special rehabilitation programmes for children that engage in hook up and abuse of substances. However, drawing from a child

rights perspective, criminalising the behaviours of these children would harden them into criminals.

Drawing from the ubuntu/unhu perspective, the above narrative of hook up and use of substances among street children of the Harare Central Business District imply serious moral decadence. It shows that, some of the people of Harare Central Business District including the street children do not uphold moral values. The realities of hook up and abuse of substances among street children are against the values of ubuntu/unhu. The behaviours of these children are in contrast with such values as humanness, love, compassion, kindness, among others as noted by Mangena (2007 & 2012), Ramose (2002), Samkange and Samkange (1980). However, when street children do not uphold moral values who should be blamed? It is the society's responsibility that these children are socialized in sound or good moral values. These children were not born by the streets. Scholars such as Mugumbate and Chereni (2019), Mushunje (2006) observed that it takes the whole village thus society to raise a child within the ubuntu/unhu thinking/philosophy.

The research findings suggest that there is a close relationship between hook up and substance abuse among street children of the Harare Central Business District. For example, some of the street girls, who practised transactional or commercial sex work through oral sex abused psycho active substances. In other words, psycho active substances facilitated the street girls to do hook ups.

The results also corroborate previous researching findings, from, Paul *et al.* (2000) who noted that there is a close relationship between hook up and consumption of alcohol. The authors added that among college students, alcohol consumption preceded causal sex with one of characteristic of hook up. Paul *et al.* (2000) observed that males and females were found to be more likely to consume alcohol when they were less well acquainted with their hook up partners.

The research findings are consistent with previous studies by scholars such as Holman and Sillars (2012); Vander ven and Beck (2010) who observed that, in hook up sexual encounters, alcohol is a common feature. The authors added that intoxication from psycho active substances is used to explain and justify issues around spontaneous sex. The sexual behaviours associated with hook up and abuse of substances often result in unprotected sex and increase susceptibility to STI infections as noted by Holman and Sillars (2012).

The results resonate or concur with studies from Oduro (2012) who noted that some street boys who were drunk would take turns to rape street girls. Oduro observed that in certain circumstances, the boys would actual do the gang rape after smoking marijuana, among other substances. Rafaelli, Koller and Santos (2012) observed that gang rape among the street children in Brazil was as part of initiating and orientating new comers to the streets. The authors added that the new comers were initiated and orientated through gang rape so that they could conform to the street sub-culture.

Chikoko (2014) who observed that some of the street girls of the Harare Central Business District who were involved in commercial sex work also succumbed to substance abuse. The author added that abuse of substances facilitated the street girls to practise commercial sex work for example stripping, dancing among others. In fact, some of the street girls gained more confidence to practise commercial sex work after taking on intoxicating substances. For example, in his study, Chikoko (2014) noted that intoxicated the street girls had more confidence to practise extortion on unsuspecting male clients.

Chikoko *et al.* (2018) noted that there is close relationship between forced sex or rape and substance abuse among the street children of the Harare Central Business District. The authors noted that some of the street girls were exposed to forced sex and as a result of intoxicating substances. Similarly, Chikoko *et al.* (2019) observed that there is a close relationship between early sexual debut and abuse of substances among the street children of the Harare Central Business District. The authors noted that early sexual debut was as a result of substance abuse.

Apart from using psycho active substances, scholars such as Chikoko (2014 & 2017) some street girls also used beauty related substances to bleach their skins. The authors added that the beauty related substances facilitated the street girls beautified themselves as they practised commercial sex work. The girls were aware that their male clients preferred light skinned ones (Chikoko, 2014 & 2017).

The study established that some of the street children of the Harare Central Business District engaged in substance abuse as a result of hook up. In other words, the children were involved in substance abuse so as to manage feelings of regrets associated with hook up. Chikoko (2014) noted that the some of the street girls used substance abuse to cope with the exploitative nature associated with commercial sex work. For example, they resorted to abuse of intoxicating substances so as to manage their ordeal of transactional sex (Chikoko, 2014). The author noted that some of the street girls that were involved in commercial sex work used cannabis, cough syrup, among other intoxicating substances.

Moreover, Chikoko *et al.* (2018) observed that some of the street children had to resort to abuse of psycho active substances so as to manage the traumatic experiences associated with the ordeal of forced sex or rape. Similarly, Chikoko *et al.* (2019) observed that some of the street children ended up abusing substances so as to cope with dehumanising experiences associated with early sexual debut.

Recommendations

In order to reduce risks associated with hook ups and abuse of substances among the street children of the Harare Central Business District, the paper has proffered a number of recommendations:

- There is need to establish substance abuse rehabilitation centres. The rehabilitation centres will go a long way in providing support services to street children who have substance abuse disorders,
- Development workers need to mainstream sexuality issues when programming on street children. This is to reduce vulnerabilities of street children in various risky sexual behaviours,
- There is need to raise awareness on child rights issues targeting street children. Through awareness raising, street children are empowered to know their rights. It will also go a long way to raise consciousness of the general public on the rights of street children,
- There is need to align local child rights legislations with international and regional ones. Currently there are a number of discrepancies on local child rights laws in relation to the regional and international ones,
- There is need to implement social protection programmes targeting street children so as to address childhood poverty issues. The social protection programmes will reduce the vulnerabilities of street children on childhood poverty issues,
- There is need for duty bearers to allocate more resources towards improving the lives of street children. The Government of Zimbabwe, local authorities and other key institutions should provide more resources for street children programming because, currently this thematic group seem to be neglect with very merger resources for programming and,
- There is need to conduct action research on the lives of street children with a view to contribute towards improving their lives. The action research will go a long way in terms of influencing programming and policy issues as they relate to circumstances around street children.

Conclusion

As highlighted above, hook up and substance abuse are twin complex problems affecting street children of the Harare Central Business District. For example, some of the street children engaged in hook ups after taking on psycho actives. In addition, some of the children were involved in hook ups when they had taken on aphrodisiac substances such as mudenha tsindi. In contrast some of the street children abused psycho active substances as a result of traumatic and guilty feeling such as regret after sexual experiences associated with hook ups. The child rights, child agency and Ubuntu or unhu perspectives were adopted to have a deeper understanding of the behaviours of these children. Through hook ups and abuse of substances, the children demonstrated their agency, hook up illustrate that the street children of the Harare Central Business District are sexual being thus sexual agency. However, the behaviours could also be explained as ambiguous agency as they clashed with societal values. For example, hook up and abuse of substances among street children clash with the values of Zimbabwean society. The hook up and substance abuse among the street children of the Harare Central Business District could also be explained in terms of self-destructive behaviours. The self-destructive agency as the behaviours or social actions had a number of risks such as sexually transmitted diseases and even death. Drawing from the child rights perspective, hook up and substance abuse among street children of the Harare Central Business District demonstrate child rights violations. The hook up and substance abuse among these children contravene the provisions of international, regional and local child rights laws, policies and programmes.

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