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# Round Robin: A New Qualitative Methodology for Identifying Drivers of Violence Against Children

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#### Abstract

Violence affecting children (VAC) is a significant global health and human rights issue. This article highlights a new qualitative methodology, the Round Robin, for understanding the drivers of violence against children. Traditionally, qualitative research exploring VAC has focused on identifying the risk and protective factors which affect the likelihood a child will experience or witness violence. In recent years, scholars have recognised the need to situate children in their socio-cultural context and consider what causes risk and protective factors; that is, what drives violence at the structural and institutional levels of society. The Round Robin methodology sits within the participatory paradigm and contributes not only to the field of violence research, but to qualitative research more broadly, as it can be adapted to fit diverse social issues and contexts. The Round Robin combines focus groups and participatory techniques in an intensive three-day workshop model inspired by the World Café. In this paper, we firstly introduce the Round Robin methodology and situate it in relation to other approaches. We then describe and critique how the Round Robin methodology was piloted with 136 young people in Zimbabwe to identify drivers of violence affecting children. We then justify the methods used to collect data, and the strategy for data recording and analysis. We conclude by identifying the strengths and weaknesses we uncovered piloting this new methodology in Zimbabwe.

#### **Keywords**

Round Robin, qualitative research, focus groups, participatory techniques, violence affecting children, Zimbabwe

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# Round Robin: A Qualitative Methodology for Identifying Drivers of Violence Against Children

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Violence affecting children (VAC) is a significant global health and human rights issue. This article highlights a new qualitative methodology, the Round Robin, for understanding the drivers of violence against children. Traditionally, qualitative research exploring VAC has focused on identifying the risk and protective factors which affect the likelihood a child will experience or witness violence. In recent years, scholars have recognised the need to situate children in their socio-cultural context and consider what causes risk and protective factors; that is, what drives violence at the structural and institutional levels of society. The Round Robin methodology sits within the participatory paradigm and contributes not only to the field of violence research, but to qualitative research more broadly, as it can be adapted to fit diverse social issues and contexts. The Round Robin combines focus groups and participatory techniques in an intensive three-day workshop model inspired by the World Café. In this paper, we firstly introduce the Round Robin methodology and situate it in relation to other approaches. We then describe and critique how the Round Robin methodology was piloted with 136 young people in Zimbabwe to identify drivers of violence affecting children. We then justify the methods used to collect data, and the strategy for data recording and analysis. We conclude by identifying the strengths and weaknesses we uncovered piloting this new methodology in Zimbabwe.

*Keywords:* Round Robin, qualitative research, focus groups, participatory techniques, violence affecting children, Zimbabwe

The aim of this paper is to introduce and critically discuss the Round Robin methodology, a new innovative research methodology created by the University of Edinburgh, in collaboration with the Women's University in Africa, and UNICEF to identify the drivers of violence affecting children (VAC) and first applied in Zimbabwe in 2015. The Round Robin methodology was developed in response to methodological and practical challenges researching VAC in Africa. That said, the Round Robin methodology may be adapted and used to identify the institutional and structural factors driving a variety of issues in diverse communities worldwide.

The Round Robin methodology grew out of a desire to discover what drives VAC (including physical, emotional, and sexual violence). "Drivers" in this context refers to the institutional and structural level factors of the socioecological model (adapted from Bronfenbrenner, 1981 and Heise, 1998) that "create conditions in which violence is more likely to occur" (Maternowska et al., 2018, p. 8). The socioecological model is useful way of

conceptualizing how violence affecting children is a dynamic and complex phenomenon shaped by factors interacting at the individual, interpersonal, community, institutional, and structural levels of analysis – including social norms that may sit across levels – not simply an interaction between individuals (Maternowska et al., 2018).

Drivers of VAC differ from risk and protective factors of VAC which influence the likelihood that a child will experience violence (Maternowska et al., 2018). Examples of drivers of violence affecting children include "legal structures, ineffective child protection systems, weak school governance, and harmful social and cultural norms" (Maternowska et al., 2018, p. 4). Risk and protective factors include, for example, age, gender, and the prevalence of certain traditional practices, to name but a few, and fall under the individual, interpersonal, and community levels of the socioecological model (Maternowska et al., 2018). Risk and protective factors are much more easily identifiable than drivers of VAC (Izumi & Baago-Rasmussen, 2018). Research exploring drivers of VAC adds to a growing body of international child protection research that goes beyond a narrow focus on risk and protective factors to connect children's experiences of harm to larger and more complex structural and institutional level factors (Boyden et al., 2018; Featherstone et al., 2018; Kumar et al., 2017). This situated and contextual perspective seeks to better understand and therefore protect children from violence.

Initial research undertaken to identify drivers of VAC employed systematic reviews and secondary analyses of existing data sets (Bernacchi et al., 2016; Fry, Casey et al., 2016; Fry, 2016; Maternowska & Fry, 2015; Maternowska et al., 2018; UNICEF Viet Nam, UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti, & University of Edinburgh, 2016). Systematic reviews are ideal for synthesising the evidence base in a given field (Gough et al., 2017) and secondary analyses provide researchers the opportunity to investigate their own research questions using existing data (Heaton, 2004). Although leveraging existing research and datasets is a cost-effective and important first step in the process of identifying country-specific drivers of VAC, systematic reviews and secondary analyses are limited by the original design of the research, including the type of data collected, the study location, sampling frame, and, in the case of violence research, the definition of violence used.

The current evidence base therefore reflects contemporary conceptualizations of violence which then influence and are affected by the questions researchers have already investigated. The drivers of violence typically identified are therefore unsurprisingly those that researchers are already focusing on, resulting in the confirmation of known findings rather than the discovery of new ones. Additionally, drivers of violence affecting children are often country-specific and highly contextual, meaning there is a need to mobilise national-level knowledge and resources when conducting research (Maternowska & Fry, 2018). While systematic reviews and secondary analysis provide a strong starting point for identifying the drivers of violence affecting children, a new methodology was needed to delve deeper and discover the hidden and contextual factors driving VAC in diverse socio-cultural locations worldwide.

This article describes and critically evaluates the Round Robin methodology, an innovative methodology developed in response to these challenges. In the remainder of this article, we firstly introduce the Round Robin methodology and situate it in relation to other paradigms, methods, and approaches. Secondly, we provide a case study highlighting our experiences implementing the Round Robin in Zimbabwe, before lastly critically discussing its strengths and weaknesses.

Round Robin: A New Methodology

# Situating the Round Robin

To discover hidden drivers of VAC, a qualitative approach was needed. Qualitative research is ideal for uncovering nuanced and in-depth understandings of a particular process, structure, experience, or phenomenon (Hardesty et al., 2019). The Round Robin is comprised of several qualitative methods, including focus groups and participatory techniques. In the Round Robin, these methods are conducted with a large group of participants over several days of intensive data collection. Participants are assigned to focus groups of up to ten people, and each focus group undertakes a participatory activity simultaneously at separate tables in a large space. Every participatory activity is moderated by a facilitator, and at the end of every activity, each group of participants moves to a new table to undertake a different activity or topic while the facilitator remains to run the same activity with a different group. The activities thus build on each other in an iterative process of data collection.

From this brief description, readers may note the similarities between the Round Robin and World Café. World Café was first introduced in 1995 by Juanita Brown and David Isaacs as a way of gathering the views of community members and generating ideas to solve local challenges in the community development context, and has grown in use and popularity ever since (Brown & Isaacs, 2005). Brown and Isaacs (2005) describe World Café as a "conversational process for fostering constructive dialogue, accessing collective intelligence, and creating innovative possibilities for action" (p. 3). One of the benefits of the World Café is its ability to gather the views and knowledge of a large group of people in a relatively short period of time with the desired result of facilitating community change (Brown & Isaacs, 2005). Since its introduction, academics and researchers have interpreted and used World Café in different ways. Broom and colleagues (2013) adapted World Café as a methodology; that is, as a strategy guiding how they conducted their research (Howell, 2013). Alternatively, Fouché and Light (2011) interpreted World Café as a research approach: an overarching way of doing research which challenged traditional assumptions about who holds and creates knowledge and power. Others operationalise World Café as a participatory method and employ it as a technique for collecting data with large groups of people (see du Plessis et al., 2013; Löhr et al., 2020). In this article, we introduce the Round Robin as a new methodology which borrows its structure from Brown and Issacs' (2005) original conceptualization of World Café and involves participants sitting at small tables having conversations to generate new knowledge and ideas. During these facilitated conversations, otherwise known as focus groups, participants undertake activities and discussions based on predetermined topics with the same group over several days. Focus groups are a form of group qualitative interviewing in which participants' conversations form the basis of the data collected (Morgan, 2012). Focus groups are an ideal method for gathering a wide range of perspectives on a research topic over a short period of time (Morgan, 2012). Additionally, focus groups may be a helpful method when dealing with sensitive subjects, such as violence, as a group setting allows for "safety in numbers" during discussions (Barbour, 2018).

The Round Robin methodology differs from the World Café in that it integrates specifically ordered well known and newly developed participatory techniques into the conversational setting. Participatory techniques are tools for collecting data and often include facilitated visual and interactive elements followed by a discussion around a set of predetermined questions (Grant, 2017). Examples of participatory techniques include, among others, listing and ranking, participant-led photography, and neighbourhood mapping (Chambers, 2002; Davidson, 2017; Gifford et al., 2007; Grant, 2017). The participatory techniques utilised in the Round Robin are specifically ordered and designed to build on one

another to uncover structural and institutional factors which create the context in which VAC occurs.

The Round Robin methodology was inspired by the participatory literature which promotes the benefits of collective knowledge construction and collaborative learning, often to address social issues (Bourke, 2009; Chevalier & Buckles, 2019; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). Participatory approaches are often "problem-focused and context-sensitive" which describes the approach also used in the Round Robin methodology (Lake & Wendland, 2018, p. 18); that is, designed to be adapted to the specific socio-cultural context of the research site. Grant (2017) makes a distinction between participatory techniques and a participatory approach: a participatory approach constitutes a "meta-method approach, which requires a political commitment toward enacting and inspiring social change and challenging unequal power relations" (Grant, 2017, p. 262). Pain and Francis (2003) similarly assert that the aim of participatory research is "to effect change for and with research participants" (p. 46). Others alternatively define participatory research as "a research process which involves those being researched in the decision-making and conduct of the research" (Bourke, 2009, p. 458) for all or part of the process. These various definitions and conceptualizations point to the debate surrounding what constitutes participatory research. It is beyond the scope of this article to provide a comprehensive review of the various ways in which participatory research is defined (see Warwick-Booth et al., 2021 for a recent overview). Although the Round Robin methodology utilised participatory techniques as a means of data collection, it does not go so far as claim to transform power relations and is conservative but optimistic in its own potential to effect lasting change.

# The Round Robin Activities: An Introduction to Iterative Participatory Techniques

The Round Robin methodology includes participatory visual techniques adapted to fit the research aim and questions, including an age and gender timeline, a listing and ranking activity, and vignettes. These approaches were chosen to "dig deeper" into the root causes or drivers of various types of violence against children in a way that is disaggregated by age and gender. In addition, the Round Robin also includes two new participatory activities – a Drivers Pathway analysis and Response and Prevention map – designed specifically for use as part of the Round Robin sessions. Most of these participatory techniques fall under the umbrella of diagramming. Diagramming activities involve participants working together to fill in or create maps, timelines, tables, or matrixes themed around the research questions, which participants then "discuss and analyse in conjunction with the researcher" (Kesby, 2000, p. 434). Diagramming results in both visual and discursive data for analysis (Kesby, 2000). Diagramming techniques are inherently flexible and therefore easily adapted to fit the specific needs of the research topic and context (Pain & Francis, 2003). Moreover, diagramming techniques are ideally suited for revealing participants' perceptions of a given problem (Gwanzura-ottemöller & Kesby, 2005; Grant, 2017). For example, Gwanzura-ottemöller and Kesby (2005) used diagramming techniques to explore children's understandings of sex and HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe. One of the limitations of diagramming is that, depending on the design of the activity and the skill of the facilitator to ask follow-up and probe questions during discussions, the data "may be brief and superficial" (Pain & Francis, 2003, p. 51). It is often the discussion following the diagramming activity, rather than the activity itself, that generates the most nuanced data. To address this limitation, rigorous facilitator training in combination with pre-planned and well thought out follow-up and probe questions are essential.

In the Round Robin, participatory techniques are conducted in focus groups at several separate tables. Depending on the socio-cultural context, it is often beneficial to conduct the research in single-gender focus groups and to match the gender of the facilitator with that of

the group. The demographic makeup of the focus groups will likely affect the data collected and subsequent analysis and should thus be carefully considered when planning the research. The Round Robin is designed so that each focus group takes part in the same activity simultaneously with different table topics. A table topic is a social issue that relates to the research aim and questions. By the end of the Round Robin, every participant group will have conducted each participatory activity multiple times with different table topics. It is helpful if the number of table topics corresponds with the number of participant groups and tables. By designing the research in this way, it is possible to analyse the data according to table topic, participatory technique, and/or demographic variables such participants' age and gender.

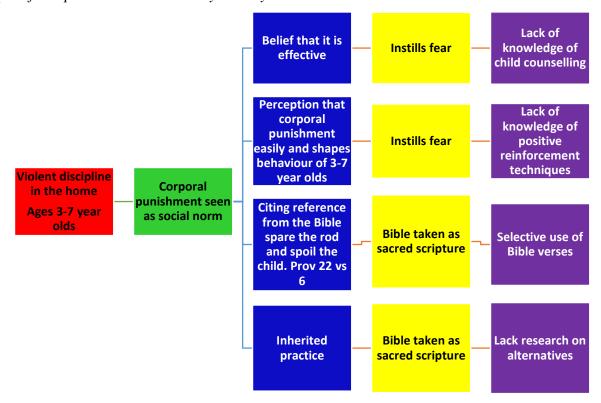
The first activity on day one of the Round Robin session is the age and gender timeline. Timelines are a highly adaptable participatory technique used to elicit participants' understandings of significant milestones or events (Crivello, 2017), often in relation to age and gender. Unlike the other activities in the Round Robin, each participant group only undertakes one age and gender timeline. In their groups, participants work together to create timelines on flipchart paper to identify the physical, emotional, and social changes that girls and boys go through as they grown up (from 5 to 18 years old). The facilitator should firstly split each group of participants into two smaller groups, and then one half of the group creates the girls' timeline, and the second half of the group creates the boys' timeline. After the timelines are created, the participants then come back together to share their timelines and work through predetermined discussion questions. This activity is useful as an icebreaker and functions to get participants working together before diving into more sensitive topics. When researching VAC, the activity helps the research team map out the points at which boys and girls experience different forms of violence between the ages of 5 and 18 in the different contexts being researched. The data generated from this activity is captured on the flipchart paper, which then can be used to stimulate further discussions and debate. In addition, it is also helpful to record the discussion for transcription and analysis. During analysis, it is then possible to compare the timelines according to the gender of the timeline subject, the gender of the participants who created it, and the geographical context in which the timeline subject was situated.

The second participatory technique in the Round Robin is the listing and ranking activity. Listing and ranking is an activity used frequently in Participatory Action Research and Participatory Rural Appraisal (Paz & Fry, 2008). In this activity, participants brainstorm and list responses to set questions; for example, what causes a specific social problem? Participants then discuss several probing questions around the topic and work together to group similar answers. Probe questions encourage participants to discuss the topic and can be used to draw out if and how issues differ based on factors such as gender, age, or setting (i.e., rural or urban). Participants finish the activity by individually voting for their top three causes of the social issue being discussed. First, second, and third choice votes are allocated different "point" values (first choice is given three points, second choice is given two points and third choice is given one point), and the final scores are tallied by the group facilitator to reveal the groups' top three responses. Listing and ranking activities yield both numerical and discursive data. The vote tallies form the basis of numerical data, and it is possible to combine participant votes and responses from all groups for each table topic. The combined top three answers for the listing and ranking questions can then be calculated and explored alongside the other data. If participant groups are single gender, it is also possible to consider responses according to gender. In addition, the recorded discussions sparked by probe questions may be transcribed and analysed thematically. This activity reveals what the participants consider the biggest causes of a particular social problem in the context in which they live.

The third participatory technique included in the Round Robin is the Drivers Pathway. The Drivers Pathway activity was designed to build on and go beyond the causes identified in the listing and ranking activity to uncover the reasons *why* a particular social issue occurs.

Whereas age and gender timelines and listing and ranking are widely used participatory techniques, this activity was specifically developed by the authors for the Round Robin methodology (please see the case study section below for information on piloting). Participants are given a social issue to discuss, and the facilitator then asks participants to list what causes the issue. Participants then list the causes separately in boxes on flipchart paper working from left to right as in the illustration below.

Figure 1
Example of completed Drivers Pathway activity



After this, participants then go back to each cause and one by one the facilitator askes, "and what causes this?" or "why does this happen?" Participants then list all the new causes connected to this original cause until no new ideas emerge. The benefit of this activity is that it moves participants away from proximal to distal causes, revealing the social and structural determinants underlying the issue to come to the fore. Like the previous activities, the key data generated from the Drivers Pathway activity is recorded on flipchart paper in a predetermined format for ease of analysis. Additionally, discussions can be recorded and transcribed for more in-depth analysis. Like the previous activities, this activity may be analysed according to participants' gender, age, and context. The Drivers Pathway also yields numerical data as it is possible to count how often specific causes are identified by each different group, and to then compare data between groups by topic.

The Drivers Pathway activity is then followed by discussions around several vignettes. Vignettes are stories or scenarios used to stimulate discussions, often in a focus group setting. Facilitators share a brief scenario with participants who then discuss a set of predetermined questions. Questions may focus on what might happen next to the characters, what might have happened to bring the characters to that point, questions about character's backgrounds and expectations, as well as questions surrounding alternative endings to the story (Crivello et al., 2013), and participants' reference networks. In social norms theory, reference networks refer to "the network of people whose behaviour and expectations matter to the decision maker"

(Bicchieri, 2017, p. 53) which usually includes one's family, friends, and other important community members. Vignettes are useful for exploring sensitive topics such as violence and for learning about participants' believes, assumptions, and meanings (Barter & Renold, 2000). However, a frequent criticism of this technique is the inability to fully reflect the complexity of social life in a brief story which may result in simplistic or incomplete responses (Barter & Renold, 2000). Although this critique is valid, it is less salient when the technique is used as part of a larger "toolkit" of methods and pre-tested and adjusted, as was the case in the Round Robin. Data from vignettes are generated through discussions, and it is helpful to record and transcribe these for analysis.

The final participatory technique in the Round Robin session is Response and Prevention mapping. Like the Drivers Pathway activity, the Response and Prevention mapping activity was also specifically designed by the authors for the Round Robin methodology (see case study for more information on how this was designed). The aim of this activity is to ascertain participants' views and beliefs as they work together to complete a Response and Prevention table about a predetermined social issue (see Table 1). Participants then work together to identify what needs to be done to prevent the issue and rank the most important behaviors and expectations that need to change. The next two columns of the table address the question of *who*. Participants brainstorm whose behaviour or expectations should change and then rank these actors in order of importance. The next section of the table is concerned with how the expectations and behaviors might be addressed through activities or programs, and lastly, by whom. Data from this activity is recorded in the template as the activity progresses, and an audio recording of the discussion may then be transcribed and analysed.

 Table 1

 Response and prevention mapping template

What	Ranking of	Who	Ranking of	How	By whom
	what		who		
What needs to be done to prevent this?	What is the most important behaviour or expectation to change first? Second?	Whose behaviors or expectations should change?	Whose behaviors or expectations need to change first? Second?	What specific activities or programmes might change these expectations and behaviors?	Looking at the ranking of key actors whose behaviors or expectations need to change, who would be most effective at working with them to change these? Who would they listen to?

# Data Management, Synthesis, and Analysis

The Round Robin methodology generates a large amount and variety of data in a brief period of time. Therefore, it is essential to have a clear and accurate strategy for organizing and synthesizing data prior to data collection. The participatory tools detailed in the previous section provide clear frameworks for documentation. In addition, it is beneficial to digitally record group discussions during participatory activities for later transcription and analysis with participants' consent. It is necessary to ensure all researchers and facilitators agree on a predetermined and uniformed approach to collecting and labelling all outputs from the participatory activities and audio recordings. Clearly labelling data in an organized filing system is particularly important for research conducted in multiple research sites with a large research team where the same activities may be run several times over the course of the data collection period.

One of the unique features of the Round Robin methodology is its use of facilitator reports as a means of data synthesis. The facilitators report is a standardized template printed and given to facilitators prior to data collection. The role of facilitators includes ensuring that participatory activities run smoothly, but also each facilitator is responsible for filling out a report at the end of each day of the Round Robin. The report functions as a way of synthesizing the data generated by the participatory techniques at one table in a timely fashion. Facilitator reports comprise a crucial step in the process of data synthesis. Data synthesis is the first step in data analysis and involves looking at the data and asking the question: what data do I have? Following data synthesis, the facilitator reports also make it easier to identify themes in the data because the standardised format allows for comparison across participant groups, participatory activities, and gender.

Following initial data synthesis and then identification, the audio recording can be transcribed and in-depth thematic analysis conducted. The Round Robin methodology uses inductive thematic analysis to identify patterns in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun & Clarke, 2022; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Inductive analysis has several underlying assumptions (Thomas, 2003, p. 3):

- 1. "Data analysis is determined by both the research objectives (deductive) and multiple readings and interpretations of the raw data (inductive). Thus, the findings will be derived from both the research objectives outlined by the researchers and findings arising directly from the analysis of the raw data.
- 2. The primary mode of analysis is the development of categories from the raw data into a model or framework that captures key themes and processes judged to be important by the researchers.
- 3. The research findings result from multiple interpretations made from the raw data by the researchers who code the data" and the steering committee who help interpret the data.
- 4. The validity of findings can be assessed by a range of techniques such as (a) comparison with findings from previous research, (b) triangulation within the study with the secondary analyses and systematic review, and (c) feedback from policymakers, practitioners, and users of the research findings.

To enhance the reliability of the analysis of the focus group data, it is good practice to check the validity of findings with different members of the research team. Emerging categories can then be discussed and revised until consensus is achieved. The process of thematic analysis is iterative and typically guided by several key steps. These steps include a rigorous and systematic reading and coding of the transcripts to allow major themes to emerge.

Themes may be identified in the data by finding repetition and anomalies within the data, and by considering similarities and differences within and between sub-groups and study sites (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). In addition, coding segments of text allows for an analysis of text segments on a particular theme, the documentation of relationships between themes, and the identification of themes important to participants. Diagrams from the focus groups may also be used to identify emerging themes and to link themes. In addition, transcripts may also be read "horizontally," which involves grouping segments of text by theme.

The next section moves beyond a general introduction to the Round Robin methodology and looks specifically at how it was implemented in a study investigating the drivers of VAC in Zimbabwe.

# Piloting and Implementing the Round Robin Methodology in Zimbabwe

# The Research Project

The Round Robin methodology was first piloted in Zimbabwe in 2015 as part of the Zimbabwe Social Norms study commissioned by UNICEF Zimbabwe under the Prevention of Gender-Based Violence Against Girls and Young Women project funded by the Danish International Development Agency. The aim of the study was to, "better understand why violence is happening in Zimbabwe, specifically to determine the normative components and contexts around the drivers of violence against children" (Fry, Casey et al., 2016, p. 1). The research topics were selected based on social norms literature and included child marriage, adolescent relationship violence, bush boarding, and corporal punishment (Bicchieri et al., 2014). As understandings of violence may vary, Table 2 lists the definitions of VAC used in this research pilot (Maternowska et al., 2018). Ethical approval to conduct the research was obtained from the Ethics Review Board of Zimbabwe Medical Research Council and the University of Edinburgh.

# **Table 2**Definitions of violence

#### **Bush boarding**

Any form of violence (sexual, emotional, physical, or neglect) experienced as part of going to live in a location in the bush closer to school to attend school.

# **Corporal punishment**

"Any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light. Most involves hitting ("smacking," "slapping," "spanking") children, with the hand or with an implement – whip, stick, belt, shoe, wooden spoon, etc. But it can also involve, for example, kicking, shaking or throwing children, scratching, pinching, burning, scalding or forced ingestion" (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006, p. 4).

# Child marriage

Marriage before the age of 18.

#### Adolescent relationship violence

Any form of violence (physical, sexual, emotional, financial, controlling, *etcetera*) experienced by either a girl or boy adolescent (or both) in an intimate relationship.

Zimbabwe is a low-income country located in southern Africa with a population of just over 13 million people (ZIMSTAT, 2012), the majority of whom live in rural areas (World Bank, 2018). Bush boarding, corporal punishment, child marriage, and adolescent relationship violence are all prevalent forms of VAC in Zimbabwe (see Table 2 for definitions) (Fry, Hodzi et al., 2016). The research consisted of four three-day Round Robin events conducted in study locations around the country including Harare, Binga, Chipinge, and Beitbridge. The study locations were selected to maximise diversity in the sample and included a variety of urban, peri-urban, rural, and farming communities and border towns where a number of different languages are spoken. Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, is located in the north-eastern part of the country and includes both urban and peri-urban areas. The research was also conducted in Binga, located in a remote part of Matebeleland North Province. Binga is home to the BaTonga people and due to its remote location, many BaTonga people's views and experiences are underrepresented in research and development processes (Fry, Casey et al., 2016). The third study site, Chipinge is a town located in Manicaland Province in the country's southeast near the border with Mozambique. Lastly, the Round Robin was conducted in Beitbridge, a border town located in southern Zimbabwe near the border with South Africa.

A focal person was identified prior to data collection in each of the field sites. The focal person was a local community partner (this varied from NGO staff and government officials to Childline staff and local welfare officers) and their role was to recruit participants, identify a suitable venue, and facilitate introductions to local leadership. The focal person was provided with a "focal person's guide" prior to the research team's arrival. This guide included details on desired participant attributes for recruitment (i.e., age, gender, *et cetera*) and information about the necessary facilities needed to conduct the research. The focal person in each site also had an initial conversation with participants to introduce the research and explain informed consent for the young adults. With the help of the focal person, protocol visits to local leadership in each site were made by the lead researchers to inform them of the research being conducted in their locality.

The study was designed to not ask participants directly about their own experiences while also entailing careful planning around ethics due to the sensitive nature of the topic. There were youth-friendly warm-up and cool-down questions/activities at the start and end of the conversations. Interviewers were trained to pick up on cues and distress. Furthermore, the researchers ensured that all participants were given information about local and accessible counselling services. Researchers also ensured safe focus group spaces and covered ground rules at the beginning of each focus group session. As part of the training process, research interviewers received a bespoke two-day training on the study components and on child protection issues (talking about child abuse and neglect, recognising and handling disclosures). All data is confidential subject to the laws of the country and all participants were informed about the limits to confidentiality prior to taking part in the study as part of the safeguarding and ethics procedures of the study, and the researchers worked closely with the ministry of government responsible for child protection around both the design and analysis of findings.

In total, 136 participants aged 18-24 took part in the Round Robin sessions. Young people were selected using a purposive sampling approach. The sampling criteria was designed to include diversity across a number of demographic variables including age, gender, religion, ethnicity, orphanhood status, parenthood, disability, and marital status (Fry, Hodzi et al., 2016). Participants who fit the sampling criteria were identified using a short demographic attributes form distributed by local partner organisations. As the Round Robin event was conducted in study sites throughout the country translation was sometimes necessary. Participants spoke several different languages, including Shona, English, Tonga, and Ndebele, among others.

Working with a translator during data can be difficult because "words and concepts have different meanings in different languages" (Moran & Temple, 2006, p. 5). To address

these concerns, translators took part in a brief training prior to data collection. While training was provided for translators, the diversity of languages spoken in the field sites posed unanticipated challenges. The specific dialects spoken in the various research settings sometimes differed from those which were anticipated by the researchers. For example, in Binga, the translated tools were of a different dialect from the Tonga spoken in Binga. Additionally, the research team was surprised that the participants understood English despite its remoteness. These examples highlight the need to carefully considering language and translation when planning research.

Moreover, when working with a team to conduct qualitative research it is important to clarify roles, responsibilities, and expectations for team members, and to establish systems and processes for managing data from the onset (Fernald & Duclos, 2005). To address these potential challenges, in preparation for the Round Robin sessions, seven faculty members and lecturers from the Children's Rights Research Group at the Women's University in Africa participated in a three-day facilitator training event. The training included an introduction to the study, the roles and responsibilities of facilitators, and the research sites. Additionally, the comprehensive training included an overview of logistical arrangements, ethics and safeguarding procedures, the study methodology, and the study topics, including social norms theory. In addition, the training included top tips for effective facilitation, including the importance of neutrality, active listening, and advice on how to ask probing questions and manage difficult situations. National facilitators also tried out the participatory techniques and practiced filling in the facilitator reports.

Before data collection began in earnest, the Round Robin session in its entirety was pretested in Harare to ensure activities and discussion questions were clear and understandable. The pre-testing phase of the Round Robin methodology was also invaluable as it allowed for researchers to better anticipate the time needed for participatory techniques, and to work out general logistical challenges including the additional time needed for translation and cultural formalities.

### The Methods Used and Data Collected

The Round Robin sessions were conducted in large and accessible in-door or outdoor spaces in each study location. Within each of these spaces, four tables were arranged in a circular format with clear numbering indicating which table participants would move to next. It was necessary to select a relatively large room or spaces in each location to ensure several focus group discussions could occur simultaneously. A day prior to participants' arrival, tables were laid out with table cards for activities and all necessary supplies for the day's sessions (printed instructions, flipchart paper, markers, *et cetera*).

On the first day, participants received consent forms and information sheets about the study. Participants then checked in, assigned themselves a pseudonym, and made name badges for themselves with their pseudonyms. A master list of pseudonyms was created in case any were forgotten over the course of the three-day workshop. Participants then chose a table to sit at, and the other participants at the table became their designated "group" for all subsequent sessions. Each table had approximately ten participants and one national facilitator. In Zimbabwe, it was important to separate groups by gender and have facilitator's gender match that of their group. This is because local social norms made discussion of sensitive subjects like sex taboo in a mixed gender context. Inclusion was of paramount importance throughout the research. One group was comprised entirely of young people with disabilities with support workers because the voices and inputs of young people with disabilities were difficult to ascertain in a mixed group setting.

Before diving into the participatory techniques, the lead researcher welcomed participants and went through the informed consent process with the whole group. Participants then had the opportunity to ask questions at their tables in smaller groups. Next, the whole group took part in an activity to establish the Round Robin ground rules before commencing participatory activities in their smaller groups. Over the course of three days, participants took part in five inter-related participatory techniques conducted in four simultaneous focus groups. For most activities, focus groups were assigned different table topics. All participants took part in all activities and all topics by the end of the three days. The first activity was the age and gender timeline. Participants had two hours in which to complete this activity. The facilitator first split each group in two: half of the participants in each group created a timeline for a boy and the other half created a timeline for a girl. Participants gave their "girl" or "boy" a name and marked on the timeline the important changes and events that take place between the ages of 10-17. The purpose of this activity was to make participants feel comfortable about talking with each other and to start sharing about childhood and children's experiences before talking about more difficult subjects such as abuse. This activity was also used to explore various definitions of childhood, important events in a child's lives in different parts of Zimbabwe, and important gender differences as an introduction to the rest of the content of the Round Robin.

After a lunch break, participants moved on to the listing and ranking exercise. The purpose of this activity was to provide a list of potential root causes of different important types or risk factors for violence and rank these according to their importance based on participants' thoughts. The table topics included early sexual debut (first sex), intimate relationships between adolescents and older men/women, transactional sex (exchange of sex for gifts, services, goods, money, *etcetera.*), and corporal punishment against children in schools. Participants had 45 minutes to complete the listing and ranking activity and discussion for each topic. In total, the activity took three hours as every group did the activity for all four topics. During discussions, facilitators asked further probing questions to reveal similarities and differences for causes for the issue based on gender and the location where they look place, for example, differences in rural and urban areas.

On day two of the Round Robin, participants returned to the groups they were in on the previous day. Participants began with the Drivers Pathway activity. The purpose of this activity was to unpack the "why" behind several key topics including child marriage, adolescent relationship violence, violence in bush boarding, and teenage pregnancy (see Table 2). The Drivers Pathway took one hour for each topic, and participants completed two research topics in the morning and two in the afternoon. Groups considered one outcome and discussed the potential pathways of why this happens. Each potential cause was listed in a separate box, and the group then explored why potential causes happen — going further and further on the pathway. The Drivers Pathway helped participants to move away from individual and interpersonal causes to thinking more about community, institutional, and structural causes of violence.

After completing the Drivers Pathways activity and a taking a break, participants returned to the same tables where they had been in the morning. The social norms vignettes followed on from the Drivers Pathways activity and addressed the same topics. Each group worked on two topics in the morning during the Drivers Pathway; for example, child marriage and adolescent relationship violence, and then in the afternoon discussed the same topics for the social norms vignettes. In this way, each participatory activity built on the last and encouraged participants to think more deeply about specific topics. The purpose of the social norms vignettes was to measure social norms by using hypothetical scenarios and engaging in discussions about potential storylines around key issues. Previous research shows that vignettes are effective for researching and measuring social norms (Mackie et al., 2015). Each vignette was developed by the national team from the Women's University in Africa and then adjusted

following pilot testing. One of the benefits of this activity is the ability to customize the stories to use local community names to ground the stories in the specific areas the Round Robin was conducted in. This provided a greater degree of specificity about the social norms in that area.

#### Table 3

Social norms vignettes

#### **Vignette 1: Child Marriage**

[Girl name] lives in [community name]. She is 15 years old and has just gotten married to [boy name] with the blessing of both of their parents. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [girl name] and [boy name].

# **Vignette 2: Adolescent Relationship Violence**

[Girl name] lives in [community name] and she is 17 years old and is dating [boy name]. [Boy name] has been pressuring [girl name] to have sex with him. But [girl name] is not quite ready for sex and she is afraid of getting pregnant. In the last couple of months [boy name] has been getting really angry and even became violent and questioning her if she really loves him. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [girl name] and [boy name].

# **Vignette 3: Violence in Bush Boarding**

[Girl name] and [boy name] are brother and sister and live in [community name] and [girl name] is 13 years old and [boy name] is 11 years old. [Girl and boy name] have started living in a residence with other students on their own in the bush [called Bush Boarding] in order to attend school. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [girl name] and [boy name].

# **Vignette 4: Teenage Pregnancy**

[Girl name] is 14 years old and lives in [community name]. She just found out that she is pregnant by [boy name] who is 17 years old and also lives in the community. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [girl name] and [boy name].

For each vignette, participants were then asked a series of questions about possible prestory scenarios, topic-specific probes, followed by a discussion of different actors and their expectations (see Table 4).

#### Table 4

Social norms vignettes discussion questions

# **Step 1: Potential Pre-Story Scenarios**

- 1. Let's talk about [girl name]; what do you think led to where we are at this point in the story?
- 2. What about for [boy name]?
- 3. How frequent do you think this story is for boys and girls in [community name]? Do you have examples?

# **Step 2: Topic specific probes**

Child marriage

Probe differences between poverty and other drivers; also probe about polygamy in the pre-story potential scenarios.

- 1. What if the girl was dating the boy?
- 2. What if the girl was pregnant?
- 3. What is the girl was not dating the boy and she was not interested in marriage?

- 4. What is the boy is from a very influential family?
- 5. What if the girl's family is very poor?
- 6. What if the boy/man is much older than the girl?
- 7. What if the boy/man has other wives?

#### Adolescent relationship violence

- 1. What if [boy name] forced [girl name] to have sex?
- 2. What if [girl name] said no to sex?
- 3. What if [girl name] asks [boy name] to use a condom?
- 4. What if [boy name] refused to use condom? What if [boy name] listens to [girl name] and not to force sex?
- 5. What if [boy name] is much older than her?

# Bush-Boarding

- 1. How do you think the bush boarding is organised? Where are [girl name] and [boy name] likely to be boarding in this community? What is the accommodation like for them?
- 2. What is life like for [girl name] when she is bush boarding (what does she do during the day? In the evenings?)
- 3. What about for [boy name]?
- 4. Is the bush boarding safe for [girl name]? Why or why not?
- 5. Is the bush boarding safe for [boy name]? Why or why not?
- 6. Are there any adults around where [girl name] and [boy name] live?
- 7. What is the range of ages of the other children that are likely to be living with [girl name] and [boy name]?
- 8. Are there likely to be older boys living near [girl name] in the bush boarding?
- 9. What if [girl name] gets raped? Would she be at risk? Why or why not?
- 10. What about [boy name] is he at risk for sexual abuse? Who by?
- 11. What about [girl name] and [boy name] are they at risk for other forms of violence while bush boarding? What and why?

### Teenage pregnancy

12. Probe differences if [boy name] and [girl name] are in a relationship; also probe different expectations and outcomes by different ages (e.g., would this be different for an 11-year-old girl? What about a 24-year-old boy?)

#### **Step 3: Discuss Different Actors and Their Expectations**

On a table card will be listed all the potential actors in the vignette story. Read through this list with participants: [Girl name]; [Boy name]; Parents; Other family members (including siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc); Community members (including community leaders, church pastors, store owners, etc); Teachers; Friends (both girl and boy friends); Other?

# Then, ask the following questions:

- 1. Let's talk about the important people in [girl name] and [boy name] lives. The paper on the table has some of these potentially important people listed. Is there anyone that might be missing from this list that might be important in the story?
- 2. What are the expectations of [actor name] about [girl name] and [boy name]'s situation? (Go through and discuss each actor that participants list as important)
- 3. What do they expect [girl name] or [boy name] to do? And why do they expect this?

- 4. What if [girl name] and [boy name] don't follow the expectations? [Facilitator uses specific examples of expectations mentioned in from Step 2]
- 5. What would the outcomes be for [girl name], [boy name] or [other person with expectations]?

On the third and final day of the Round Robin, participants joined the groups they were in on the previous day to do the Response and Prevention mapping. The purpose of this activity was to specifically focus on how best to respond to and prevent the issues discussed the previous day, including child marriage, adolescent relationship violence, violence during bush boarding, and teenage pregnancy. Through discussion, participants also brainstormed which people, institutions, and organizations may be important for prevention, and who else might need to be involved. At the conclusion of day three of the Round Robin, participants were thanked for taking part.

#### Table 5

Response and prevention questions and probes

First, let's brainstorm and fill in some answers on our "what" category of the table:

- 1. What expectations need to change?
- 2. How do the expectations lead to behaviour?
- 3. Looking at our driver's pathway and expectations flipchart, what would be the most important expectation to change first?

Who should change? Let's think back to our discussion about everyone's different expectations:

- 1. Whose expectations should change first for prevention?
- 2. Why is it important that this happens first?
- 3. How easy will this be?
- 4. Which expectation should be changed second? {Go through the top 3-4 in order of the expectations that need to be changed)

# How?

- 1. Looking at our drivers pathway and our expectations flipchart, how should this change?
- 2. What specific activities or programmes might help this to change behaviors?

# Who can change?

- 1. Who will [group identified in "for whom" question] listen to?
- 2. Who is most effective at working with them?
- 3. Who do they listen to?
- 4. Is this the same person that you think should implement the specific activities or programmes listed in the "How" column?
  - a. If not the same people, ask, how can these people be engaged in the "how" [specific activities/programmes]?

# Data Recording, Analysis, and Dissemination

All the discussions over the three days were recorded at each table using a recording device. Additionally, the participatory techniques resulted in diagrams, timelines, and other written material that provided an additional written record of conversations. Audio recordings and flipcharts were collected, filed, and labelled throughout the Round Robin. Audio-

recordings were transcribed to provide a full record of what was discussed at each table at the Round Robin event. National facilitators additionally each filled in a report after every Round Robin session. For consistency, reports were completed according to a premade report template. The reports were an important means of synthesising findings. National facilitators also checked the quality of transcription and translation (where applicable) of each Round Robin session they moderated. The research team's extensive experience of qualitative research was drawn upon during data analysis. Thematic analysis was conducted to explore the main tenants of social norms theory to identify positive and negative norms, expectations, and beliefs, as well as reference groups. Findings were grouped into main themes and the frequency with which each theme came up and was discussed was analysed. Diagrams from the exercises were also analysed across groups to triangulate the main themes coming out of the data. The data was also analysed and explored by type of group and gender.

One innovative aspect of the Round Robin methodology is the approach that was taken to dissemination and knowledge exchange. After the data was collected and analysed, a validation event was held with policymakers and practitioners. Policy makers and practitioners had the opportunity to try out each of the participatory activities before the researchers shared the findings from the research with young people. This allowed the research team to compare and contrast the answers from the policymakers and practitioners' groups with those of the young people, which led to deeper discussions of the research and brainstorming on how to apply these findings into policy and practice.

# Strengths and Weaknesses of the Round Robin Methodology

The Round Robin has many methodological and practical strengths and a few weaknesses which we will address in this section. One of the frequent criticisms of participatory techniques is that they result in a dataset and subsequent analysis that lacks depth (Pain & Francis, 2003). The Round Robin methodology addresses this critique by taking an iterative approach to data collection, meaning each participatory technique in the Round Robin sessions builds on the last; this allows for participants to go deeper into specific topic areas through guided discussions and activities (Fry et al., 2016). During the research pilot in Zimbabwe, participants were able to go beyond surface level ideas and proximal risk factors to reveal the structural and institutional drivers of VAC which allow for its continuation. The Round Robin methodology generated complex and nuanced qualitative data, and through thematic analysis, new and novel drivers of violence were identified.

Another methodological strength of the Round Robin is its inherent flexibility and adaptability. By changing the names of individuals and communities in the participatory activities, they could be adapted to be site-specific and locally applicable. The Round Robin's adaptability is best illustrated by the fact that following the successful piloting of the research exploring social norms driving violence in Zimbabwe, the Round Robin was subsequently used in another Zimbabwe-based study on cash transfer programmes (*forthcoming*) and then again in Myanmar in a study investigating violence affecting children (McChesney & Fry, 2019). In addition, while the Round Robin methodology was designed specifically to address challenges in the field of violence research, it may also be adapted to address a range of other issues, particularly if the aim of the research is to uncover participants' perceptions or to generate contextual insights into what drives other social, health, or other issues. For example, the Round Robin methodology may be useful for investigating topics as diverse as pollution, unemployment, or mental health, to name but a few.

In addition, the large number of participants the Round Robin can accommodate is also a significant strength of the methodology, as qualitative data collection is often carried out one-on-one or in small groups and is therefore time consuming. The ability to involve upwards of

40 participants in research in a three-day period is undeniably appealing but should be carefully thought out in relation to available resources. It should be recognised that this scale of research requires careful prior logistical planning and benefits from the involvement of others beyond the research team. For example, in Zimbabwe we identified a focal person in each site, translators, and facilitators.

Researchers conducting data collection on their own may struggle to include a large number of participants without the help of focal persons, translators, and facilitators. The reliance on trained facilitators to run participatory activities is both a strength of this methodology and a potential challenge. It is not necessary that facilitators have prior research experience; in fact, it can be an ideal way of including less experienced individuals. That said, it is imperative to the research that facilitators are well trained and equipped as the probing questions elicit responses that add considerable depth to the data. However, involving and training facilitators may not be possible depending on timescales and budgetary considerations. Certainly, the Round Robin could be adapted to include just one or two focus groups. However, including multiple participant groups in several study locations is a strength of the methodology as it allows for triangulation of findings between the different groups in each study site, but also across different study locations. In this way, findings from the study are more robust and relevant to a broader audience of policymakers and practitioners.

Furthermore, an additional strong point of the Round Robin methodology is its inclusive approach to analysis. Using participatory techniques, participants are engaged in the process of data analysis, as the participatory techniques have the initial synthesis of data built into them. This results in a pre-organized dataset that makes it easier to conduct cross-group and cross-study site location analysis. For example, through individually and then collectively voting on the causes of child marriage in Zimbabwe, participants worked to take their own views, and compare and combine them with those of the peers in their groups. The listing and ranking of all four groups in Harare, for example, could then be compared with those in other study sites. Moreover, the Round Robin methodology is well suited for a team of less experienced researchers because much of the analysis is built into the activity itself. This allows for a timely and straightforward path from data collection to writing up and disseminating findings.

One of the difficulties of data collection with significant in-built data synthesis is that it is hard to differentiate between individual participants' responses during analysis, as diagramming activities often obscure individual voices and result in collaborative answers. The Round Robin methodology is not ideally suited for gathering in-depth accounts of individuals' experiences as it is hard to capture the views of individual participants in large group settings; as a result, some participants' voices may get lost in the process. That being said, for some activities, participants are given tasks to complete individually (for example, the listing and ranking activity where participants vote for what they personally see as the top three causes of a given social issue). Participants' individual votes are then compiled with others in their group to identify the top three responses overall. While some activities within the Round Robin sessions have inbuilt strategies for ensuring all individuals ideas are heard, the ability to include participants is in large part based on the skill of the facilitator or researcher. This is another reason facilitator training is an important stage in the Round Robin methodology. In addition, it should be noted that depending on the research questions, individual stories may be more or less important. In the case of the social norms research in Zimbabwe, to supplement the Round Robin data and ensure more in-depth individual accounts were captured, the Round Robin sessions were followed up with additional in-depth interviews with a selection of the Round Robin participants.

Practical challenges are too often overlooked in the planning and design of social research. However, for research to be successful, it first needs to be doable based on available

time and resources. The Round Robin methodology addresses several practical and logistical challenges which are particularly felt when researching in rural or remote settings. The threeday intensive model of data collection is a double-edged sword: on the one hand, the Round Robin model maximizes the time that researchers have with participants by gathering a large group of individuals from a broad geographical area over an intensive three-day period. In areas where people have significant commutes to the nearest town, day-long sessions make the most use of participants' time by engaging them in activities that generate a considerable amount of data. On the other hand, the long sessions may be tiring for participants, and it is crucial that ample breaks are provided to minimise fatigue. To address this challenge, it is beneficial to have a food budget and strong logistical team to arrange catering, which may not be possible for all research budgets. Additionally, day-long data collection sessions may not be convenient for certain demographic groups, particularly those with caring responsibilities. Finding childcare or aged care coverage for three whole days may place a financial burden on some participants. To combat this challenge, future researchers could factor in care compensation, like travel compensation as was done in this study, to ensure equal access to opportunities to participate in research are available for those with caring commitments. It should be noted that these challenges may vary based on socio-cultural context. In sum, the benefits of a three-day data collection model often outweigh the challenges, but this is a factor that must be considered carefully by future researchers.

The Round Robin also benefits from requiring only low-tech and often accessible materials. All the materials required to undertake the various participatory activities (for example, flipchart paper and markers) were readily available in Zimbabwe and are likely available or can be substituted for comparable materials in diverse socio-economic contexts worldwide. Lastly, the Round Robin methodology is highly visual and discussion-based and can thus be adapted to match the literacy levels of a diverse participant group.

Finally, one of the strengths of the research is the potential benefit to participants. The young people who took part in the Round Robin said they enjoyed participating. They specifically valued the opportunity to speak about issues such as sex and relationships in a safe setting. In addition, participatory approaches often serve as a vehicle for addressing social problems such as violence (Sullivan et al., 2005). In the case of this study, taking part in the researched helped raise awareness about the drivers of VAC among participants. For example, after taking part in the Round Robin sessions, many of the young people who participated wanted to continue to be involved in helping address VAC in their communities, so they signed up to share their views through U-report, a system of qualitative polling using an SMS-based software platform developed by UNICEF.

#### **Discussion**

The Round Robin methodology is a promising new way of researching structural and institutional level factors driving VAC. What makes the Round Robin methodology unique and useful for VAC research is the way in which questions are specifically and intentionally structured and sequenced. The Round Robin methodology sits within the participatory tradition and was inspired by the structure of the World Café. The Round Robin's innovation is exemplified by its comprehensive approach to facilitator training, the creation and use of iterative participatory techniques, and the considered utilisation of templates and facilitator reports to synthesise large amounts of complex qualitative data in a timely fashion.

Yet, the new methodology is not without its challenges: firstly, reliance on translators and facilitators to ensure rich data is collected from a large group of participants may not be feasible in some instances. In addition, long sessions may be tiring for participants and may not be convenient for those with caring commitments, and lastly, individuals' voices are

sometimes difficult to differentiate due to the in-built data synthesis of participatory activities. In the case of the social norms study in Zimbabwe, the strengths of the Round Robin methodology far outweighed the challenges. Namely, the iterative approach to data collection generated rich and nuanced data on drivers of violence not possible with alternative methodologies such as secondary analyses and systematic reviews. Furthermore, the day-long sessions were a benefit in rural and remote parts of the country where participants had to travel long distances to attend. The methodology is also highly flexible and could be adapted to the literacy levels of participants in different study sites. Practically, the Round Robin methodology also benefits from its reliance on low-tech and accessible materials for data collection. Lastly, the Round Robin had secondary benefits as it was enjoyed by many participants and was helpful as an awareness raising activity.

Researchers interested in using the Round Robin methodology now and in the future my face new challenges unforeseen when the pilot research was conducted in 2015. Namely, COVID-19 raised new challenges for research predicated on bringing large groups of people together. In future, researchers interested in using this approach may need to innovate further to ensure the safety of participants.

#### **Conclusion**

This article introduced the Round Robin methodology, a new qualitative methodology developed by the authors and piloted with young people in Zimbabwe, to understand the drives of violence affecting children. Inspired by Word Café, the Round Robin methodology combines tried and tested participatory techniques with bespoke new ones over the course of a three-day workshop in iterative rounds of data collection, resulting in a rich and nuanced data set. The Round Robin methodology is a significant innovation in the field of violence research as it facilitates knowledge production that goes beyond risk and protective factors to identify the structural and institutional drivers of violence affecting children. More broadly, the Round Robin is a highly adaptive methodology with potential for application not only in Zimbabwe, but in diverse contexts around the world in relation to innumerable complex social issues.

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