

Participatory Action Research:

Local causation of primary school drop-outs and exclusions in Kilimanjaro Region

This research forms part of the Mkombozi project:
**To provide appropriate education for
marginalised children in Tanzania**

Produced by:

Mkombozi Centre for Street Children

In partnership with:

Children in Crisis

Maarifa ni Ufunguo

PAMOJA Trust

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REPOA



Mkombozi...

is one of the leading child focussed agencies in northern Tanzania, working with over 1,000 vulnerable children and families a year in Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions.

We want a world where...

all children and youth are prioritised and can access opportunities to become well rounded, inquiring and productive people, who are working towards a more just and democratic society.

Mkombozi...

helps vulnerable children and youth to grow in mind, body and spirit and to build a more caring society for all.

We believe that...

we can promote social justice through participation and collaboration. We capture local potential through learning and reflection and act as a catalyst for holistic development.

Acknowledgements

Mkombozi is working to catalyse a national movement that prioritises children and young people. We are indebted to the numerous children and youth with whom we live and work and who inspire us to believe that the Tanzania of tomorrow will be a more just and democratic society. We thank the young people, teachers and parents in our research target schools, as well as the Mkombozi staff who collected the data that forms the basis of this report. Your dedication is a constant inspiration to - and reminder of our responsibilities to - harness children's potential. In addition, we thank Mkombozi's partner organisations, Children in Crisis, Pamoja Trust and Maarifa ni Ufunguo for their input into the wider project to which this research belongs, as well as the Big Lottery Fund and REPOA whose support enables us to carry out this work. Finally, we thank the District Education Authorities in Kilimanjaro Region who granted us permission to conduct this research and hope that together we will be able to use the findings from this paper to ensure that local Government and Civil Society work as partners in realising the Millennium Development Goals and those of the National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty.

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1.0 Executive Summary

Since the early 1990s Tanzania has witnessed a visible increase in the number of children living and working on the street. Mkombozi's research on child vulnerability in Kilimanjaro Region has shown how income poverty increases familial pressures, which can in turn result in frustration, domestic violence and alcoholism. This, in turn, exacerbates income and non-income poverty within the family. It is this cycle of poverty in its widest sense that serves to exclude families and children from traditional social support networks, and ultimately pushes children and youth to migrate from their homes to urban centres. Boys and girls who live and work on the streets are vulnerable to wide and extreme violations of their rights. They have difficulties accessing basic services and are verbally, physically and sexually abused. They are socially excluded, highly visible, mobile and increasing in number. They are unable to access basic services - including school - which generates additional problems and demands on already overstretched social services and the criminal justice system. As these children age, they run an increasing risk of HIV/AIDS and conflict with the law.

Given the current focus in Tanzania on implementing the National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty / Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini (NSGRP/ MKUKUTA) and developing pro-poor policies, it is vital that Government and Civil Society build a picture of the dynamics occurring amongst the most vulnerable groups in society. As such, the goal of the present research is to strengthen Tanzania's state school system to identify and assist children at risk of dropping out of school. Specifically, this research is a first step toward developing local school-based interventions that will prevent children from dropping out of schools in the Kilimanjaro Region, given the direct relationship that exists between exclusion from school and migration to the streets.

The fact is, despite MKUKUTA's aims to cater to the needs of vulnerable children, it is impossible to develop a relevant educational practice in the absence of a clear understanding of what makes certain children vulnerable and how such vulnerability manifests in their behaviour. Catering to children's needs with a broad brush and assuming that all vulnerable children have the same learning needs will not address the problems that cause children to drop-out of school. Interventions that support the most vulnerable families and young people need to recognise that stigmatisation has excluded these people from development processes. Social safety nets and child protection services, in particular, need to be equipped with the human capital to work with people who have been abused, are traumatised and often highly disillusioned with the state and voluntary services that exist.

The present study uses Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a tool for bringing about societal transformation and includes the active participation of school committees, teachers, students, District Education Offices and community. Following the process-oriented PAR approach, the community researchers will use the research findings to propose and initiate local level changes within the schools and community - changes that address the "push factors" driving children away from school. In this way, the action that results from the research will strengthen the community to support vulnerable children.

Overall, findings indicate that a fundamental problem is lack of clarity about the role of schools and education within Tanzania. The emphasis in recent years within policy making circles has been predominantly on increasing children's access to primary education without a concomitant emphasis on the quality of the education service. If teachers, school committees and community leaders are not equipped to conceptualise the problems facing children and young people and/or if support mechanisms are not developed to assist these actors, then there can be no concomitant improvement in the quality of education and any developmental progress that Tanzania may have made in the past decade will inevitably stall.

2.0 Background

2.1 Problem statement

Tanzania's state education system is under-performing and excludes a range of children, primarily those who are poor, those from difficult family backgrounds, and/or those who have special educational needs. Children in such circumstances are particularly at risk of non-enrolment, exclusion, truancy and dropping out from primary education. Fifteen percent of 117 street children interviewed in Arusha in April 2002 cited lack of access to education as a reason for running to the streets¹. Consider that, in 2003, 77% of Moshi's part-time street children and 69% of Arusha's part-time street children were not in school². Mkombozi's research shows there is a causal link between children who are out-of-school and migration to the streets.

There is a direct relationship between exclusion from school and migration to the streets.

In fact, Tanzania has witnessed a visible increase in the number of children living and working on the street since the early 1990s. In 2003, there were 259 full-time and 520 part-time street children in Moshi and Arusha³. A number of factors explain this, including a rapid population increase, an unresponsive employment market, an under-resourced education system, increased pressures on peasants and increasingly uneconomic smallholdings in the rural sector⁴. In turn, rural poverty impacts the family unit, especially marked by fathers leaving the family home in search of work and subsequent deepening of familial poverty. Then, to "rural push" is added "urban pull" - the streets are viewed by many as "paved with gold" (i.e. a definite means to acquisition of money and wealth). But, in reality, the burden of urban migration has resulted in squatter or "slum" settlements characterised by severe overcrowding, ill-health, poverty and violence. Caught in such circumstances, many children and young people (CYPs) inevitably turn to the streets as a primary means of survival.

Boys and girls who live and work on the streets are vulnerable to wide and extreme violations of their rights. They have difficulties accessing basic services and are verbally, physically and sexually abused. Few trust adults. Many perpetuate abuse on their weaker peers. Although these boys and girls may have a range of skills related to survival and informal income generation, these strengths remain unarticulated and unrecognised by mainstream society. This reality, combined with the fact that few street children have benefited from sustained formal education, means that CYPs on the street generally find it very difficult to earn money legally. As a result, many are forced into crime and confrontation with the general public, many seek temporary relief from their situation through substance abuse, and most ultimately become trapped in a cycle of poverty, violence and abuse.

2.2 Project overview

This research contributes to the broader project "To provide appropriate education to marginalised children in Tanzania" implemented by a partnership of three local Tanzanian NGOs: Mkombozi, Pamoja Trust and Maarifa ni Ufunguo. Specifically, this research is a necessary first step toward developing local school-based interventions that will prevent children from dropping out of schools in the Kilimanjaro Region, given the direct relationship that exists between exclusion from school and migration to the streets.

The objectives of the broader "appropriate education" project are:

1. To establish an inexpensive, transparent and user-friendly framework for integrating / mainstreaming out-of-school children into the state school system.
2. To strengthen the state school system to identify and assist children at risk of dropping out of school.
3. To achieve acceptance and legitimacy of complementary non-formal education for out-of-school children who cannot be mainstreamed into the state school system.

The research identifies the specific local factors that cause children to drop-out or be excluded from school in four target communities

DEFINITIONS:

Truant: A child who is enrolled in school, but only attends sporadically.

Drop-out: A child who has left primary school prior to completing Standard VII, either of his / her own accord or that of his / her caregivers.

School exclusion: A child who has been suspended or expelled or refused admittance to primary school by the school authorities.

Full-time street child: A child, who lives, sleeps, works and eats on the streets without adult supervision and care. UNICEF defines this sort of child as a child "of" the street.

Part-time street child: A child who comes to the street environment for part of the day, often to beg or to work as a vendor, and then returns home at night. UNICEF defines this sort of child as a child "on" the street.

in the Kilimanjaro Region. Specifically, the research focuses on 10 primary schools that were identified as those with the highest student drop-out rates within communities where social exclusion was prevalent.

The research process uses Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a tool for bringing about societal transformation and includes the active participation of school committees, teachers, students, District Education Offices and community. The implementation of the research recommendations will benefit the communities through a reduction in the number of school drop-outs, exclusions and truants - thereby furthering Tanzania's achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE).

Following the process-oriented PAR approach, the community researchers will use the research findings to propose and initiate local level changes within the schools and community - changes that address the "push factors" driving children away from school. In this way, the action that results from the research will strengthen the community to support vulnerable children.

Medium-term effects of the research and its subsequent action will include: a reduction in number of children coming to the streets from the target schools; improved attitude and practice amongst parents, teachers and target communities towards primary school enrolment and completion; increased teacher morale (as teachers learn new skills and children continue education for longer periods); and re-invigorated school committees that effectively oversee school attendance.

3.0 Context & Literature Review

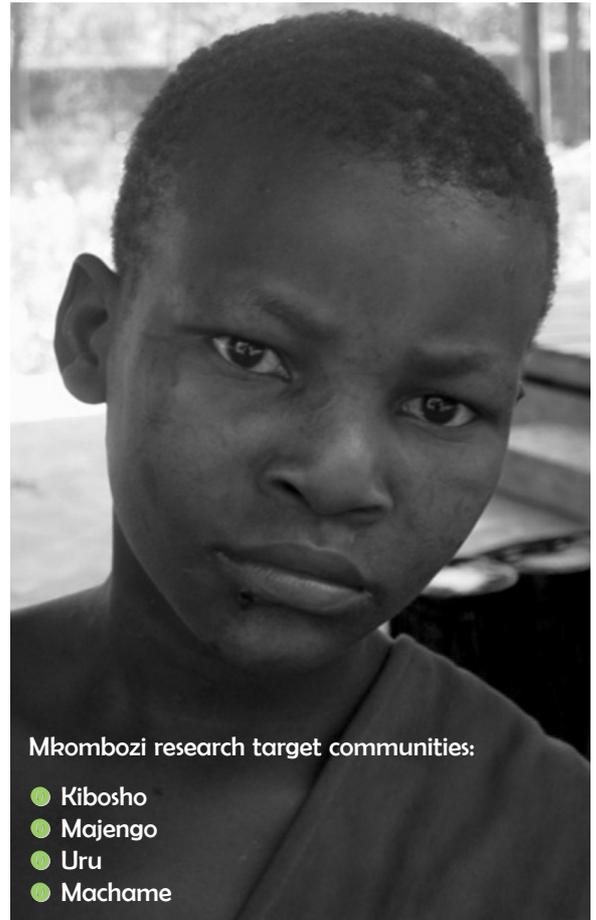
3.1 Policy context

The Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) 2000-2005 is the first outcome of Tanzania's Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP), and is a significant reform within the education sector. It is underpinned by comprehensive efforts to improve the quality of primary education, to increase access and equity for all children, and to decentralise management structures such that school authority is devolved to local levels. The PEDP policy makes the following statement, intended to ensure education access to all people, including the marginalised:

"Despite all efforts to make education accessible, certain groups of individuals and communities in society have not had equitable access to education. Some have not had access to this right due to their style of living, for example, hunter gatherers, fishermen and pastoralists, others on account of marginalisation, (e.g. orphans and street children), still others on account of their physical and mental disabilities, such as the blind, the deaf, the crippled and the mentally retarded. Therefore, Government shall promote and facilitate access to education to disadvantaged social and cultural groups; Government shall ensure that all primary school age children are enrolled and in full attendance."

The enrolment targets incorporated in the PEDP intend to expand enrolment from 1.5 million in 2002 to 1,065,843 in 2006. Additionally, PEDP aims to ensure that all girls and boys from disadvantaged groups (including AIDS orphans) are enrolled, but does not consider whether their learning needs can best be met by the formal school system. The PEDP does address education for out-of-school CYPs however, and recommends that Non-Formal Education (NFE) approaches are expanded through a variety of initiatives and providers in order to address the backlog of the unschooled young people in Tanzania. The expansion of NFE is supported by an Information Education Communication (IEC) campaign that: emphasises the importance of education for the future of individuals and society; encourages people to enroll in education programmes; and significantly reduces the likelihood of drop-outs.

The Government expects that local government authorities, individuals, non-government organisations (NGOs) and communities will participate in achieving PEDP's goals, particularly the establishment and development of various initiatives to ensure equitable access to primary education. To this end, the present research identifies the local causation of school drop-outs and harnesses local experience in developing models to increase marginalised children's access to quality primary education. The fact is there has been little research into the specific local situation of school enrolment and attendance. As such, this research will fill this gap with a view to capturing lessons learned for local (and where applicable, wider) application; thereby ensuring that the models developed to prevent exclusion from school are locally appropriate, viable and sustainable.



3.2 Economic context

In general, national poverty monitoring indicators rate the Kilimanjaro Region as performing better than many other regions in Tanzania:

- ① Life expectancy at birth is 62 years⁵.
- ① Mean household size in Kilimanjaro is 4.6 people as opposed to a staggering 6.9 in Kigoma⁶.
- ① Percentage of population living below the basic needs poverty line in Kilimanjaro is 31%, as opposed to 53% in Lindi and 48% in Mwanza⁷.
- ① 4% of children under the age of 5 in Kilimanjaro are severely malnourished, compared to 14.7% in Iringa⁸.

However, since the late 1990s, the effects of free market trade in coffee has had significant ill effects on the economy of the Kilimanjaro Region, resulting in an increase in poverty (a burden especially weighted on children). Farm gate prices for coffee in Kilimanjaro have dropped by 60% in five years (1995 - 2000), and they have continued to decline since this time. Moreover, coffee production has declined from an average of 17,000 tonnes in the early 1990s to 12,000 tonnes per year in 2000. The weak economic climate is exacerbated by the fact that farms are becoming smaller and are increasingly unproductive. The fact is that diversification of crops (away from coffee) is not occurring - there are limited employment opportunities (other than alcohol brewing) for the unskilled and unschooled, and there is limited information at the community level about the resources and service providers that do exist. The precarious economic situation for Kilimanjaro's coffee farmers provides a significant backdrop against which migration of CYPs to urban centres must be understood - certainly, community leaders and the parents of many street children attribute the urban migration of CYPs to income poverty and their search for employment.

**“Wachagga” or
“Chagga” are the
predominant tribe in
the Kilimanjaro
Region.**

Notably, the enduring legacies of widespread coffee production were to integrate the Kilimanjaro Region's Chagga tribe into the global capitalist economy, while simultaneously producing socio-economic inequalities. But, popular perceptions of the Chagga, both within and outside Tanzania, tend to focus on their relative affluence rather than their internal stratification. Indeed, the Chagga pride themselves on being a modern and internationally-oriented group of people within Tanzania⁹ with little acknowledgement of the signs of poverty. For instance, the region suffers from significantly high rates of young male out-migration¹⁰, and many of those who stay on the mountain are forced to eke out a living on plots less than one acre¹¹. Inevitably, expectation of a "better life" in urban areas acts as a catalyst for much Chagga child and youth migration to the towns of Moshi, Arusha and Dar es Salaam¹².

Finally, it should also be noted that the perception of poverty and the poor has changed within the communities of the Kilimanjaro and Arusha Regions; that is, there is a growing insinuation that poverty is caused by a deficit within the family concerned (i.e. that they are somehow to blame for it)¹³. Problematically, this misperception causes impatience and intolerance amongst local government authorities, schools and communities for the consequences of poverty amongst children and families.

3.3 Educational context

The Education Training Policy of 1995 explicitly states that the aim of education in Tanzania is to create a citizenry who are self-reliant and productive. The policy of Education for Self Reliance (ESR) was intended to complement the comprehensive rural development strategy by emphasising primary schooling for the masses rather than secondary and tertiary education for the elite¹⁴. However, years of under-investment in education (which can, in turn, be attributed to national poverty) resulted in almost 50% of school age children being out of school during the 1990s. Not only did thousands of poor children fail to access any sort of primary education during the 1990s, but their parents (many of whom would have been eligible for school in the 1980s) also missed formal education opportunities. There is little doubt that these people are Tanzania's "lost generation" and that the income poverty that many families now face can be attributed to their dismal educational background.

Interestingly, the Kilimanjaro Region is often cited as an "educational beacon" in Tanzania. This can be attributed to the fact that, in 2000, the region had 60 secondary schools (compared to a paltry 3 in Lindi and 5 in Mtwara) and 889 primary schools. Despite these numbers, there remain many issues relating to quality of education and lack of access amongst the most marginalised within the communities. In fact, since the abolition of school fees in 2001, the Net Enrolment Rate (NER) in Kilimanjaro increased, but truancy and school drop-outs remains a problem for all 10 target schools studied in this research. For example, approximately 50 students dropped out of Kibosho's Kombo Primary School in 2002. Kombo Primary also showed very poor performance on Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) - with only 8 passing out of 36 sitting for PSLE in 2002.

Varvus's interviews of community members in 2002 about the value of education revealed a rationale very different from the idea that it provides spiritual, physical and mental development - schooling simply kept children from becoming a financial burden on their parents¹⁵.

It is true that economic difficulties shape people's perceptions about the benefits of education, but with only 15% of Tanzanians receiving post-primary education¹⁶, a dismal educational experience neither satisfies educational goals nor creates opportunities for steady employment.

With respect to the present research, the critical relationship to be understood is the causal link between out-of-school status and migration to the streets. For example, according to Mkombozi's own research, 77% of Moshi's part-time street children and 69% of Arusha's part-time street children were not in school in 2003¹⁷. Moreover, 23% of children who attended Mkombozi's residential centre in 2002 claim that non-attendance or exclusion from school is a significant factor driving them to the streets. The question becomes: why are Kilimanjaro's children not attending / excluded from school?

Exclusion and low enrolment of students in primary school is often precipitated by the failure of families to pay school costs¹⁸. Within Tanzania, it has been determined that 3% of household expenditure goes to educational costs¹⁹. Although, since January 2002 there are no longer formal school fees, "contributions" and the costs of uniforms and school materials are still effectively compulsory, with household costs for education remaining an important barrier for the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE). Maarifa's follow-up to their cost sharing in education study (originally conducted in 2000) found that families still spend Tsh 4,000 - Tsh 5,000 (US\$4-5) per child a year on school contributions (for classroom maintenance, watchmen, water and school lunches) and additional indirect costs (such as uniforms and exercise books) amount to a minimum of Tsh 15,000 (US\$ 15) a year.

Under the PEDP, the Tanzanian Government's focus is on increasing school enrolment to cover the 3 million children under the age of 7 who had not been enrolled in 2000. There has been a parallel focus on building classrooms, but not necessarily equipping schools with text books, materials or the funds for additional teachers. Improved teacher practice is fundamental to ensuring that all children in school, whether newly enrolled or not, receive quality basic education: "Mere expansion of schooling facilities and getting children enrolled is not likely to get the poor out of the poverty trap"²⁰. For instance, classroom overcrowding leads to a one-hat-fits-all teaching approach - particularly neglectful of children with exceptional ability or children with special educational needs²¹. Unfortunately, In Service and Pre Service Training (INSET and PRESET) do not equip teachers to differentiate the learning content and teaching approach to the individual needs of children within the class, nor to "de-formalise" the formal system in order to make the entire educational experience more child-friendly.

Overall, PEDP has indeed increased enrolment, but it is doing so with the limitations of a generic approach - more specific measures are required with respect to what is happening within schools. The fact is that some schools (including several of those involved in the present research) can be classified as "dysfunctional", exhibiting high rates of teacher absenteeism, inadequate infrastructure and poor teacher-learner transactions. Such factors cause vulnerable children to drop out of school, or to simply not attend in the first place.

3.4 Familial context

Tanzania remains a strongly patriarchal society which lacks universal awareness and acceptance of the rights of children and women. In particular, children are considered to be of a "lesser status" and are expected to show due respect and deference to adults, they are not allowed to participate in decisions that affect them or to speak out / have opinions, and they are subjected to corporal punishment in schools. Despite the key role played by women in the family and communities, there is little awareness and acceptance of their equality to male counterparts. Against this backdrop, the rise of "the individual" (and fulfilment of individual needs) over that of the community have both exacerbated and been exacerbated by family breakdown (i.e. divorce, separation, death, single parenting, birth out of wedlock).

Notably, more than 75% of children at Mkombozi have been living with or have returned to live with extended family rather than with their parents. Problematically, families caring for children without adequate support systems are at higher risk of violating children's rights. In Tanzania, low awareness of the consequences of violence on children's development is combined with a culture where verbal and physical aggression is often accepted within the familial environment. It is possible on numerous occasions to observe hostile interactions towards children and youth in the name of building "respect" towards adults. These prevailing attitudes of non-intervention in cases of violence within the home, school and community are actually compounded by poor communication, poor conflict management, and a lack of resources for intervention. It is perhaps not surprising then that 13% of children on the streets in Arusha cite neglect and violence as reasons for coming to the streets²².

When 50% of a country is comprised of children and youth, it is common sense that national resources be equitably shared to respond to their needs. Children and youth need appropriate services that value them as the key source of potential for Tanzania's development.

4.0 Research Objectives

The overall goal of the present research is to strengthen Tanzania's state school system to identify and assist children at risk of dropping out of school. This will be achieved through the following research objectives:

1. To establish a current and accurate profile of the situation of child vulnerability in Mkombozi's target schools, including:

- ① the number of children within the target schools that are "at risk" of exclusion / dropping out;
- ① the mechanisms currently in place to support and assist these "at risk" children;
- ① the number of street children in Moshi and Arusha that have migrated from target communities.

2. To identify the factors that make a child vulnerable and thus "at risk" of exclusion / dropping out of school.

3. To assess teacher and school practice and whether school environments and teaching methodologies are conducive to learning.

We anticipate that the PAR process and the resultant societal transformation will benefit the communities in the following ways:

Immediate result:

- ① An 80% reduction in drop-outs, exclusions and truants in the target schools by the end of the project.

Medium-term effects and benefits:

- ① Reduction in the number of children on / migrating to the streets.
- ① Improved attitude and practice toward primary school enrolment and completion amongst parents, teachers and target communities.
- ① Increased teacher morale as they learn new skills and as children continue education for longer periods.
- ① Increased teacher understanding of alternative approaches to discipline and children's rights in daily practice.
- ① Re-invigorated school committees that effectively oversee school attendance.

Longer-term improvements and changes:

- ① Recapturing the spiritual, physical and mental potential of children and youth that is currently lost by school drop-out, truancy and exclusion.
- ① Reconnecting the target communities to their schools by increasing the communities' participation in school operation and by increasing the community's sense of school ownership.
- ① Reconfiguring the educational system to create a more socially relevant and child-friendly learning environment that is conducive to meeting the needs of all Tanzania's children, including those who are marginalised and/or vulnerable.



5.0 Methodology

5.1 Participatory Action Research (PAR)

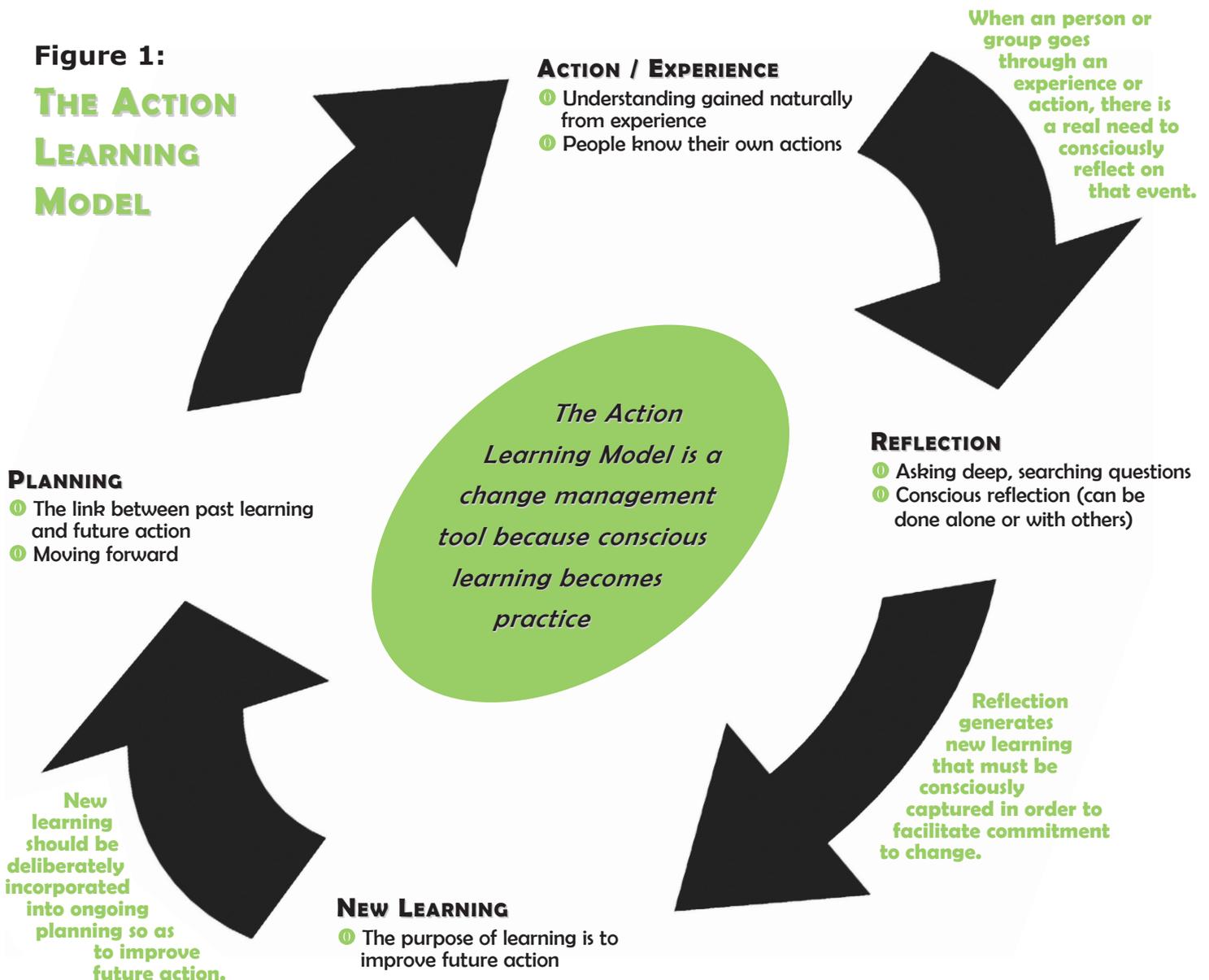
This research is based on the fundamental principle that the people best equipped to research, understand, explain and address any issue are those who experience it every day. Paulo Freire developed a theory of building critical awareness by using participatory approaches to put research findings into practice and, in so doing, to "break the culture of silence"²³. This process has been used extensively to build solidarity in people's movements. Its protagonists maintain that practitioners are more likely to make better decisions and engage in more effective practices if they are active participants in research.

PAR is closely allied with the "action learning model" - research that employs a process of action, reflection on action (to generate new learning and insights) and then a commitment amongst community actors to plan new action. A widely adopted version of action research views it as a spiral, or cyclical, process²⁴, depicted in Figure 1. This involves: planning a change, acting, then observing what happens following the change; reflecting on these processes and consequences; and then planning further action and repeating the cycle.

Mkombozi, Pamoja and Maarifa's mandate is to enable communities to transform their environments, and as such, we believe that the participatory nature of the present research will enable stakeholders to more easily internalise the research findings and to more readily build action upon it.

Figure 1:

THE ACTION LEARNING MODEL



"People are beings who transcend themselves - who move forward and look ahead...for whom looking at the past must only be a means of understanding more clearly what and who they are so that they can more wisely build the future." (Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed)

5.2 School selection

Research was focussed on 10 local primary schools - four in Moshi Municipality, four in Moshi Rural District and two in Hai District. The selection of the target schools was based on the combined experience of Pamoja and Mkombozi and recommendations from the respective District Education Offices. The main criteria for school selection was a large number of drop-outs and exclusions from the school. (One school with low drop-out rates was used as a control group in the hope that lessons of good practice can be captured and shared with the other target schools.) On this basis, the 10 specific schools selected by the project team were:

Moshi Municipality:

- ① Rau Primary
- ① Majengo Primary
- ① Pasua Primary
- ① Mwenge Primary

Moshi Rural District:

- ① Kombo Primary
- ① Kifumbu Primary
- ① Manushi juu Primary
- ① Mnini Primary

Hai District:

- ① Kibaoni Primary
- ① Lambo Extended Primary

Research also included Mpango kwa Elimu Maalum kwa Watoto waliokosa (MEMKWA) centres, introduced by the Tanzanian Government under the PEDP in 2002. MEMKWA is designed to cater to children who are not in the formal school system for various reasons, such as dropping out, truancy, exclusion, and/or non-enrolment. The MEMKWA program runs for 2 years, at the end of which a child is eligible to take Standard 4 or Standard 7 examination (depending on which class he/she attends). Children who pass the Standard 4 examination are mainstreamed into the formal school in Standard 5. Children who pass Standard 7 examination can be selected to join Government secondary schooling. Since 2004, the MEMKWA program has been introduced in all regions, and Government policy states that each ward is to have at least one MEMKWA centre.

Mkombozi's experience working with target schools to date shows that most children who are not in the formal school system are indeed absorbed into MEMKWA classes, and that these children must go through MEMKWA classes in order to be mainstreamed. Mkombozi's experience also shows that the children who study under MEMKWA are typically living in difficult circumstances and require special methods of teaching and handling when compared to children in the formal school system. This situation indicates that Mkombozi must incorporate MEMKWA into its programmatic focus, in order to learn how these centres operate and in order to ensure that they can provide appropriate education to vulnerable children. By working with MEMKWA centres, Mkombozi can also provide opportunities for MEMKWA teachers to gain skills in teaching these vulnerable children.

Since numerous MEMKWA centres have been established in Tanzania, it is important for Mkombozi to strategically select the centres with which it works. Specifically, Mkombozi intends to do year-by-year comparisons of children enrolled in each MEMKWA centre in order to assess educational needs and the support being provided to the children. As such, Mkombozi has decided on the following MEMKWA centre selection criteria:

- ① The centre should be within the Mkombozi target community;
- ① The centre should be associated with one of Mkombozi's 10 target schools (for budget purposes), or otherwise in an associated ward.

On the basis of these criteria, the Mkombozi Education Programme has selected the following MEMKWA centres:

District	Ward	Name Of The Centre	Location
Moshi Municipality	Bondeni	Mwenge	Mwenge Primary
	Majengo	Shaurimoyo	Shaurimoyo Primary
	Pasua	Mandela	Mandela Primary
	Rau	Rau	Rau Primary
Moshi Rural District	Mwasi kusini	Mnini	Mwasikusini Primary
	Kimanganuni	Kimanganuni	Kimanganuni Primary
	Kibosho mashariki	Manushi juu	Manushi juu Primary
	Kibosho mashariki	Kombo	Kombo Ward Office
Hai District	Machame mashariki	Narumu	Machame Narumu
	Hai mjini	Elerai	Elerai

5.3 Data collection and analysis

Methods employed for the collection and analysis of data included:

- ① Document and literature review.
- ① Focus groups, meetings and interviews held with parents, community leaders and District Education Officers (DEOs) as well as the staff, school committees and students in the target schools.
- ① Quantitative data collected from target schools with respect to school enrolment and drop-out figures and academic performance in Standard IV and VII exams.
- ① Mkombozi's census of street children, using complete enumeration and structured interviews of a systematic sample to provide both quantitative information about numbers of children on the street and qualitative information about the causation behind their migration.
- ① Structured observation by Mkombozi staff of classroom practice and teacher-student communication in a random sample of student-teacher interactions.

5.4 Research hypotheses

We hypothesise that various familial, educational and economic factors make a child at risk of dropping out of school. The research process tested these factors as follows:

At a **familial** level we:

- ① Assessed the current views held by the community about the importance of primary and secondary education in a child's life and the importance of sending children to school.
- ① Assessed community perceptions about whether children who do not live within the nuclear family (e.g. children living with single parents, children living with relatives, orphans) are at greater risk of not effectively participating (or not participating at all) in primary education.

At an **educational** level we tested:

- ① To what extent didactic teaching methodology, combined with limited resources (especially limited teaching materials), contribute to high drop-out rates or exclusion for children who are already "at risk"? (We examined this situation because of its particular impact on children who have been identified by the research team as having a number of attributes that make them "at risk" of dropping out of school, and/or those balancing on the brink of exclusion.)
- ① To what extent does school management contribute to high drop-out rates? Does the quality of relations between the school and the community (as manifested by open lines of communication, mutual support, etcetera) affect the rates of exclusion and drop-out?
- ① To what extent does corporal punishment push children to drop-out of school?

At an **economic** level we hypothesised that the indirect costs incurred by sending children to school inhibit school attendance and that children from families living with serious financial constraints are at greater risk of dropping out or exclusion from school. Specifically, we tested:

- ① To what extent is there a direct relationship between cash poverty within a family and community and school completion?
- ① Which costs inhibit a child's primary school attendance - the direct costs associated with the school, or the indirect costs of income lost by the child's learning instead of working?
- ① Do children tend to drop-out of school in Standard IV or VII, and is this tendency due to the additional tuition costs, a fear of failure, or some other factor?

Mkombozi Mnini Village Case Study:

Anthony Mtupili lives in Mnini village with his 8 children, none of whom have ever been to school. During a visit by the PAR school team and the village Executive Officer, Mr. Mtupili explained that he has no capacity for sending his children to school, and also that 2 of his daughters are pregnant, 2 perform domestic work in other families, and 2 dropped out of nursery school. The PAR team and the Mnini village government will work together to ensure that some (if not all) of Mafara's children start school.



6.0 Findings & Figures

Mkombozi's experience is that street children are at the far end of a spectrum of child vulnerability. They are the manifestation of poverty, neglect and abuse in communities. They are amongst the minority of children who think that life must have something better to offer than home. The present research provides an indicative picture of the scale of vulnerability as manifested by:

- ① children in the target communities whom teachers consider to be at risk;
- ① numbers of truants and drop-outs from the research schools;
- ① findings of Mkombozi's census which demonstrate how many children from the target communities were on the streets of Moshi and Arusha in 2005.

6.1 Children within the target schools who are "at risk"

Table 1: Number of children demonstrating multiple risk factors

Lambo Extended		Manushi Juu		Pasua	
# of risk factors	# of children demonstrating	# of risk factors	# of children demonstrating	# of risk factors	# of children demonstrating
2	10	2	11	2	56
3	11	3	11	3	16
4	3	4	4	4	2
5	5	5	2	5	1
6	3	6	2	6	0
7	1	7	0	7	0

Table 2: Risk factors at Manushi juu School

Risk Factors	Number Of Children In Each Class Demonstrating Risk Factors										
	60	40	31	60	56	30	45	18	30	30	60
Class Size	Std 1 A	Std 1 B	Std II A	Std II B	Std III A	Std III B	IV A	IV B	V A	V B	VI A
Poor relationship between parents / guardians and the school	2	0	3	0	6	0	1	1	5	0	6
Child is distracted and disinterested in school	2	1	6	0	2	0	2	2	2	0	3
Child working outside school (child labour)	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	1
Child is regularly punished in school	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents are drinking excessively	4	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
Suspicion of domestic violence or abuse in child's home	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child lacks school uniform and other costs	1	3	6	0	3	2	4	2	0	2	1
Parent / guardian not following up on child's school progress	7	1	6	1	9	0	7	1	6	1	9
Total	17	6	32	1	25	2	16	6	17	3	20
Percentage of students in each class who demonstrate at least one risk factor (and often more)	28%	15%	103%	2%	45%	7%	36%	33%	57%	10%	33%



Mkombozi Manushi juu Case Study:

The PAR team discovered that Kulwa Mani, a Standard V pupil at Manushi juu Primary, was a serious truant and that he sometimes lives with his mother and step father, and at other times with his grandfather. During a home visit, the PAR team learned that Kulwa was not coming to school because his parents were forcing him to work in the farms during the day, very far from home. The PAR team has intervened to ensure that Kulwa is attending school and that he is not sent to the farms during school times.

Table 3: Risk factors at Lambo Extended School

Risk Factors	Number Of Children In Each Class Demonstrating Risk Factors									
	65	85	53	69	60	61	48	42	49	53
Class Size	Std I A&B	Std II A&B	Std III A	Std III B	IV A	IV B	Std V	VI A	VI B	VII
Poor relationship between parents / guardians and the school	0	17	10	2	2	0	1	0	0	1
Child is distracted and disinterested in school	0	3	5	0	2	1	0	0	2	2
Child working outside school (child labour)	0	1	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	2
Child is regularly punished in school	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Parents are drinking excessively	1	2	3	2	2	1	0	1	1	1
Suspicion of domestic violence or abuse in child's home	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Child lacks school uniform and other costs	1	4	14	2	2	4	2	9	3	1
Parent / guardian not following up on child's school progress	60	17	7	2	60	4	38	18	8	2
Total	62	44	45	10	70	10	43	30	14	10
Percentage of students in each class who demonstrate at least one risk factor (and often more)	95%	52%	85%	14%	117%	16%	90%	71%	29%	19%

“Lack of money increases vulnerability to illness, substance abuse and familial conflict.”

Table 4: Risk factors at Pasua School

Risk Factors	Number Of Children In Each Class Demonstrating Risk Factors													
	81	76	72	76	78	80	90	88	67	72	64	59	46	43
Class Size	Std I A	Std I B	Std II A	Std II B	Std III A	Std III B	IV A	IV B	V A	V B	VI A	VI B	VII A	VII B
Poor relationship between parents / guardians and the school	23	8	10	14	0	1	0	2	3	0	7	6	0	0
Child is distracted and disinterested in school	0	0	5	0	10	4	3	1	5	2	3	4	0	0
Child working outside school (child labour)	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	4	2	0	5	1	0
Child is regularly punished in school	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Parents are drinking excessively	0	4	9	9	0	0	1	0	1	3	12	8	0	0
Suspicion of domestic violence or abuse in child's home	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Child lacks school uniform and other costs	18	3	12	18	18	4	5	1	0	27	12	7	3	1
Parent / guardian not following up on child's school progress	39	40	32	64	78	42	8	3	36	62	61	22	14	42
Total	80	55	69	105	109	52	20	8	51	96	95	56	18	43
Percentage of students in each class who demonstrate at least one risk factor (and often more)	99%	72%	96%	138%	140%	65%	22%	9%	76%	133%	148%	95%	39%	100%

Table 5: Total students demonstrating risk factors

	Lambo		Pasua School		Manushi Juu	
	# of students	% of school population	# of students	% of school population	# of students	% of school population
Poor relationship between parents / guardians and the school	33	6%	74	7%	24	5%
Child is distracted / disinterested in school	15	3%	37	4%	20	4%
Child working outside school (child labour)	11	2%	18	2%	10	2%
Child is regularly punished in school	6	1%	4	0%	3	1%
Parents are drinking excessively	14	2%	47	5%	10	2%
Suspicion of domestic violence or abuse in child's home	1	0%	5	1%	6	1%
Child lacks school uniform and other costs	42	7%	129	13%	24	5%
Parent / guardian not following up on child's school progress	219	37%	543	55%	48	10%

6.2 Target school truancy and drop-outs

Table 6: Number of female truants and drop-outs

**Drop-outs:
Female**

School	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Kibaoni	0	0	0	2	0	0
Kifumbu	1	3	6	7	0	12
Kombo	2	7	29	9	2	4
Lambo Extended	0	0	0	0	0	7
Majengo	15	26	41	8	5	12
Manushi Juu	3	4	0	4	0	2
Mnini	11	2	7	11	12	0
Mwenge	16	15	12	5	0	0
Pasua	2	1	1	2	1	28
Rau	1	1	0	2	1	8
Total	51	59	96	50	21	73

**Truancy:
Female**

School	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Kibaoni	21	19	13	22	22	9
Kifumbu	10	11	12	14	32	20
Kombo	0	4	53	22	9	38
Lambo Extended	19	15	14	16	16	41
Majengo	42	25	47	27	21	8
Manushi Juu	19	24	18	15	10	32
Mnini	24	23	24	22	11	2
Mwenge	15	15	13	10	0	4
Pasua	11	10	12	2	6	43
Rau	23	6	6	20	8	26
Total	184	152	212	170	135	223

Table 7: Number of male truants and drop-outs

**Drop-outs:
Male**

School	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Kibaoni	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kifumbu	3	7	4	2	0	14
Kombo	2	7	31	16	2	7
Lambo Extended	0	0	0	0	0	6
Majengo	22	34	34	9	7	18
Manushi Juu	5	6	1	4	0	4
Mnini	15	4	12	10	16	0
Mwenge	15	16	14	10	0	2
Pasua	4	7	7	4	4	43
Rau	2	0	0	3	4	12
Total	68	81	103	59	33	106

**Truancy:
Male**

School	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Kibaoni	21	24	12	20	23	9
Kifumbu	11	48	18	18	38	35
Kombo	0	5	70	22	10	46
Lambo Extended	20	18	14	16	7	48
Majengo	43	27	36	24	17	16
Manushi Juu	12	19	22	22	21	39
Mnini	28	39	37	42	15	9
Mwenge	16	16	14	8	0	9
Pasua	21	23	21	21	26	62
Rau	30	11	5	23	15	19
Total	202	230	249	216	172	292

6.3 Child migration to the streets from target communities²⁵

Table 8: Number of street CYPs in Arusha & Moshi

	Moshi	Arusha	Moshi	Arusha	Moshi	Arusha	Moshi	Arusha	Moshi	Arusha	Moshi	Arusha
	2003	2003	2005	2005	2003	2003	2005	2005	2003	2003	2005	2005
	Female				Male				Totals			
Part-time street child	29	35	39	91	195	262	262	431	224	296	301	522
Full-time street child	1	10	13	54	63	185	156	300	64	195	169	354
Other children	37	14	83	151	132	158	406	414	169	172	489	565
Totals	67	59	135	296	390	604	824	1145	457	663	959	1441

Table 9: Children from the target communities spending time on the streets (2003 & 2005)

Target areas	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005
	Full-time street children	Full-time street children	Part-time street children	Part-time street children	Other children interviewed	Other children interviewed
Kibosho-Kombo		6		17		10
Kibosho-Manushi		6		14		5
Umbwe-Sinde		5		15		3
Sub-total Kibosho	31	17	55	46	23	18
Lyamungo-Kati		4		4		1
Sub-total: Hai	9	4	17	4	10	1
Majengo-Arabika		7		9		21
Majengo-Makange		1		1		12
Majengo-Miembeni		13		14		31
Majengo-Mjimwema		6		7		12
Majengo-Shaurimoyo		4		14		43
Majengo-Sokoni		13		21		28
Sub-total: Majengo	9	44	14	66	28	147
Uru-Kimanganuni		2		6		7
Uru-Okaseni		5		2		5
Uru-Rau		8		13		19
Sub-total: Uru	16	15	44	21	16	31
Totals	65	80	130	137	77	197



Mkombozi Lambo Extended Case Study:

Farida is a student at Lambo Extended Primary School. In 2005, she was expected to sit for Standard VII examinations. However, the PAR school team discovered that Farida had stopped attending school in the middle of the year. When the PAR team made a visit to Farida's family, they asked the mother about Farida's truancy. Farida's mother didn't show any concern and explained that Farida's situation is not the business of the PAR team. By following up with neighbouring families, the PAR team discovered that Farida was actually helping her mother to sell brew at home during school times. Consequently, the PAR team discussed the case with the School Development Officer - it was agreed to involve the village government in Farida's case, and further, if this action fails, to take the case to the District Office. After the PAR team ensured Farida's family understood the consequences of Farida's continued truancy and employment during the school day, Farida's mother and step father apologised to the PAR team and promised to give maximum cooperation to ensure that Farida completes her education. Notably, Farida's entire village now knows what happened to Farida's family and they admit they are motivated to ensure that the same situation does not happen in their own homes.

6.4 School attendance by part-time street children and other children

Table 10: Children's school attendance in Moshi (2003 & 2005)

Age	In school	Part-time street children				Other children interviewed			
		2003		2005		2003		2005	
0-4	No	1	0.45%	0	0%	0	0%	6	1.23%
5-9	No	12	5.38%	5	1.66%	1	0.59%	13	2.66%
10-14	No	51	2.87%	22	7.31%	17	10.06%	31	6.34%
15-19	No	105	47.09%	123	40.86%	23	13.61%	77	15.75%
20-24	No	3	1.35%	79	26.25%	0	0%	43	8.79%
25 and above	No	-	-	23	7.64%	-	-	7	1.43%
0-4	Yes	-	-	0	0%	-	-	5	1.02%
5-9	Yes	0	0%	2	0.66%	1	0.59%	77	15.75%
10-14	Yes	9	4.04%	22	7.31%	24	14.20%	142	20.04%
15-19	Yes	28	12.56%	22	7.31%	83	49.11%	75	15.34%
20-24	Yes	14	6.28%	3	1.00%	20	11.83%	13	2.66%
	Totals:	223	100%	301	100%	169	100%	489	100%

Table 11: Children's school attendance in Arusha (2003 & 2005)

Age	In school	Part-time street children				Other children interviewed			
		2003		2005		2003		2005	
0-4	No	-	-	1	0.19%	-	1.74%	5	0.88%
5-9	No	2	0.68%	8	1.53%	3	24.42%	21	3.72%
10-14	No	72	24.32%	82	15.71%	42	13.95%	42	7.43%
15-19	No	130	43.92%	179	34.29%	24	0%	60	10.62%
20-24	No	1	0.34%	75	14.37%	0	0.58%	17	3.01%
25 and above	No	-	-	17	3.26%	-	-	4	0.71%
0-4	Yes	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.58%	7	1.24%
5-9	Yes	9	3.04%	10	1.92%	16	9.30%	95	16.81%
10-14	Yes	51	17.23%	91	17.43%	63	36.63%	207	36.64%
15-19	Yes	31	10.47%	50	9.58%	23	13.37%	100	17.70%
20-24	Yes	-	-	4	0.77%	-	-	7	1.24%
25 and above	Yes	-	-	5	0.96%	-	-	0	0%
	Totals:	296	100%	522	100%	172	100%	565	100%

7.0 Discussion & Analysis

Since the early 1990s Tanzania has witnessed a visible increase in the number of children living and working on the street. A census conducted by Mkombozi in 2003 identified 259 full-time and 520 part-time street children in Moshi and Arusha towns. 5% of these children came from Machame, 17% from Kibosho, 5% from Majengo and 11% from Uru.

Once in town these children often end up homeless, either spending part of the day on the streets or living there full-time with no adult caregivers. Boys and girls who live and work on the streets are vulnerable to wide and extreme violations of their rights. Many girls and boys are pressurised by circumstances and people into prostitution, facing both physical and mental violence and running a high risk of HIV/AIDS infection. Street children face sexual, physical and verbal abuse. They often run to the streets in the first place to avoid this abuse, but once there they face more violence; frequently perpetuating the cycle by mistreating their weaker peers. Mkombozi has increasingly recorded incidents of street children using glue and prescription drugs to blot out the emotional and physical pain of their daily lives.

Boys spend longer on the street, whereas girls are picked up quickly by pimps or other dealers to sell on for domestic service, or are used to push drugs. Although these boys and girls may have a range of skills related to survival and informal income generation, these strengths remain unarticulated and unrecognised by mainstream society. This combined with the fact that few of them have benefited from sustained formal education means that these children generally find it very difficult to earn money legally. Faced with this situation, many are forced into crime and confrontation with the general public. Round-ups of street children by the police and Municipal Council violate their rights to protection. All street children struggle to access food, safety and opportunities to disengage from street life. They become trapped in a cycle of poverty, violence and abuse.

As previously noted, the specific research objectives of the present study are:

- ① To establish a current and accurate profile of the situation of child vulnerability in Mkombozi's target schools.
- ① To identify the factors that make a child vulnerable and thus "at risk" of exclusion / dropping out-of-school.
- ① To assess teacher and school practice and whether school environments and teaching methodologies are conducive to learning.

In this section, discussion and analysis of findings examines each of the research objectives in turn.

7.1 What is the current profile of "child vulnerability" in the target schools?

Children "at risk" within the target schools:

In three schools, class teachers²⁶ were asked to fill in a research tool for each child, indicating whether or not that child demonstrated any of the specific behaviours or traits indicated. The behaviours/traits are "risk factors" which identify children who may be at risk of truancy, dropping out or exclusion from school, and thus, children who may ultimately be at risk of migration to the streets.

Specifically, these risk factors are:

- ① Poor relationship between parents / guardians and the school;
- ① Child is distracted and disinterested in school;
- ① Child working outside school (child labour);
- ① Child is regularly punished in school;
- ① Parents are drinking excessively;
- ① Suspicion of domestic violence or abuse in child's home;
- ① Child lacks school uniform and other costs;
- ① Parent / guardian not following up on child's school progress.

The three schools chosen for this risk factors study were Lambo Extended, Pasua Primary and Manushi juu, each selected for specific reasons. For instance, Lambo Extended Primary in Hai District was selected because the school research teams have identified issues of child labour and truancy as children work in the nearby coffee plantation. Pasua Primary School in Moshi Urban was selected because the growing migrant settlement surrounding the school may be impacting on the number of truants and school drop-outs. Finally, Manushi juu School in Moshi Rural District was selected because the research teams were concerned about wide ranging and complex difficulties within the school and community that they felt would contribute to child vulnerability.

Overall, it appears that there is a relatively small, but significant, number of children in each class who demonstrate multiple risk factors. Children showing more than two risk factors would indicate that they are especially at risk and need immediate assistance. The teachers are quite clearly able to identify these children, although it is unclear what procedures are in place within schools to link these children to child protection services or other assistance.

The second notable finding is that parents routinely fail to follow up their children's progress at school. Incredibly, in Standard I (the first year of school) at Lambo Extended, 92% of parents are not supervising their child's school attendance or performance; and in Standard IV A, 100% of parents are neglecting to do so. However, there is a notable variance within the school: in Standard III B, all but 2.8% of parents are taking an active and visible interest in their children; similarly, in Standard VII, 96% of parents are following up attendance and progress. At Pasua Primary, none of the parents are following up their children's progress in Standard I A&B and Standard III A. In both Standard II A and Standard IV A, 86% of parents are failing to supervise their children's attendance and progress. In contrast, at Manushi juu, parents are either better at following up their children (since only 11-16% of parents throughout the school do not uphold this parental responsibility) or class teachers do not consider non-supervision to be a problem.

Overall, the sheer numbers of students whose parents are not following up school progress is quite staggering - 55% in Pasua and 37% in Lambo - a combined total of 267 children in just 2 schools. But, with respect to the present discussion, an important implication arises from the disparity in parental monitoring that exists between classes within Lambo Extended - such disparity indicates that parents do become more involved and proactive if a teacher expresses their expectation to parents that they follow-up their children, and/or if teacher-parent relationships are positive.

Consider also the interesting phenomena revealed within individual classes or schools. For example, in Lambo Extended, none of the Standard VI B girls demonstrated any risk factors, and at Manushi juu, none of the Standard II B girls or boys demonstrated any risk factors. Additionally, there is a trend in demonstration of risk factors where one class has been divided into groups of A and B - that is, one group tends to demonstrate significantly more risk factors than its counterpart class. Is this an indicator that when the classes were split teachers placed "vulnerable" or "needy" (as they may be perceived to be by teachers) children in one group and "easier" children in the other? Or is this a reflection of the individual teacher's knowledge of and relationship with the students in their class?

Importantly, it would be inappropriate to rate these risk factors in terms of one being more or less "risky", since they tend to manifest in multiples; that is, a child suspected to be a victim of domestic violence also tends to have parents who are drinking excessively and are uninvolved in their school progress. However, by numbers alone, it is worrying that (in all three schools) teachers indicate 5 to 7% of parents have a poor relationship with the school, and 3 to 4% of children are distracted and disinterested in school. In Mkombozi's experience, both of these factors could indicate neglect and abuse of a child, and both factors are especially worrying when considered in combination with an overall rate of 2 to 5% of parents drinking excessively²⁷.

Mechanisms currently in place to offer these children assistance:

During mapping exercises with students, school committee members, local leaders and staff from Kibaoni primary it became evident that all shared knowledge of where vulnerable children lived and where truants from school spend their time. They were also able to map where possible sources of assistance existed, such as government offices, the mosque, churches and NGOs. However, what clearly emerged is that these bodies are only asked for help on an adhoc basis and are not being used systematically to tailor their support to vulnerable children and families, nor are their clear procedures in place for people to access their services.

Migration from Mkombozi's target communities:

One of the aims of Mkombozi's recent census exercise²⁸ is to evaluate whether Mkombozi's work in 4 target communities is having an impact on reducing the number of children coming to the streets from those areas. In general, results indicate that our community-based work is contributing to a reduction in child vulnerability in these communities, as manifested by children leaving the village to come to the streets. More specifically, although numbers of children coming to the streets from Kibosho and Hai have reduced significantly over the 18 month period, actual numbers of children continue to be high, with 137 part-time street children and 80 full-time from these communities on the streets. In fact, there has been a specific and dramatic increase in the number of children migrating from Majengo (an urban suburb close to Moshi) to the streets in Moshi; specifically, there has been a four-fold increase in full-time and part-time street children migrating from this community. Disturbingly, the discovery of a paedophile ring in Majengo - which is paying children for sex and paying them a bonus if they bring a friend - is a possible cause of school truancy and eventual migration to the streets.

School attendance by part-time street children (and others):

The Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) for Kilimanjaro Region is 85.9% for males and 80.5% for females. In Arusha it is a worrying 57.6% for males and 79.63% for females²⁹. Despite the many efforts made under the PEDP to achieve UPE, these results demonstrate that further and extensive efforts need to be made by the authorities to get children into, and attending, school. Despite the progress in abolishing school fees that has been made over the past few years, the numbers of out-of-school children have increased significantly across both towns. Note also the number of children and youth over the age of 14 who are not attending any form of education, whether primary, secondary or further (352 in Arusha and also in Moshi). There is a tendency to blame these young people for loitering on the streets, but given the lack of alternative ways for them to spend their time - no community centres, no leisure opportunities, no free education, no youth employment schemes - their options are severely limited.

7.2 What factors make a child vulnerable and thus "at risk" of exclusion / dropping out?

There are a myriad of complex and interconnecting factors within schools and communities that make children at risk of dropping out or exclusion from education. As depicted in Figure 2 (see page 21), these factors can be categorised according to whether they relate to people's knowledge, their attitudes and their practices - categories which affect and interact with each other. These factors must also be further understood to include immediate, underlying and structural causes. This means that the (apparent) immediate reason that a child is not in school (e.g. distraction and disinterest) has actually been influenced by an underlying cause (e.g. psychological trauma, which is not accommodated within the school's practice) and a structural cause (e.g. HIV/AIDS pandemic resulting in a massive increase in orphans and vulnerable children).

In this section, it will be shown how structural and underlying factors in Tanzania and communities in Kilimanjaro have an immediate effect on children - causing them to be vulnerable and thus at risk of dropping out or exclusion from primary school.

Structural factors that make a child at risk:

National poverty monitoring indicators rate Kilimanjaro Region as performing better than many other regions in Tanzania:

- ① Life expectancy at birth is 62 years - the highest in the country³⁰.
- ① Mean household size in the region is 4.6 people, as opposed to 6.9 in Kigoma³¹.
- ① The percentage of population living below the basic needs poverty line in Kilimanjaro is 31%, compared to 53% in Lindi and 48% in Mwanza³².
- ① 4% of children who are under 5 years are severely malnourished, compared to 14.7% in Iringa³³.
- ① The Net Primary School Enrolment ratio for the region in was 81% in 2003, compared to 44% in Lindi and 48% in Kigoma³⁴.

However, conditions for farmers have become precarious since the coffee price crashes in the 1970s and the withdrawal of state and donor support to Tanzania's marketing cooperatives (associated with the liberalisation of trade and structural adjustment) during the 1990s³⁵. In Hai District, council records show that coffee production fell by over 50%, from an estimated 5,889 tonnes in 1976 to 2,855 tonnes in 1990³⁶. From 1996 to 2002, the price that farmers receive for their crop fell by 50% (i.e. from Tsh 1,200 to Tsh 450 per kilogram)³⁷. The international fall in coffee prices had a significant negative impact on smallholders, whilst the collapse of the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) as a source of loans for inputs has resulted in farmers failing to replant coffee trees. Now that the international price of coffee is starting to increase, smallholders do not have sufficient coffee trees to enable them to participate in the market.

Coffee production

signalled the emergence

of pockets of poverty. These

pockets deepened

over time.

The precarious economic situation for Kilimanjaro's coffee farmers provides a significant backdrop against which the non-attendance of children in primary schools must be evaluated. As one farmer put it: "What has happened to the price of coffee is a disaster. Years back, when coffee prices were good, we could afford to send our children to school. Now we are taking our children out-of-school because we cannot afford the fees"³⁸.

Community members from Kibaoni, Rau, Mnini, Kombo, Manushi juu and Majengo schools cite poverty as a major factor that excludes children from school. They explained how parents' inability to obtain employment meant that they could not meet their basic needs and so were forced to use their children to engage in small income generating activities. Specifically, they mentioned children are often sent to gather scrap metal for sale and are kept busy roasting and selling maize.

Additionally, community members in Kombo believe that children run to the streets to look for work - in fact, this is verified by Mkombozi's Census of street children in 2003 which demonstrated that there were 31 full-time and 55 part-time street children in Arusha and Moshi from Kibosho. At Mnini School, teachers and students explained that children are driven by hunger to scrounge for food at the market and/or to sell alcohol or drugs. In Kibosho and Machame, the proximity of large coffee plantations is cited as an immediate reason why children are out-of-school - many actually work harvesting coffee.

There is a high population density in Kilimanjaro region³⁹, and the scarcity of land and scramble for what is available is being experienced day after day. Cultivation and housing is particularly dense in the highland zones of the mountain (with a cultivation rate of 98%) - on average, each household has 0.66 hectares⁴⁰. Moreover, environmental degradation is increasing due to poor farm management and the failure to use soil erosion control methods. The experience of land limitation is the factor which mostly contributes to the movement of people out of the region⁴¹.

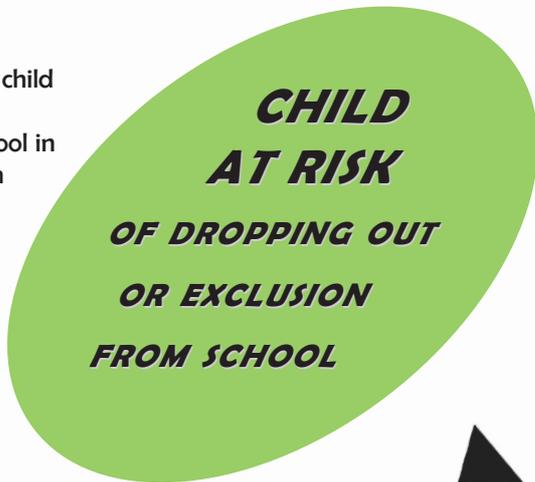
Figure 2: IMMEDIATE, UNDERLYING & STRUCTURAL FACTORS THAT MAKE A CHILD AT RISK OF SCHOOL DROP-OUT

ATTITUDES

- ① Adults do not value education (Underlying)
- ① Value and aspiration conflict between students and teachers, within the teaching body and between teachers and parents (Underlying)
- ① Many adults believe that children need to be disciplined because they are naturally disobedient (Underlying)
- ① Female frustration and subsequent neglect of children (Underlying)
- ① Female marginalisation (Underlying)
- ① Attitude towards poverty and tolerance of the poor has reduced (Underlying)
- ① Community disempowerment / apathy (Underlying)
- ① Absence of social support networks and child protection agencies (Immediate)
- ① Lack of clarity about the role of the school in the community affecting relations between teachers and parents (Immediate)

KNOWLEDGE

- ① People do not know how to enroll child in school / MEMKWA (Immediate)
- ① People do not know that school attendance is compulsory (Immediate)
- ① School committees do not know how to support at risk children (Immediate)



PRACTICES

- ① Male out-migration to urban centres in search of work (Structural)
- ① Poverty (Structural)
- ① Population pressure (Structural)
- ① OVCs and children living with grandparents and single mothers (Underlying)
- ① Birth out of wedlock (Underlying)
- ① Adult drunkenness (Underlying)
- ① Children with bereavement and psychological trauma are not accommodated within the school's practice (Underlying)
- ① Child labour in plantations (Immediate)
- ① No practice in primary education, no values linked to methodology (subject-oriented versus competency) (Immediate)
- ① School facilities and teaching approach fail to engage children (Immediate)
- ① Students distracted and disinterested in school (Immediate)
- ① Rapid change in school management, raising issues of capacity (Immediate)
- ① Lack of school costs and uniforms (immediate)
- ① Inability to follow-up and support child (immediate)
- ① Corporal punishment and verbal harassment (immediate)

Notably, the Chagga tribe of Kilimanjaro is uniquely renowned for its entrepreneurial culture. One of the primary strategies that the Chagga undertake in response to income poverty is to leave the region and look for work in towns. The 1988 census revealed that 124,383 more people moved out of the region between 1978 and 1988 than moved into the region⁴². The Chagga identify themselves as a tribe that takes advantage of business opportunities wherever they may be. This has the following results: a significant increase in the number of youths migrating to the streets; and, a distortion of community structures in the rural villages of Kilimanjaro.

With respect to the second point, consider that dependents constitute 52.3% of the population, but only 46.9% are economically active⁴³. This distortion of the community's social fabric exacerbates income poverty and (perhaps more importantly) it exacerbates the non-income forms of poverty that the cause social exclusion of children and young people in the region.

Recent studies of poverty, including the World Bank's "Voices of the Poor", have emphasised that poverty is not just a lack of income, it is the experience of multiple forms of vulnerability including (but not limited to) exposure to violence and unlawful activities, poverty of expectations and inability to access services.

During consultations for the Review of the National Poverty Reduction Strategy⁴⁴, street children and youth argued that poverty is about much more than income. They explained that income poverty in isolation did not push them to the streets; if they had been living in a poor, but loving household they would not have run away. Although lack of money and resources within the family is a factor in pushing children to the streets, it is the non-income forms of poverty that give children the final impetus to leave. Children explained that it was a concurrence of factors that forced them out of the family home, including: a lack of basic needs; family conflict; exclusion from support services and school; and marginalisation within the home environment because of their youth. The fact is that Tanzania's children are marginalised by society because of gender and age. This means they are victims of poverty in the present, and (most likely) victims of poverty in the future - many will be handicapped by their childhood experiences and therefore prevented from fully contributing to society as productive adults⁴⁵.

With respect to the cycle of poverty, community members contacted in the present study explained that income poverty is caused by a lack of education, lack of opportunities and gender or social marginalisation. This, in turn, causes frustration and anger. In many cases, frustration and anger manifest in alcoholism, which exacerbates income poverty and dysfunction by catalysing domestic violence, corporal punishment and abuse within the familial environment.

In short, the congruence of social breakdown, marginalisation and poverty makes children vulnerable. In the Kilimanjaro Region, the urban migration of males, the resultant pressures on women and the social acceptance of alcohol use, combines to exacerbate family conflict. In this context, income poverty makes children vulnerable and pushes them away from school, home and ultimately to the streets.

Underlying factors that make a child at risk:

(i) The role of gender inequality in child vulnerability

The social structure of rural communities in Kilimanjaro is distorted by the out-migration of productive males, who have left the region to look for work elsewhere. Anecdotal evidence is that "you will find a Chagga shopkeeper in every town in Tanzania". Additionally, the predominance of children and youth (28.11% of the population in Kilimanjaro are children under the age of 14⁴⁶), women and old people in Kilimanjaro ensures that the region has special development needs. Of course, the distortion of the community structure has been exacerbated by the impact of HIV/AIDS, where the rate of infection is 5.9% for females and 4.1% for males⁴⁷. Observation of the number of new graves at the Moshi Municipal cemetery in March 2005 showed a significant number of new graves of people between the age of 25 and 50 years, many of whom have been returned to Kilimanjaro for their burial.

Problematically, within the rural communities of Kibosho, Machame and Uru women, children and old people predominate, while most males are economically inactive. Consequently, women and grandparents are the primary income generators, care-givers and community actors. Their responsibilities are immense and are frequently cited as reasons for frustration, corporal punishment of children and familial conflict. Consider the comparison of men's and women's typical roles in the day-to-day running of the family that is presented below. The present research demonstrates that the recent increase in child vulnerability is a direct result of women reaching the limits of their tolerance and capacity as they sustain communities in the absence of men.

According to the Kilimanjaro Region Development Plan (1990/91), land use in Kilimanjaro can be classified as follows:

- Agricultural & cultivated land = 6,433 sq km
- Government forest reserves = 333,640 ha
- Local authority forest reserves = 212,880 ha
- Forest plantations = 5,750 ha
- Game reserves = 373,000 ha
- Controlled area & woodlands = 276,800 ha
- Marginal lands settlement = 64,700 ha

Total = 1,342,370 ha

Typical daily timetable for men and women in the wet season⁴⁸

Women:

5 am - 6.30 am

- ① Wake up
- ① Milking
- ① Sweeping

6.30 am - 8.30 am

- ① Washing Utensils
- ① Cooking for shepherds
- ① Cleaning of animal pen

8.30 am - 6 pm

- ① Farm activities
- ① Collection of vegetables
- ① Fetching water
- ① Lunch in the field
- ① Preparation for supper
- ① Milking

7 pm - 10.00 pm

- ① Supper
- ① Pen the animals
 - ① Prepare bed
 - ① Sleeping

Men:

8 am - 11 am

- ① Wake up
- ① Prepare plough and ox
- ① Ploughing, sowing, weeding

11 am - 2 pm

- ① Lunch
- ① Rest

2 pm - 6 pm

- ① Farm activities

6 pm - 9 pm

- ① Bath
- ① Supper
- ① Sleeping

Recent analysis by women has stressed that "productive economic activities" have always rested upon the "reproductive" activities, primarily of women. These include not only giving birth to children, but also nurturing and caring for them, and for the sick, the disabled and the elderly. They include nurturing the relationships and building the unity of the family and community. Women have been the invisible weavers of the web of community and cultures. The social fabric depends on the quality of interpersonal communication between people, both in the family and in the community.

(Anne Hope & Sally Timmel: Training for Transformation)

Life as a female peasant is extremely tough; there is little time available for child care, socialising or activities outside of the home and farm. The cultural attitude toward women that marginalises them as decision-makers within the family and community further serves to exclude them from potential community support. The traditional idea of the community looking after mothers and children when the father is absent has diminished both in a rural and urban context. This is particularly true for single parents, who face the additional social stigma tied to their position outside the norm of society.

(ii) The challenges of being a single mother or an aged carer

Community members consistently expressed the challenges facing the guardians of children in an environment where men tend to be economically inactive or physically absent. HIV/AIDS is having an impact on families, but since most of those infected live in other regions, the impact becomes visible either when they return to the village to die or be buried or when they transmit the disease to women during periodic visits home. Participants in Kifumbu explained that women are the primary care-givers of children, until they submit to the ravages of HIV/AIDS at which point the grandparents are called upon to take up parenting responsibilities. This was cited as a particular problem in Kibaoni, Lambo, Mwenge, Pasua, Kombo, Kifumbu, Mnini, Manushi juu and Rau schools - aged carers are unable to ensure that the child's basic needs are met. Teachers at Kifumbu, Manushi juu and Lambo emphasised that grandparents are incapable or disinclined to follow-up the child's school attendance or progress and teachers at Pasua Primary believed that these guardians do not value the children in their care: "Most children, nearly 50% who play truant at Mnini live with their grandparents who are not strict with them" (Teacher, Mnini Primary).

The absence of husbands in a practical day-to-day sense because of their migration out of the region, effectively adds up to family breakdown. Community members in all four target communities (Lambo, Mwenge, Majengo, Rau) commented that single mothers were incapable of offering children the care that they need. In Pasua and Majengo, it is felt that parenting by single parents or by aged relatives leads children to play truant or drop-out from school; for example, in Majengo it was explained: "Mother is away at work until midnight and so the child returns home at 11.30pm".

(iii) The situation of stepmothers and single mothers

Men have more freedom than women in choosing their partner. Many have multiple families that include the "older" wife who has been replaced by a "newer" model. Although many families with multiple wives live in the same house or within the same smallholding this research found that family breakdown often stems from conflict between wives. 75% of street children live in step families where the first mother has either died, left or been left by the father. Children are the property of the father and mothers have no legal rights over their children. Once relationships break down it is not uncommon for the children to move to live with the father and new stepmother. Numerous street children explain how when their parents split up their lives became increasingly miserable. They cite harassment and neglect by stepmothers as a reason why they ran to the streets. John tells us: "I was born in Uru village and I didn't know my mother because she ran away while I was still a baby. My father got a new wife and she used to beat me. I decided to run away, so I stole some clothes and things to live."

A stepmother's position is often precarious since under traditional inheritance customs the father's land will be given to the first born child of the first wife. This poses a risk to the stepmother and her children, who will not benefit equally in the division of the father's property upon his death. Mkombozi has observed instances where women adopt traditionally male characteristics of aggression towards children, almost as a way of showing their strength within the family unit. Street children have cited experiences of attempted poisoning, physical violence and ongoing verbal abuse from stepmothers. The children themselves often attribute this to the threat that they pose to their stepmother and to her children's long-term security within the family. Certainly, many street children are first born boys of the first wife, which would go some way to verify this theory.

Why do children drop out of school?

- ① **"The state of marriage, the marginalisation of women."** (Lambo Extended Primary)
- ① **"Too many children in the family."** (Mwenge School)
- ① **"Families not using family planning, and so they have too many children."** (Rau School)

Notably, at Kifumbu School teachers and parents argued that children's involvement in sex and the consequent pregnancies were real problems: "Watoto kujihusisha katitka maswala ya mapenzi na kupata ujauzito". Likewise, at Kombo School in Kibosho the research team found evidence of teenage girls giving birth at home and dropping out of school.

Unfortunately, in Tanzania, under-educated girls feel that their identity and position within society is directly derived from birthing children and a significant number of girls get pregnant in their teenage years. Anecdotal evidence is that many young women get pregnant deliberately, in anticipation of support from their boyfriends. The prohibition of abortion has not been complemented by an awareness raising campaign about the importance of family planning and a significant number of young women are birthing children with little support from a male partner. Tusa explains: "When I was in STD 6, I got pregnancy, therefore that I couldn't continue with studies. After delivered my baby, my parents chased me away from home and the father of the child disappeared."

Although birth out of wedlock brings "shame" upon families, within poor families it seems to be normalised that teenage girls give birth and do not necessarily marry. However, there remains a stigma on girls who birth out of wedlock that brings about a practical difficulty for them in accessing support and advice from neighbours and relatives. Although we are reluctant to generalise that all single mothers are victims of poverty, there is little doubt from this research that the pressures they face in upholding their multiple role as caregiver, parent and income generator is unsustainable for many, given the lack of alternative support networks that they can call upon.

Mkombozi's experience working with vulnerable teenage girls with babies is that despite their desire for employment they cannot practically hold down a job because they have no one with whom to leave the child. Tusa is typical in that she initially left her child with relatives: "I become frustrated and dumped that kid to one of my relatives and came to Arusha town to find a means and ways of sustaining myself. While in Arusha I find difficult to find any job, I tried to work as a house girl at Unga ltd but after one month I was chased away being victimised that I had slept with my employer. While wandering in town year 2001 I met a friend who helped me and orient me in prostitution businesses".

Particularly in an urban context, the support that extended family and neighbours used to provide in the village is not as active as it was. However, we have observed increasing and similar challenges in Kibosho, where families are socially excluded because of their poverty and single parenthood and thus are unable to obtain the support that neighbours and friends provide to the more aspirant and socially acceptable community members.

Although traditionally it was not culturally acceptable for women to have multiple sexual partners, this is not so for males - in an urban context women are increasingly defying these traditional social expectations. This research revealed that in urban Majengo there are numerous single mothers many of whom have multiple sexual partners and do not use adequate family planning or STI protection. When asked what "bad things" happened to her, Tusa went on to answer that: "In 2001 one of my customers took me and calls other four guys and all together raped me and gave me five thousands shillings. In 2003, I was bitten by other prostitutes because I slept with their customers. In 2004, I was chased by one of my customers at night without money and in 2005, I found my self with STDs".

The impact of this increasing female sexual promiscuity on the transmission of HIV/AIDS is barely discussed in the media or policy-making circles. The "Ishi"⁴⁹ campaign is aimed at people in relationships, but has little relevance to socially excluded women whose financial security and identity are tied up with their sexual behaviour. The present research revealed that community and faith-based leaders are increasingly concerned about how sexual promiscuity amongst teenage girls impacts the children they birth and significantly increases women and men's risk of HIV infection.

(iv)The role of alcoholism in domestic violence, corporal punishment and abuse within the home

At Pasua School and Kifumbu School in Moshi Urban, the researchers found that some students were engaged by their parents in selling local brew and even cannabis. At Kibaoni School the researchers found that some parents were alcoholics; the picture was similar at Lambo Extended. In fact, almost every research team across the four communities cited drunkenness as a key underlying factor that caused parents to neglect their children and fail to oversee their school attendance:

- ① "Drunkenness all the time" (Rau).
- ① "Drunkenness amongst the parents means that they cannot fulfil the children's basic needs" (Mnini).
- ① "Parents are very drunk during work hours" (Kombo).

Street children verify this by dramatising a common scenario in their plays where the father comes home drunk, the mother asks for money for school costs and he consequently beats her. In turn, the children are excluded from school because of non-payment and then ultimately run to the streets because they are unable to bear the violence at home and the lack of opportunities that exclusion from school has entailed.

John (age 16)

My mother was working at my father's home as a housemaid. She became pregnant by my father. He fired her from her job due to that pregnancy. He does not want to accept me as his son.

But why does my father neglect me? I feel bad about the way my father neglects me as his son just because I was born out of wedlock. I try to think what I can do so that my father will accept me as his son.

It is not my fault I was born, but it is my right to know my parents so that they can be responsible for my life as a child.

Mussa (age 14)

I will never forget how my stepmother treated me.

She forced me to sleep on the floor at night though there were enough beds. She used to give me many duties each day and when I could not perform them all she used to beat me. One day she burnt me on my hips with a hot knife.

I finally ran away when she put poison in my porridge to try and kill me.

Problematically, alcoholism is closely inter-related with poverty and thrives on the existent marginalisation of women. The man of the household invariably dismisses the woman's complaints about his drunkenness as an over-presumptive involvement in his affairs (i.e. women should not concern themselves in such matters). Alcoholism also contributes to further marginalisation of women because of the relationship between alcohol abuse and domestic violence - both of which are normalised by men in Kilimanjaro Region: "In Kilimanjaro women are just there to be beaten and to give birth" (ES).

Alcoholism and domestic violence often stem from the frustrations faced by men and women in poverty, but such behaviour actually pushes them deeper into poverty at the same time. Children interviewed during this research emphasised that alcohol makes fathers ignore their family, especially the children. It is not just the father who drinks, but often the mother is an alcoholic, who spends the whole day drinking, while children are left on their own without knowing what to eat and when. They do not even know how and when they can ask their parents to buy them school items. In addition, when the intoxicated father comes home, he scolds his children and beats them.

The children interviewed also explained that substance abuse is a societal problem - both a cause and a sign of poverty. The problem, it was explained, is that alcohol use is normalised amongst adults, particularly men, partly because it is (ironically) perceived to be a status symbol of wealth. That is, the marketing of beer by Tanzanian Breweries and other retailers promote it as the drink of the "aspirant middle class". Consequently, children receive mixed messages about its consumption - having experienced its relationship to domestic violence and parental conflicts about money at home, and at the same time receiving constant media messages that alcohol consumption is a positive lifestyle choice.

(v) Decreased tolerance of the poor and increased communal apathy toward poverty

Within Kilimanjaro Region there is a slowly growing insinuation that poverty is caused by a deficit within the family concerned (i.e. that they are somehow to blame for it). Nyerere's powerful development discourse embodied within ujamaa called for the pursuit of modernisation, progress and development through the increased production, self-reliance and egalitarianism of and among the people⁵⁰. Moreover, Nyerere's "fatherly visions of guided participation"⁵¹ not only entreated Tanzanians to "build the nation", but constructed a Tanzanian national identity based on the nation as "the African extended family writ large"⁵². In this way, Nyerere's ideas about development, participation and self-reliance became central to Tanzanian national identity. On Kilimanjaro, policies such as "villagisation" had less direct impact than elsewhere in Tanzania, yet the rhetoric of self-sufficiency and self-reliance filtered down to those living on the mountain. These ideas are still prevalent in the way that Chagga talk about what development "maendeleo" means to them today⁵³.

A particular version of maendeleo has emerged on Mount Kilimanjaro, fusing a number of shifting local, national and international discourses of development, and producing a set of norms and values which are negotiated at the local level to construct a distinctively Chagga developmental subjectivity⁵⁴. Maendeleo represents modernity and progress, but is also embedded in Chagga cultural norms and values relating to gender, education, industriousness and religiosity. These are values to which the attainment of prestige and status on the mountain are attached. To be a "good" Chagga man or woman is to actively engage, or conform, to these ideals. Most frequently, maendeleo is associated with the socio-cultural values central to Chagga identity: education, industriousness, and knowledge. Social traits which are frowned upon, such as laziness and ignorance, are regarded as the preserve of those who are "undeveloped"⁵⁵. People who do not conform to these ideals, particularly those who are poor, are socially excluded because they are seen to undermine the social fabric of Chagga society.

The ideal Chagga developmental subject is someone who has some education and who can send their children to school, s/he works hard and is never idle, s/he only drinks local brew after working hours (and not in public bars in the case of women), s/he does not believe in "backward" ideas such as witchcraft, and s/he follows religious teachings. It also helps if the person is financially successful, owns a car, lives in a concrete house, holds down a paid job, and can host the neighbours in style for important social events such as weddings and funerals (applicable to men). Indeed, this normative subject position is a gendered one: while men must live up to the cultural expectations surrounding male roles in the family and community, women must fulfil their roles as good housewives, mothers, and community members⁵⁶.

Maendeleo is concerned, first and foremost with modernity and socio-economic development. Village services such as electricity and water supplies, schools and health facilities, and possessions such as cars and corrugated iron-roofed houses are seen as symbols of maendeleo, indicating the culture of conspicuous consumption of Western items which has become intimately bound up with notions of development and progress on the mountain⁵⁷. Simultaneously, certain aspects of Chagga lifestyles, such as keeping improved livestock and using good agricultural practices are also central to maendeleo. These aspects draw on the cultural importance of livestock and subsisting (at least in part) from the products of the family land. The intertwining of the modern and the local within the discourse of maendeleo should be seen as mutually reinforcing - that is, reflecting the Chagga desire to uphold local cultural meanings associated with livestock, land and agriculture, while incorporating the trappings of the modern way of life into the village, homestead, or individual sphere of influence⁵⁸. Certain groups and individuals are able to work within these culturally constructed notions of prestige and status in order to advance themselves, their families, or their community groups.

Women's groups in Kilimanjaro Region are an example of how this dynamic tends to play out in local development; that is, group members are represented as educated and willing to share knowledge, while non-members are regarded as ignorant and non-development-minded⁵⁹. Pride and the consumption of alcohol in public are highlighted as the undesirable practices of women who do not participate in women's groups. Village elites, and group members themselves, construct images of women's group participants as respectable Chagga who "understand" the benefits of local development. Women's groups are also viewed by men as a vehicle for "correcting" the behaviour of women who exhibit "undesirable" social traits⁶⁰.

Within this context it is clear to see how teachers, school committees and community members are increasingly impatient and less tolerant of the poor and of the consequences of poverty amongst children. Since the poverty surrounding vulnerable children manifests in alcoholism, domestic violence, truancy and petty theft, these people become further excluded from society. They are perceived as undermining the social fabric and in many ways become "social pariahs" - their situation is blamed on their own ignorance and behaviour: "Parents have big families and little ability" / "Wazazi kuwa na familia kubwa na uwezo mdogo" (Kombo School).

As a result, poor children and poor families are further marginalised from traditional support mechanisms within the community. In the past, neighbours would have intervened if they felt that children or women were being mistreated, but now: "The rich and poor cannot be friends" (child interviewee). The families of school truants are seen as: "lazy, irresponsible or thieves" / "Uvivu, uzembe na wizi" (Rau School). Parents follow "unmeaning traditions" and are "still living in old fashioned styles that lead to gender insensitivity and children following their older siblings who have not gone to school" (Kombo School). Children are out of school because of "laziness in the family and not trying to find ways of getting income... they do not understand the importance of caring for children" (Mnini School).

Nyerere's writings about African Socialism were about forging equality and striving towards a shared national vision for development. However, almost 40 years after Independence, discussions with community members shows the profound level of mistrust that exists within social groupings, whether that is between neighbours, across village boundaries and even between family members. Clan histories of conflict and jealousy have meant that village leaders from each community, particularly those in Kibosho and Machame, are reluctant to attend shared community meetings.

Tanzanians reminisce about the post-Independence period when suspicion about the behaviour of others was completely normalised, to the extent that there was almost a secret service at village level that would report anyone suspected of aberrant behaviour to the authorities. With the advent of capitalism this engrained lack of trust is now being manifested amongst children who never lived under Socialism. Street children frequently claim that they are unable to trust not just any adult, but also any African; assuming that Africans are predetermined to exploit others. This is a terrifying reality given its implications for never being able to build communal mutuality and support.

Many children and youth take this cynicism a stage further, assuming that a life without poverty means a life with electric goods, a smart home and fancy clothes, and assuming that these material things are their birthright and not the result of hard work. In discussions with the children interviewees about the nature of poverty, not one child mentioned the need to strive to earn money through hard work. The irony is that this attitude validates many community members' assumptions that the poor are poor because of their own shortcomings. In effect, these prejudices and assumptions have implications for any interventions aimed at poverty alleviation - the focus needs to be disproportionately on building an attitude of self-determination rather than apathy, and on working together rather than in isolation.

Relatedly, a number of challenges will need to be grappled with if the communities are to address the causes driving children out of school and the wider underlying issues of child vulnerability. These include:

① There has been a tendency to imply that all women can be lifted out of their internalised oppression through participation in groups. This assumes, however, that the economic benefits of female participation are to be shared by the whole family rather than the individual woman - an assumption which denies the effects of local politics and social hierarchies. Recent empirical work has shown that the benefits of participation, or the participatory process itself, is often hi-jacked by local elites⁶¹. Mercer (2001) concluded that women's groups tend to perpetuate the dominant development discourse while actively excluding certain social groups from participating. Given the prevailing community dynamics and stigmatisation of socially excluded families and children, the research process will need to address how to effectively involve these most marginalised of families in development interventions to address child vulnerability.

Children are out of school because of "laziness in the family and not trying to find ways of getting income... they do not understand the importance of caring for children".
(Mnini School)

① Within the home and community women and children are marginalised as decision-makers and yet in Kilimanjaro they play a pivotal role in a community where the out-migration of males has effectively distorted the social fabric. Given that most local development processes tend to be initiated and sustained by the village elite, who have access to assets in terms of resources or prestige, PAR must challenge the status quo and ensure that the most excluded young people and families obtain opportunities to initiate and manage school and community-based interventions that address their needs (as they perceive them). This is a practical challenge amply expressed by street youth who explain that there is a "poverty of development" whereby cultural practices and discrimination hinder progress and facilitate poverty. For example, at a family level, the children explain that this discrimination is manifested in the unequal distribution of resources, where children and women eat inferior food to the men. Street CYPs speak of the "fear and insecurity that is caused by poverty and that is psychologically so hard to break free from". The children observe that poverty causes children to suffer on two levels: poor children lack access to education and go hungry; they also live in a culture and society that discourages self-development. In effect, the children pointed out poverty exists both as a cause and effect of people's inability to self-develop.

① The present research process demonstrated the difficulties community-based researchers faced in challenging their own assumptions about the poor. They struggled to avoid judgemental conclusions and not to impose their own subjectivity. At Mwenge School, community members pointed out that what really riled people was the great distance between rich and poor, which served to further demotivate the children of poor families. Given the financial strains under which the majority of Tanzanians have increasingly found themselves, it is not surprising that participation in community development initiatives should be seen as an economic survival strategy⁶². From Mkombozi's perspective, development must be perceived as even more than simply increasing access to income - development must include the building of social safety nets for those people who cannot thrive in a liberal capitalist society because of their limited assets.

(vi) The oppositional relationship between schools and parents

The target schools could be called "sink schools" - they are located in communities where there is a high incidence of social exclusion and are working with children and families whose problems are multi-faceted and complex. Lambo Extended was typical in attributing many of its problems to the school being surrounded by drunkenness ("Shule imezungukwa na ulevi"). In Rau, community members talked of the common use of cannabis and prostitution ("Uvutaji Bangi na Umalaya uliyokithiri"). Teachers, school committees and community leaders believe that they are neither equipped to conceptualise the scale of these problems or to develop support mechanisms to assist these people, and many are not sure that it is their responsibility even to do so.

**"Because of poverty parents are demotivated. They don't feel they should encourage their children to study, and yet they have no food to eat at home."
(Majengo Teacher)**

Overall, there is little sense of collaboration between teachers and parents. Each group has an almost confrontational attitude, with teachers blaming parents for children's non-attendance. Teachers and "respectable" community members frequently explained that children were out of school because "parents do not see the importance of education" (Mnini) and "children and adults are not enlightened about education" (Manushi juu). They also tended to stereotype parents with out-of-school children as valuing money more than family and using money "badly" ("Thamani ya fedha imeathiri kipato cha familia na matumizi mabaya ya fedha" Lambo Extended). Again, the assumption is that these families have "bad ethics" and "do not care for their children" ("Maadili mabaya na wakati huo hawajali watoto wao" Pasua). The implication underlying much discussion is that these parents are not engaged with their own development (maendeleo), but rather believe in witchcraft, genital mutilation and traditional celebrations that have no positive influence on lifting them from poverty. "Bad traditions" ("Mila potofu") is frequently heard as a catch-all explanation for why some people are poor and others not.

This attitude of "them" (the poor) and "us" (who have ability and motivation) was apparent within every target school in this research. School personnel frequently attributed children being out-of-school to:

- ① "children missing out on the vision of education" (Mwenge Primary);
- ① "parents not cooperating" (Mwenge, Majengo & Kibaoni);
- ① "parents have no motivation" (Pasua);
- ① "parents do not contribute to education" (Lambo Extended).

In Rau, researchers frequently heard the refrain that "there's no cooperation" ("Ushirikiano hafifu"). In fact, a culture of schools blaming the parents of out-of-school children is endemic. At Majengo School, teachers complained that parents are obstructive and give them misinformation ("mzazi kutoa taarifa zisizoza kweli"). At Lambo Extended, the teachers in Standard I and VI A claimed that 92% and 100% of parents (respectively) do not follow up their child's school progress of their children. At Pasua School, class teachers identified that the following percentage of students have parents who do not follow up their school progress: 84% in Std II B; 100% in Std III A; 86% in Std V B; 95% in Std VI A; 98% in Std VII B.

Notably, at the same time, many parents feel that the service offered by the school is without value. Both Mwenge and Pasua mentioned that people are disillusioned by primary education since the opportunities for employment post-primary are so limited. In effect, resentment leads to poor communication - parents fail to reinforce what teachers do in school and teachers fail to help parents cope with children's behavioural problems. Ultimately, this oppositional relationship is causing parents to de-value education and to refrain from sending their children to school, and it is preventing the cooperation of parents and teachers to follow-up and address child truancy.

At root, schools seem to be in crisis and urgently need to clarify their role in the community. This was highlighted by Head Teachers who asked themselves "whose responsibility are poor children?"⁶³ They agreed that the first line of responsibility is the parents and secondarily the Government, but the challenge was then to determine if the school actually represents the Government at a village or suburban level. The consensus amongst the Head Teachers was that, since schools are manned by Government, employees are thus secondarily responsible for poor children. However, given the prevailing attitudes toward the poor (detailed above), and given the inherent complexity of poverty, the tendency amongst these schools is to either adopt an ad hoc voluntary response to children in need (by asking local donors - NGOs, individual teachers, village leaders, rich business men - to assist individual children) or to blame the parents for their poverty. Neither are long-term or sustainable responses.

(vii) Difficulties for parents in accessing educational services

The Government recognises that primary education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education and thus to national development: without primary education, you have no secondary education; without secondary education, there can be no doctors, scientists, engineers, accountants, or teachers. In principle, with a good start at Primary School, any child can look to a bright future. The Education Act of 1978 enforces compulsory enrolment of all seven year olds in primary education. Parents who fail to comply can be prosecuted in a court of law. Legally, it is the responsibility of parents (or the child's adult guardian) to follow up on the child's school progress and to ensure that children attend and complete primary education. They are also obligated to provide uniforms, school materials and to contribute to school meals for their children. In turn, schools are obliged to offer the space, people and facilities to educate the children.

Despite such a seemingly straightforward arrangement, there are profound logistical and technical problems to achieving universal primary education, especially with respect to the procedures for facilitating student enrolment, school transfers and covering the costs of school materials. In 2004, the Government has announced that no child will be denied primary schooling for any reason. This has yet to be realised "on the ground" where a number of practical hurdles are faced by the parents of poor children. In fact, many parents lack information that school attendance is legally compulsory, and they do not know the procedures to be followed to enroll a child in school: "Parents do not register their children for school at the right time and so lose the opportunity for education" (Mnini). In addition, the perceived value of primary education has diminished, as explained by interviewees at Lambo Extended and Mnini schools. That is, even young people who had studied in school were unable to obtain employment and, consequently, it is becoming difficult to convince poor parents that primary education is worth the investment.

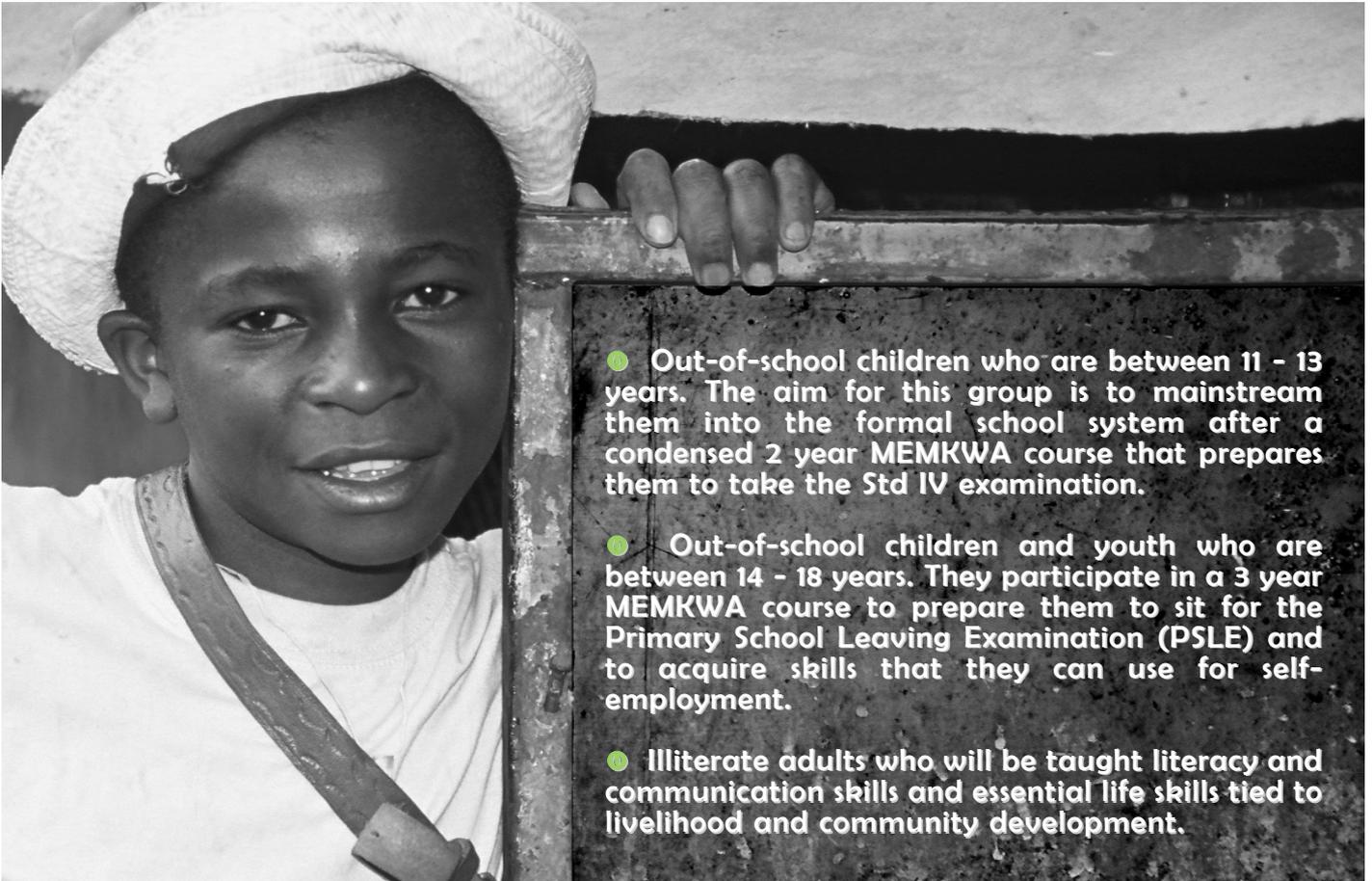
Teachers and community members attribute many children's non-attendance at school to the logistical challenges of enrolling and transferring children into and between schools and a lack of information about the procedures that need to be followed. This was affirmed by Mkombozi who faced a number of challenges in finding instructions on how to go about enrolment when a handbook on this issue was being developed for parents. Consider that schools observe certain criteria when enrolling a child in school, including whether a child has gone through two years of pre-school or nursery and if children who have studied in other nurseries (or not at all) have sat the school's internal entry test to qualify for entry into the primary school. This is intended to help a school measure the ability of the child to begin school. Although a child's failure to attend a nursery cannot be used to refuse a child admission to school, it sometimes is.

Consider also that parents are advised to register their children in the schools nearest to their homes to reduce the chances of a child playing truant and to avoid congestion of pupils in specific schools perceived to be "better" than others. But, interestingly, it is unclear what the criteria are for accepting a child into a school who comes from a distance. In fact, it is not made clear whether schools are allowed to practice student selection, and if so, on what basis. School financing and staffing does not yet explicitly look at the student make-up in terms of poverty and vulnerability and so students who come from poor and often difficult family backgrounds are undeniably an added burden on the school. The question becomes, does this reality affect the school committee's and head teachers approach when faced with such children seeking enrolment?

The Ministry of Education states that all primary school students who have dropped out of school since 2002 should be re-admitted into the same school in which they were originally studying so they can complete their primary education. Usually, a child who is no more than one year behind his/her colleagues is able to re-enter school a year behind his previous classmates. Depending on the seriousness and nature of the reasons behind the child missing school, the head teacher or the school committee has the power to decide upon re-admissions or referral to MEMKWA on a case-by-case basis; but in the absence of clear guidance on how to deal with serial truants or children from difficult family backgrounds, there is a significant room for abuse and petty corruption within school committees.

For instance, there should be no charges to parents who are transferring a child between schools, and any costs incurred by the school should be paid from the school's capitation grant. But a number of parents explained that they find it difficult to obtain transfer documents. At Mwenge School parents cited examples of the necessary documents lying untouched in Head Teacher and District Education offices and education personnel procrastinating action. Parents explained that they just "give up" trying to enroll their child or pay a bribe. The apparent lack of accountability and professionalism of education personnel is a contributing factor in an underlying attitude of mistrust between schools and parents.

MEMKWA is "a type of educational activity that is organised around the learning needs of specific target groups and which takes place outside the formal school system. It aims at enabling individuals or communities to solve their own problems and is characterised by the objective, the flexibility in terms of time, location and in adapting the learning contents to each specific group"⁶⁴. According to the Ministry of Education (MOEC), MEMKWA's primary aim is to increase out-of-school children's access to basic education and to ensure that out-of-school children and youth and illiterate adults have access to quality basic learning opportunities. Specific MEMKWA goals are to improve the literacy level by 20%, and reduce the backlog of out-of-school children⁶⁵, and to do so using adult and NFE learning methodologies that address (what are perceived to be) the specific learning needs of its 3 target groups:



- **Out-of-school children who are between 11 - 13 years. The aim for this group is to mainstream them into the formal school system after a condensed 2 year MEMKWA course that prepares them to take the Std IV examination.**
- **Out-of-school children and youth who are between 14 - 18 years. They participate in a 3 year MEMKWA course to prepare them to sit for the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) and to acquire skills that they can use for self-employment.**
- **Illiterate adults who will be taught literacy and communication skills and essential life skills tied to livelihood and community development.**

Every Primary School is supposed to have a MEMKWA centre, and children of 10 years and above who have not enrolled in Standard 1 should be registered for MEMKWA. Problematically, there is a lack of popular awareness about the existence of MEMKWA and how to enroll your child in the programme. MEMKWA centres are notoriously underfunded and do not yet address the root causes that made the students miss out on school in the first place. Despite the talk of MEMKWA being a programme that will enable "individuals and communities to solve their own problems", in practice it is being used to speed out-of-school children through the formal school system.

MEMKWA centres are becoming alternative locales for primary education, rather than delivering an alternative form of education. For example, the Mandela MEMKWA Centre in Pasua, Kilimanjaro, has no teacher, and so the school has recently decided to integrate the MEMKWA children with others in the formal school system. At the Elerai MEMKWA Centre in Hai district, there is only one teacher for numerous students enrolled at many different levels. Many Elerai students have dropped out as a result. At the Mwasi Kusini Centre in Moshi Rural district, the drop-out rate is attributed by the educators to "inadequate resources, the poor learning environment and the apparent bullying of MEMKWA children".

The fact is that children need to go to school with uniforms and exercise books and parents are expected to contribute to the child's school meals. The exact food requirements differ from school to school, but teachers at Manushi juu, Pasua and Lambo Extended schools explained that between 7 and 13% of children are coming to school without uniforms, school materials and without having eaten prior to school. These costs are not insignificant, as detailed in the table at right...► Specifically, the table shows expenses per child per year, excluding school "contributions" (for food, watchmen, trips, etcetera) which average at Tsh 12,000 per child annually. Uniforms are more than the clothes, but include the contributions and materials - all of which mean that, in practice, there is no free primary education.

Uniform item	Small children	Big children
Shorts / skirt	3,000	4,000 – 5,000
Shirt	2,000	3,000 – 4,000
Socks * 2	400	400
Bag	2,500	4,000
Shoes	4,000	8,000
Exercise books	4,500	7,200
Pens & math's set	2,000	2,500
Revision books	-	15,000
Sweater	4,000	6,000
Total	22,400	50,100

When 31% of the population in Kilimanjaro live below the basic needs poverty line⁶⁶, these costs are a real obstacle for parents wanting to enroll their child in school. When head teachers in the research schools were asked which law demands that children wear a uniform, they responded: "We think that there is a law, but we do not know which one it is or what it says"; and, "We think that the law may be in procedures or circulars from the Ministry of Education that say that every child needs to wear uniform." Another group said that "There is no law that forces a child to wear uniform, but there are procedures and guidelines that are used to identify different groups such as the police, army, doctors, etcetera." They were easily able to identify the problems that children without uniforms and basic school materials cause in their schools, explaining that children in such a situation often leave school or play truant because they are discriminated against within the school and feel lonely ("Anajisikie mpweke"). As such, children are bullied by both peers and teachers and are effectively penalised for their parents' poverty - in turn, because they are stigmatised in school, they learn to resent and avoid education.

This situation reveals deeper issues with the treatment and handling of poor children by schools and teachers. Notably, in role plays performed by the Head Teachers, the teacher was extremely aggressive to the child who did not have uniforms, even if she was trying to help the child (i.e. chiding the child with "Acha ujnga" / "Stop your idiocy", negatively comparing the child to the "good" student, and excluding the child from class for not having an exercise book, were revealed to be common responses to poor children). An extensive debate ensued about why schools make children responsible for ensuring that their parents give them uniforms and how can this be realistic / appropriate in a community where children should be seen and not heard. The Head Teachers explained that they do not know which children come from genuinely poor families and which are "lazy", and thus, they cannot know if a child genuinely doesn't have uniform or simply forgot to / didn't wash it. This is contradicted by the class teachers who know exactly which children come from poor and difficult family backgrounds (as revealed by the present study's "at risk" data). The discussion also revealed that there is a question in schools about who decides that a child should be sent home, since currently children are being returned home without the Head Teacher knowing, and often the Head Teachers do not even know what the problems are in the school. For example, at Majengo Primary (which is facing severe truancy as children are involved in sexual abuse by local mechanics) the Head Teacher claimed that he did not have any such problems with truancy and the effects of poverty in his school.

Importantly, the anger expressed by teachers to students who's parents have failed to comply with "school rules" reveals a deep misunderstanding about child development and human relations and their role as teachers within the community. There is an underlying belief that the child is naturally "naughty" and that lack of uniforms is the child's mistake. Teachers explained that "There is an environment when you need to be fierce and an environment when you can be soft", but it is apparent that poor children tend to be the frequent recipients of harsh and discriminatory treatment.

Where the schools are intervening to assist poor children there does not seem to be much proactive involvement of the parents in solving the family's problems. Also, parents are not always called to meetings and decisions are made to assist them without their involvement. There is a lack of clarity about what is done by the school to assist children who do not have the ability to afford school costs. For instance, schools explain that the procedures for parents who cannot afford school costs are for them to make a request for assistance (verbal or written), before enrolment, to the school's Head Teacher who then presents the case to the school committee. The school committee (as parents and as part of the local community) discuss the family's situation and make a decision based on their knowledge of the child's circumstances and the parents or guardians ability to pay (priority is given to orphans and the children of single parents or those with disabilities). Ultimately, a decision is made about whether to exempt the child or to link with the NGOs that support orphans and vulnerable children in school. The procedure tends to respond to each case on an ad hoc basis and the response is frequently to rely on "donors" (NGOs or rich people) who buy the concerned child a uniform.

Admittedly, there is a need for community support, but is buying individual children uniforms on an ad hoc basis a good use of limited resources and is it sustainable? Given the number of children needing assistance with uniforms (195 children in Lambo, Manushi juu and Pasua schools) it may be more sensible for schools to stock uniforms and bill parents directly or to establish scholarships for poor children that could be financed by rich people within the community.

(viii) Conflict and punishment as a common phenomenon in families, schools and communities

When people talk about conflict they immediately think of war or active violence, but conflict is endemic and latent in every human relationship. What matters is how conflict is managed so that it does not escalate into violence. Background checks on street CYPs reveal that the majority come from families and communities where conflict is poorly managed. Once on the streets, children and youth perpetuate cycles of running away from conflict or resorting to violence when trying to cope. Community leaders in the research sites cite conflict as a common immediate reason why children run away from home. They detailed the following types of conflict that they as local leaders and school committees routinely try to resolve:

1. Marital conflict

- ① Conflict between a father and mother often results in divorce and children ending up on the streets. Sources of marital conflict include: unfaithfulness within the relationship, poor communication, a lack of openness about the use of the family income, poor ability to handle the family budget and poor family planning so that there are too many children in the family for the available income.
- ① Community leaders feel that declining values and morals, the birth of children of out of wedlock, alcoholism, and a failure of men to pay attention to their family are reasons for an apparent increase in familial conflicts in recent years. They also express concern about the prevalence of men who smoke marijuana. They believe that these men do so because they have another hidden family somewhere.
- ① Familial conflict means that children receive little love or direction, and results in: single parents; the drinking of local illegal brew; children being exposed to demeaning and unpleasant language; and, children seeing men behaving as arrogant and aggressive role models.

Approaches to resolution:

- ① People still rely (as a primary resort) on their parents or the marriage patron / matron (best man or maid of honour) to mediate their marital conflicts. However, given the physical distance between families this poses problems and conflicts escalate to extremes before the parents are called upon to intervene.
- ① Traditionally, the clan leader or the parish priests / sheikh would have been used to mediate such conflicts, but as certain families become increasingly socially excluded from the mainstream of village life, these figures too become unavailable to them as mediators.
- ① As last resort, people use the Social Welfare Department or court proceedings.

2. Conflicts between children and their parents

- ① Common examples of conflict between adults and children include parents refusing to pay for the child's school costs, children being given excessively heavy jobs for their age, or children living with stepfamilies.
- ① Many children feel that the need to sleep in the same room with older children and adults causes conflict, while adults mention the prevalence of misbehaviour and disrespect amongst young people as a recurrent cause of conflict.

Approaches to resolution:

- ① Usually parents will "solve" a conflict by caning the child or, as a last resort, by chasing him/her away or sending him/her to stay with a relative.
- ① A few more "enlightened" families try and listen to the child or resolve the conflict using the child's friends.
- ① Christians normally use the child's godfather / mother to mediate a conflict. Traditionally, a child can ask the father's age mate to mediate.

Usually a family will "solve" a conflict by caning the child, chasing him/her away, or lastly, by sending him/her to stay with a relative.

3. Conflict between neighbours

- ① People explain that conflicts frequently arise between neighbours because of fighting between their children, or a neighbour beating the child of another neighbour.
- ① Disputes over land, animals grazing on the land of another neighbour, or the destruction or theft of a neighbour's property are also regular causes of conflict.

Approaches to resolution:

- ① The families sit down to resolve the matters and, if this is not possible, it will be resolved through the Ten Cell leaders⁶⁷, the Hamlet Conflict Resolution Committee, Village Executive Officers (VEOs), the Ward Executive Officers (WEOs), the police and ultimately the court.
- ① If the wives of two neighbours are in conflict their husbands usually sit to resolve the issue and if they fail they refer the case to other relevant levels.

4. Conflict between children

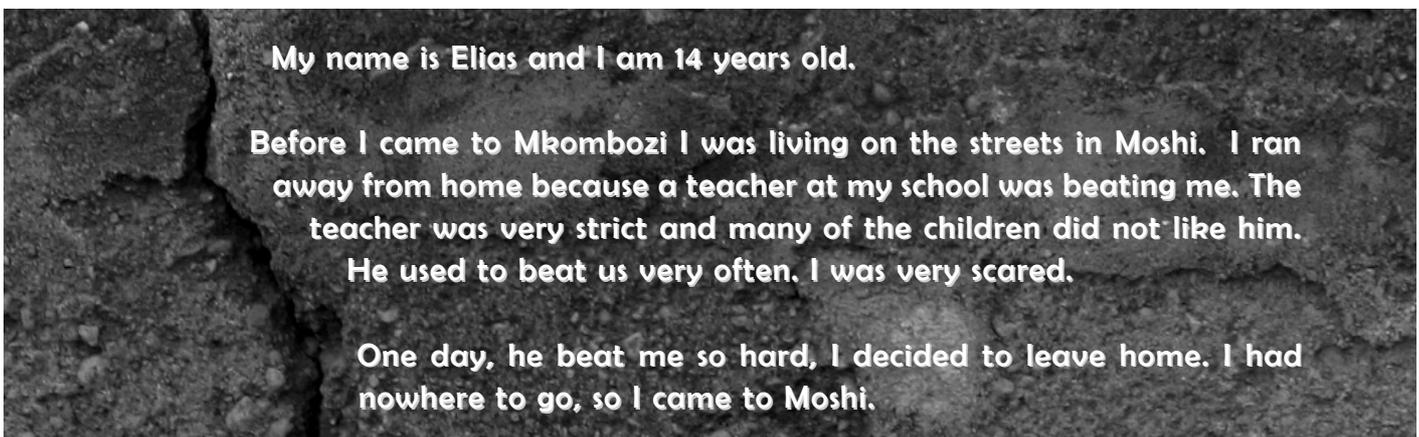
① This is caused by children bullying, stealing, teasing, labelling, destroying others' property, dirtying of other's clothes and fighting.

Approaches to resolution:

① The parents or teacher meet to discuss the problems and ask the children to forgive each other.

Adults tend to blame the youth culture emerging since the early 1990s as the main cause of misbehaviour among CYPs. Many claim that children are overly keen to claim their "rights" while failing to uphold their responsibilities. The advent of Western media is exposing children and young people to an alien culture, far removed from that with which the adult population is conversant. Many believe that television and the new "rap" music teach youth about sex, stealing, abuse, lying and cheating. There is a real concern that youths imitate what they see and hear and that it does not follow the "Tanzanian way of life".

Interestingly, this is not only an urban phenomenon, although clearly more visible in towns. Adults increasingly struggle to understand the world view of the young, and have few skills to manage misbehaviour. Even those mandated by their communities to mediate conflicts, such as teachers and community conflict management committees, lack the skills to work in an environment where there is less deference to them and their decisions. There is nothing in the primary school curriculum that teaches parenting, communication or conflict management skills (i.e. family life education). The extended family is less of a support than in the past and parents lack the awareness and skills to handle the indiscipline that they face when bringing up their children.



(ix) Acceptance of aggression within families and communities of a patriarchal society

Teenage boys tend to challenge the women in the family and dispute mothers' and grandmothers' decisions. They assume the mantle of "head of the family", particularly in families headed by single mothers or grandmothers. Faced by the frustration of disciplining recalcitrant teenage boys on top of a staggering workload, many female care-givers send the boys away from the home in frustration. Many women who are running homes without a male partner take on traditionally male attributes, such as shouting, beating and threatening as a means to assert the limited authority they have. There is a cultural acceptance towards corporal punishment of children and violence towards women - the belief is that beating keeps children and women "in their place".

In fact, corporal punishment remains prevalent in schools, despite the fact that the MOEC has ordered "no child beating except by the Head Teachers", and not more than four strokes in primary schools.

Almost every school in this research is trying to grapple with the complexity of how to discipline children. Kifumbu School argues that "severe punishment is given to children at school and at home and that frightens children". Kifumbu School feels that "some of the teachers are very strict beyond measure", as does Majengo School.

Kombo school says that teachers contribute to truancy when they punish children by sending them home ("Mwalimu kuchangia utoro shuleni mfano kumpa adhabu na kumruhusu aende nyumbani"). On the contrary, Mwenge school says that there are fewer drop-outs because of the punishment regime that they operate: "My school is doing well academically and in attendance because of corporal punishment" (Mwenge Head Teacher).

Reasons for punishment include: being late to school; not following school discipline; and not doing work that is given in the class (Kibaoni School). Punishment includes beating the child or giving them physical labour, such as bringing water from far way, carrying fertilizer on their heads, or giving the student work to farm.

This research revealed 2 interesting phenomena related to child abuse and protection⁶⁸:

1. Corporal punishment and physical / verbal abuse of children is so normalised in community attitudes that teachers and other child care agencies do not even consider such behaviour abusive to children.

When teachers in 3 schools were asked to identify how many students in their class they suspected of being abused they identified an almost negligible number of children. This was despite an overwhelming concern expressed by the same teachers about parents neglecting to supervise children's progress in school.

Percentage of student body suspected of witnessing or being a victim of abuse in their homes:

Percentage of student body who's parents / guardians do not follow up on their school progress:

- ① Lambo Extended: 0.17%
- ① Manushi juu: 1.3%
- ① Pasua: 0.5%

- ① Lambo Extended: 40.6%
- ① Manushi juu: 10.43%
- ① Pasua: 54.7%

Teachers were unable to view the neglect of children by their parents as a potential indicator that actual physical, verbal and sexual abuse may be taking place within these children's homes.

According to the World Health Organisation, "child abuse" constitutes "all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power."

Report of the Consultation on Child Abuse Prevention (WHO, 1999)

2. Many adults believe that children need to be disciplined because they are naturally disobedient.

Adult interviewees often placed blame for non-attendance in school on the children, attributing the need to punish young people because of their own behaviour. Typical scenarios offered as reasons for beating or punishing a child included:

- ① "A child is given money and runs away to buy things" (Rau).
- ① "Children are angry and obstructive without a reason, they are involved in groups of thugs on the streets and they use drugs, like cannabis (Mnini).
- ① "There are some children whose behaviour causes them to become truants. Some of them are lazy and others mix with bad groups on the streets" (Mnini).
- ① "Children themselves are not disciplined and playing fool in a large classroom" (Lambo Extended).
- ① "Some children do not like to go to school and some run away with money" (Kombo).
- ① "Laziness of the children themselves" (Mwenge).
- ① "Children do not like school" (Majengo).

Head Teachers explained teachers' rationale for being strict and aggressive with students who come to school with no uniforms as: "there is no way that parents will take the issue seriously if the child has not been punished first." They elaborated: "There is an environment when you need to be fierce and an environment when you can be soft" and since it is difficult for teachers to know which children come from genuinely poor families and which are "lazy", they tend to punish the child for the parents mistakes. In effect, children are being punished for their parents' poverty⁶⁹.

Interestingly, it was only in a couple of schools that teachers and school committees saw the link between children's "poor behaviour" and the denial of their basic rights - at Manushi juu, interviewees explained that "children are given too much work at home and their rights to education are not upheld". Notably, children's rights are seen to be purely related to the right to education. Interviewees routinely expressed concerns about parents' failure to contribute towards the needs of the child (uniform, the afternoon meal, not enrolling children in school when they are supposed to, not following up on children's attendance and progress), but little was said about violation of children's rights to protection and development. Adults appear to be barely conscious that child abuse and neglect are having a negative affect on school attendance and children's development.

In contrast, street children who were interviewed about the myths that lead to child abuse in Tanzania were eloquent in noting that the following are common and widely practiced:

1. If you slaughter a child and eat his meat and drink his blood you will become a rich person.
2. Making your children mad will enable you to get more assets.
3. Putting small cuts on a child's body will protect the child from being bewitched.
4. If a child wets the bed tie a frog on him so that he won't bed-wet again. If a child wets the bed again you need to burn his private parts so that won't bed-wet in future.
5. If you make one eye of your child blind you will become a rich person.
6. If twins are born one baby should be killed.
7. If a cripple baby is born it should be killed.
8. You can rehabilitate a child by putting him in a bag of bugs.
9. You can protect a child from sucking his thumb by cutting the thumb and spreading pepper on it.
10. Beating and burning a child is a way to rehabilitate his / her behaviour.
11. You can protect a child from crying often by cutting his cheeks.
12. Burn the sole of a naughty child's feet with hot water.

In Mkombozi's extensive experience with abused children, the myths and beliefs described by the children are normalised and accepted with the weight of tradition to an alarming degree. Indeed, in the present study, child abuse did not even feature on schools' radar as causes of children's poor behaviour and eventual truancy and exclusion from education.

(x) Absence of social support networks and child protection agencies

The National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP / MKUKUTA) 2005-2010 mentions vulnerable groups such as youth and street children, with a specific aim of strengthening social protection measures for them. However, the prevailing analysis tends to focus on the economic and income forms of poverty that makes children vulnerable. A failure to acknowledge the complex regional, social and cultural factors that have been detailed above means that child vulnerability in Kilimanjaro Region is poorly understood by communities, policy-makers and planners. Consequently, there has not been a proportionate focus on resourcing and implementing safety nets for children who have been abused, bereaved or exposed to domestic violence; namely, there is no investment in child protection services.

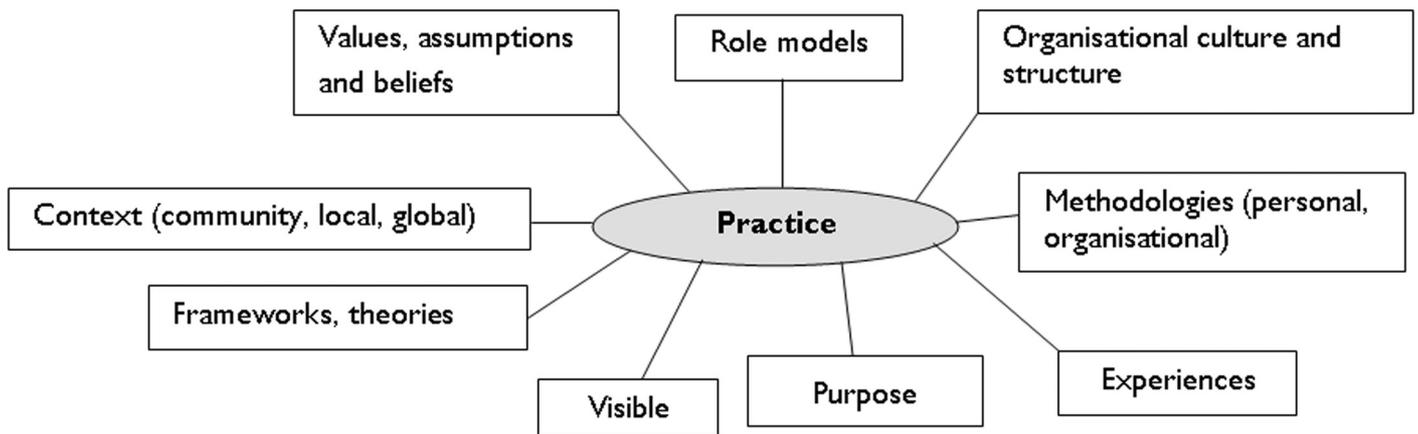
Extensive research has been conducted by Mercer (2002) into the dynamics of women's groups in Kilimanjaro Region. Her findings demonstrated how in recent years there has been a proliferation of women's groups whose stated aims are economic empowerment and advancement for the women and their families. Participation in a women's group is clearly important for women given that the patriarchal society in which they live and the extensive burdens of day to day life. However, the stratification between rich and poor in Kilimanjaro is reflected in women's groups, where: "Women's participation is used as a strategy to boost their social status and financial gains... Chagga social norms differentiate women according to age, marital status, religion and wealth, producing hierarchies of prestige which have repercussions for women's inclusion and exclusion. In Nkawari village (Hai), the membership, and particularly the leadership, of women's groups is overwhelmingly characterised by older, married women who come from the middle and upper wealth and social status groups... A general picture emerges of over-representation of better-off and higher-status women in these groups. This suggests that, in excluding the poorest women, participation in women's groups is serving to legitimate, and perpetuate, existing inequalities in Chagga society"⁷⁰.

The participatory process serves to exclude the very poorest women: precisely the category which is often assumed to have the most to gain from participatory development. On Mount Kilimanjaro, participation reproduces existing inequalities. Interventions that support the most vulnerable families and young people need to recognise that stigmatisation has excluded these people from development processes. Social safety nets and child protection services, in particular, need to be equipped with the human capital to work with people who have been abused, are traumatised and often highly disillusioned with the state and voluntary services that exist. Child protection services need to focus on supporting, not stigmatising, those on the margins of society.



7.3 Are teaching methodologies and school environments conducive to learning?

When discussing the word "practice" it is first worthwhile to clarify its meaning. Various professions, such as lawyers and doctors claim a professional "practice", as do teachers and educationalists. Practice can be defined as the "application of conscious learning and reflection as an individual, as a member of a team or as an organisation. Practice occurs within a context, and that context must be understood in order to practice effectively. Practice is informed and influenced by personal and organisational values, the demands of the context and a professional body of knowledge. Practice is intended to bring about personal, organisational, institutional, societal and professional transformation"⁷¹. In short, practice is the combination of organisational values and an agreed methodology through which these values are lived. Practice implies a sharpening and improving of competence through an ongoing improvement in a practitioner's skills, methodology, values, theory and relationships. Practice should be visible in a person's behaviour and in their relationships.



Additionally, practice is sustained by a clear sense of values or ethics in the process of applying a professional methodology and thus it makes sense to ascertain to what extent the primary education system is underpinned by a set of values. Most primary education curricula around the world are informed by research and practice from other national systems. The driving force behind them is usually a deeply held philosophy about the nature of education, which is often explicitly expressed as a set of beliefs and values about student learning. This is sometimes defined through a student profile which encompasses the aim of the curriculum. As a starting point the curricula defines the kind of person that one hopes will graduate from the programme; a type of student that the school and community would be proud of.

For Mkombozi's MEMKWA programme, the following student profile has been developed - a profile that places the focus where it belongs, on student learning. Mkombozi's MEMKWA students are:

Inquirers: They investigate a problem in depth, because their natural curiosity has been nurtured. They have the skills necessary to conduct purposeful, constructive research. They actively enjoy learning and this love of learning will be sustained throughout their lives.

Thinkers: They exercise initiative in thinking critically and creatively to make sound decisions and to solve complex problems

Communicators: They receive and express ideas and information confidently in more than one language, including the language of mathematical symbols. They can listen, give and receive feedback, offer opinions and build on the contributions of others. They are able to confer with others and reach a compromise. They are able to discuss, share their points of view, build new meaning and develop a plan of action.

Risk-takers: They approach unfamiliar situations without anxiety and have the confidence and independence of spirit to explore new roles, ideas and strategies. They are courageous in defending that in which they believe.

Knowledgeable: They have spent time exploring themes which have global relevance and have acquired a critical mass of significant knowledge. They can take more than one idea or subject and interlink it with others harmoniously. They also have knowledge of themselves - of their history, identity, desires and behaviour patterns. They can set and work towards their personal targets for change.

Principled: They have integrity, honesty, a sense of fairness / justice and a sound grasp of moral reasoning.

Caring: They show sensitivity towards the needs and feelings of others. They have a sense of personal commitment to action and service.

Open-minded: They respect the views, values and traditions of other individuals and cultures and are accustomed to seeing and considering a variety of perspectives. They have confidence in the loyalty, strength and veracity of other people.

Well-balanced: They understand the importance of physical and mental balance and personal well-being.

Reflective: They can look within to begin a process of personal change. They give thoughtful consideration to their own learning and analyse their personal strengths and weaknesses constructively.

Collaborators: They can work with others towards a common goal. They can identify their own and others' talents and build on them. They can cooperate to make change and to better their own and others' lives.

~ Mkombozi's vision of the MEMKWA graduate ~

We are helping children to become articulate, self-aware, effective decision-makers who are able to live and work with others. We encourage them to value and appreciate beauty (art, music, the environment), to build their self esteem and confidence, to inculcate a value and desire for self development, and to aspire to something better in life. We provide opportunities for them to become social activists, to interact with people from different backgrounds, to volunteer and to challenge the status quo in a society that tends not to value young people. We want them to behave responsibly, honestly, openly and creatively.

By identifying the characteristics and behaviours to be built in their students Mkombozi's MEMKWA programme can selectively employ the teaching methodologies and approaches that will facilitate such skill development most effectively. In contrast, within the current primary school system, there is little consensus about the type of students that the curricula is trying to develop. Consequently, teachers, teacher trainers and education NGOs tend to adopt a rather ad hoc approach to developing and improving teaching methodologies, without prior assessment of what skills, attitudes and behaviours these "active learning" approaches will build in the students. Within the education system, values and relationships have largely been ignored. This has resulted in a primary school system that is out of balance and ultimately without a "practice".

This is, in fact, evidenced by the ongoing debate about corporal punishment in schools - which focuses on how such punishment violates children's right to protection. There is, however, little discussion of how violence towards children inculcates aggression into their behaviour and, because there is no equivalent of the above student profile in the school system, there are no clear grounds for prohibiting such punishment on the grounds that it undermines the achievement of students who demonstrate the above behaviours.

Problematically, few Tanzanian teachers hold a philosophy of education. Head Teachers from the research schools commented that they believed that education is important because "It help everybody to know many things in this world" and that "it is a key of life". When asked, however, how they envision education in Tanzania in five years time, their responses showed little understanding of educational research, child development or professional thinking. Responses included: "To be in high quality for all children", "To be more advanced than now", "For all from Standard 1 to University level", "To build the children to catch up" and finally "To be all people and their children to be educated so that they can save their life for everything". Given this lack of understanding of the fundamental concepts, beliefs, skills and attitudes which education is trying to facilitate in students, any training of teachers in alternative methodologies will inevitably fall short.

Currently, the **Principles of Positive Youth Development** (see page 38) do not underpin the primary school curriculum or teaching methodology; neither are they based on the following foundation stones (which all childcare practitioners would be sensible to follow):

Boundaries: Children and young people need to know the expected behaviour and the consequences for transgressing them. This needs to be applied consistently to the individual child.

Child participation in decisions affecting them: This builds a sense of ownership and skills in good citizenship; thereby contributing to a just and democratic society.

Confidentiality: Children and young people must be assured that their personal information is only shared with appropriate adults who have their best interests at heart.

Sensitivity: Must be shown to the child and the trauma that they may have faced; being aware that their trust of adults is fragile and building on their experience and not where the adult wants them to be.

Non-discrimination: Treating all human beings with respect, dignity and equality.

Non-judgemental: Judgemental attitudes create barriers and prevent children and young people from expressing themselves and trusting adults.

Consistency: Children and young people need reliability, stability and regularity. They do not develop when they get mixed signals and live in a state of nervousness and insecurity.

Modelling behaviour: Display positive behaviour for children and young people to copy - they will emulate what they observe in adults.

Transparency: Breaks through cultures of silence, taboo, secrecy and fear in which child abuse thrives. Transparency shows that an organisation or individual has nothing to hide and that it is willing to admit to, and learn from mistakes - all of which is a true sign of a learning and accountable organisation.

Child Rights Approach: Puts children at the centre of work intended for their benefit and involves them as actors in their own protection and development.

Consultation: Children have much to contribute through a clear understanding of their own situations and ways in which they can be supported to protect themselves.

Given the preceding discussion about the extent of child vulnerability, it would make sense for schools to adopt these principles of good practice in their work with students; many of whom have been bereaved and/or face psychological trauma. Indeed, with an HIV/AIDS infection rate of 5.9% for females and 4.1% for males⁷², numerous children have been orphaned or are affected by HIV/AIDS. Many are, themselves, HIV positive; for example, 6% of the students are infected in a single class within one target school.

The extent of child abuse, substance and drug abuse that has been discussed demand that psychosocial support is given to children, and yet MOEC continues to focus on a narrow band of "special needs" children who are either disabled or orphaned. This narrow focus ignores the educational and behavioural needs of all vulnerable children. Problematically, child protection and children's emotional and behavioural needs are not broached in any current policy documents. In fact, within MOEC, the teaching body and school committees, there is little awareness of the full spectrum of vulnerability issues that must be tackled, let alone any strategies with which to begin to do so.

Street children are vulnerable and manifest behavioural and emotional needs that many other children also demonstrate. They live under difficult circumstances and have been traumatised by their experiences of the world. Their childhood experiences, including physical / sexual abuse, neglect and/or bereavement manifest in reduced concentration, poor conflict management, anger, frustration, bullying, low self esteem, a tendency towards social isolation, and inability to build constructive peer relationships.

THE PRINCIPLES OF POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Children and young people need the following to develop as stable, productive young people:

Safety and structure: Children need to feel safe from physical harm and that there are certain things they can always depend on

Belonging: Children need to feel like they are part of some kind of community / family / group. They need to feel like their presence matters, that they make a difference in their community and that people care about them etc.

Self-worth / self-esteem and an ability to contribute: Children need to feel that they are good, capable people. They need to feel like they have the talent and skills to add something positive to their community / environment. They need to feel like they have opportunities to help others and that their help is desired and appreciated.

Independence and control over one's life: Children need to feel like they are capable of making decisions for themselves. They need to know their talents, as well as their own desires / preferences. They need to think that they have the ability to control their own futures, to make smart decisions that will help them live the kind of lives they want to lead.

Competence and mastery: Children need to feel like they are capable of learning information, remembering it and applying it in the real world. They need to be encouraged to learn and asked to integrate the information they learn into their daily lives. They need to be able to build on information that they have learned previously. They need to recognise the skills and talents that they have and to work to improve them further.

Moreover, these children are unable to trust adults or themselves, and they are unable to identify or nurture their own interests, talents and potential. In fact, many of these children choose to use drugs to dull the pain and difficulties of their daily lives, and others have mental health problems such as Attention Deficit Disorder, depression and self-harm. In short, street children, and many more "at risk" children within the school system, have special emotional and behavioural needs that are not met by the education service. As such, the problems facing schools and families seem insurmountable and talk of "quality education" and engaging children in their learning seems futile when there are so little resources available. The research schools all explained that their school facilities and teaching approach do not engage children. For instance:

- ① Kibaoni, Mwenge, Pasua, Manushi juu and Rau schools all cited the lack of a school playground or sports field.
- ① Kifumbu said that there is no school fence, no water on site, and the location of the school near the Tchibo Coffee estate means that children play truant from school and instead go to work.
- ① Mnini School is typical in having a shortage of classrooms, desks, and teachers and likewise a playground / sports field and fence.
- ① At Kibaoni school children are hiding in unroofed and uncompleted buildings surrounding the school.

The scarcity of teaching materials and the poor environment of many schools are infrastructural and resourcing problems that need to be addressed if education is a national priority. These physical constraints place an undeniable and significant pressure on teachers. Given the low morale of teachers, the limited number of teaching resources and the poor delivery of the curriculum, it is unsurprising that students, parents and teachers are disillusioned and apathetic about changing their schools.

The increased enrolment experienced since 2001 has actually exacerbated these shortages, compounded by a historical lack of investment in education. Teachers explain that the income and benefits for teachers is not enough (Mwenge, Pasua). Teachers do not follow up on the attendance of their students and ask children to do their personal work during their class time; others are playing during the class hours. Some schools with double sessions to accommodate all the children enrolled are affecting student's learning, especially those who come for the afternoon session (Mnini). In turn, this means that children are now repeating classes and so older children are mixed in classes with younger ones; affecting their motivation and making class management more complex for the teacher (Kifumbu & Manushi juu). Moreover, these older children are often laughed at by their classmates ("Watoto kuwa na umri mkubwa katika madarasa ya chini, hivyo kuchekwa na wenzao & watoto kuwa wazito wa kuelewa darasani hivyo kutaniwa na wenzao" Kifumbu).

Disturbingly, these classroom realities for students are compounded by issues outside the school walls as well. For example, in Rau, the research team reported numerous cases of rape of children. Similarly, further investigation in Majengo revealed that children (both boys and girls) are being raped by mechanics operating in the area. These paedophiles are paying the children to have sex with them and then paying them more if they introduce a friend. The situation is so extreme that teachers express concern that boys are starting to walk with their legs spread and to be incontinent. In fact, Mkombozi's census of 2005 showed an increase of 472% in the number of children coming to the streets from Majengo over the previous 18 months - staff at Majengo attribute the increase to this rampant child abuse. These are serious issues around child protection, and yet schools and communities are practically unaware of the effect on children's development, safety and educational prospects.

It is not surprising, overall, that children are distracted and disinterested in class. Not only do the school facilities and teaching methodologies fail to engage children, but many children are facing extraordinary pressures stemming from poverty, abuse and HIV/AIDS - pressures that are not even acknowledged as priorities for the schools to address. As previously noted, many teachers actually tend to blame this lack of motivation and engagement on the children themselves, and/or the school environment. While it may be true that teachers have few resources for teaching, the current deployment of the resources that do exist does little to encourage children to remain alert. Mkombozi's experience is that, for vulnerable children, the key to their development is gaining a positive attachment with another person - this means that the quality of the education they receive and how they respond to it is determined by the quality of the relationship between the teacher and the child. It is only on this foundation that the school can work towards transforming the child's knowledge, attitudes and behaviour.

Without a positive and mutually respectful relationship, teachers cannot work effectively with the students. By acknowledging and praising even the smallest changes taking place in the students, the teacher contributes to the transformation taking place in these young people's development. Where children are living with grandparents and single parents who are stressed with domestic violence, poverty and alcoholism, it becomes increasingly important for teachers to build these relationships with their students and to see themselves as more than deliverers of a written curriculum - they must conduct themselves as a role model and a key attachment to each child in their care.

Overall, although MKUKUTA aims to cater to the needs of vulnerable children, the fact is that it is impossible to develop a relevant educational practice in the absence of a clear understanding of what makes certain children vulnerable and how such vulnerability manifests in their behaviour. Catering to children's needs with a broad brush and assuming that all vulnerable children have the same learning needs will not address the problems that cause children to drop-out of school. Within schools, there is little enthusiasm about the curriculum and, in many cases, a disillusion amongst teachers about demands on them to use participatory methods since this is inhibited by the current classroom overcrowding. Additionally, teacher training (now down to a one-year course) does not equip teachers to address the myriad problems around child vulnerability.

In fact, the schools in this research study highlighted a fundamental problem with lack of clarity about the role of schools and education within Tanzania. The emphasis in recent years within policy making circles has been predominantly on increasing children's access to primary education without concomitant emphasis on the quality of the education service. The present research shows that the failure of the primary education system to identify what values, skills and attitudes the system is trying to foster in children means that a key foundation is missing. As a result, teachers and parents have little idea about the type of people primary schools are trying to create (let alone how they go about creating them), and schools have no organisational values or clear methodology (other than the curriculum that they follow), and thus no "practice". The lack of practice has resulted in numerous challenges - challenges which are all immediate causes of child truancy, drop-out and failure to enroll in school:

- ① Teachers and students have no shared values and behavioural norms around which to relate to one another.
- ① There are no systems in place to continually develop teachers' practice.
- ① There is no effective platform upon which to encourage parents to send their children to school. Currently, the only impetus for sending children to schools is practically a "negative" one; namely, that it is the law to do so.
- ① Primary education is subject-oriented, rather than competency-oriented, and as such, neither students nor their parents feel that children are acquiring relevant or applicable skills.
- ① The school facilities and teaching methodologies do not engage children and so students become distracted and disinterested in school.

8.0 Recommendations

Mkombozi firmly asserts that an understanding the complex regional, social and cultural factors that have been detailed above has to now influence policy-making and the implementation of Government directives at a community level. If the gains made so far in achieving Universal Primary Education are to be sustained and increased there needs to be a proportionate focus on resourcing and implementing safety nets for children who have been abused, bereaved or exposed to domestic violence. Namely, there must be an investment in child protection services.

As such, Mkombozi strongly recommends that a three-tier plan of action be urgently undertaken with objectives that can be achieved within schools, within local government and at a national policy-making level. In this way, the barriers in attitudes, knowledge and practice that currently serve to exclude children and young people from social protection measures can begin to be addressed immediately. Specifically, Mkombozi's recommendations are as follows:

1. Policy-makers action plan

- ① There is an urgent need for a national dialogue about social exclusion and the consequences of failing to protect society's most vulnerable children and people. This must include debate on how to build social safety nets for those people who cannot thrive in a liberal capitalist society because of their limited assets.
- ① Policy makers need to grapple with the role of schools in "picking up the pieces" of poverty amongst school students and out of school children. Systems need to be established that strengthen schools roles within communities as a resources that goes beyond the minimal delivery of the primary curriculum. This is the case in American schools, which are obliged to offer counselling, washing facilities, recreation and often childcare services for students coming from dysfunctional families. Schools need to become engaged in supporting parents, offering psychosocial support to children with education and behavioural disorders. Finally, schools must urgently become a focal point where community members can access recreation, IT and use the premises for community purposes.
- ① Children's rights are seen to be purely related to the right to education, but little is said about violation of children's rights to protection and development. Policy makers, donor partners and public servants need to be far more conscious of the incidence and effects of neglect and abuse on the performance of the education sector.
- ① A national strategy must be developed which identifies tangible strategies to protect the best interests of children and young people. Actions that must be included in this strategy include child protection procedures in all schools (and within all agencies working with CYP) to protect them from abuse. Minimum standards of training and behaviour protocols for all childcare workers must be determined and enforced.
- ① Mkombozi strongly recommends the initiation of four national IEC campaigns focussing on the following issues:
 1. The importance of family planning and the responsibilities incumbent upon parents (e.g. "Are you ready?").
 2. The impact of sexual promiscuity on the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Unlike the "Ishi"⁷³ campaign this must be aimed at socially excluded women whose financial security and identity are tied up with their sexual behaviour.
 3. The dangers of alcohol and illicit drugs (and their role in family breakdown, domestic violence and ultimately social exclusion) with a parallel resourcing for detox and treatment clinics where possible.
 4. The need for hard work (i.e. to address the common belief among CYP that material things are their birthright and not the result of hard work).

- ④ A renewed campaign is required within the education system to make schools accountable to taxpayers. School procedures must be both consistent and transparent. Parent information books detailing procedures about enrolment, transfers, disciplinary measures, expectations could be developed and disseminated at the start of each school year. Such books would constitute a real resource, especially if they included school policies on child protection procedures, the schools' role in supporting vulnerable children, and procedures for complaint and redress when parents feel that the school has not upheld the best interests of a child. The books could also issue clear guidance on how to deal with serial truants or children from difficult family backgrounds. This would increase schools' accountability and professionalism and contribute to redressing the underlying attitude of mistrust between schools and parents.
- ④ Corporal punishment must be outlawed in schools as a demonstration of the Government's commitment to upholding the protection and best interests of Tanzanian children.
- ④ The Government must address infrastructural and resource problems such as the scarcity of teaching materials and the poor environment of many schools if education is to be a true national priority.
- ④ The insistence that school children wear uniforms means that, in practice, there is no free primary education. The Government should demonstrate its commitment to universal primary education by ending the requirement for students to wear uniforms.
- ④ Mkombozi recommends exploring the use of flexible school days and including entrepreneurship skills within the curriculum - in turn, this would address parents' concerns that schools do not teach relevant skills and their subsequent engagement of their children in forms of labour.
- ④ The primary school curriculum urgently needs to be updated to include teaching of parenting, communication and conflict management skills (i.e. family life education).
- ④ The primary school system does not have a "practice". There is little consensus about the type of students that the curricula is trying to develop. Within the education system, values and relationships have largely been ignored. This must be urgently remedied so that the primary school system is underpinned by a clear philosophy and intention about its aim, beliefs and key concepts.
- ④ Schools must urgently adopt the principles of positive youth development in their work with students, many of whom have been bereaved and / or face psychological trauma. The extent of child abuse, substance and drug abuse demands that psychosocial support is given to children. MOEC needs to urgently redefine its understanding of "special needs" children to include the educational and behavioural needs of all vulnerable children.
- ④ Indicators for schools' success should not purely be in terms of enrolment, drop-outs and exam pass rates. Additional qualitative indicators that are equally important include staff morale, parent and student satisfaction, confidence and capacity to innovate within MOEC guidelines and responsiveness to local needs.

2. Local government action plan

- ④ Currently, there is a sectoral and linear education system, but child vulnerability manifests across sectors. There is a need to break down these sectoral boundaries at a local level since schools cannot effectively deliver education if other manifestations of vulnerability are not addressed. Local Government Authorities (LGAs) usually have to deal with the results of out of school children in the form of unemployment, street children and crime. Mkombozi recommends piloting an innovative cross sectoral collaboration between MOEC, LGAs and civil society in 2 or 3 communities, using the capital grant for social infrastructure for which Councils can apply. Together they can expand the current remit of MEMKWA centres and scale them up into full community centres. At these community centres, adults and children could access literacy training, basic education, IT training, childcare and early childhood education for under 7's, career guidance for adults and youth, parenting advice, loans, leisure and recreation, library, child protection services, and opportunities for life long learning / adult education. The centres could be run by LGAs in a sectoral dialogue reporting to the MOEC. This is an opportunity for a public initiative in life long-learning that addresses child and youth vulnerability and is responsive to the local setting and local needs.
- ④ District Education Officers need to be far more aware of the school-based challenges in their locales. They should strategically appoint head teachers and staff in schools which are "failing" to address the engrained apathy and demotivation within certain schools.
- ④ More effective systems to support teachers' personal development, motivation and learning need to be established in schools.
- ④ The law says that parents must send children to school and follow up on their progress, but this is rarely enforced. If Tanzanians are to learn respect for the law (and thus to follow it) the law must be enforced. If a school takes action against even one recalcitrant parent it would act as a strong signal to others that the school is serious about addressing non-enrolment and poor attendance.

① Those mandated by their communities to mediate conflicts (such as teachers and community conflict management committees) lack the skills to work in an environment where there is less deference to them and their decisions and thus to effectively intervene in cases where children are at risk. Resources should be directed towards capacitating these actors in terms of skills; particularly in terms of understanding child development, child protection, conflict mediation and communication skills.

3. School-level action plan

① Schools must urgently clarify their role in the community. That is, they must clarify what they expect from the community and what they, in turn, can contribute to community development. They need to clarify what they do to assist children who do not have the ability to afford school costs and make sure that this is followed consistently and is transparent.

① Schools could initiate tripartite agreements between themselves, parents and children that outline the expectations and responsibilities incumbent upon each party. This would assist parents to reinforce what teachers do in school and teachers to help parents cope with children's behavioural problems.

① Poverty is a genuine reason why many children are out of school and involved in child labour. Schools must be far more creative about accommodating children's imperative to engage in labour while receiving education through flexible class times, creative classroom teaching and delivering a relevant curriculum that teaches young people employable skills.

① Support for families who cannot meet their basic needs is necessary. Although it is not viable at this point for the Government to offer financial support to individual families, schools could catalyse support from alumni and local businesses in a scholarship / bursary scheme for poor children.

① Schools and civil society must ensure that the most excluded young people and families obtain opportunities to initiate and manage school and community-based interventions which address their needs (as they perceive them).

① Schools must take a lead in challenging the current "blame culture" in which children are punished for the poverty of their parents. Immediate actions can include inviting parents in to participate in all decisions regarding assistance of their child and ending the practice of using the child to pass demands for school contributions payment to the parents on behalf of the school.

Schools must actively challenge the "blame culture" that punishes children for the poverty of their parents and they must disallow teacher aggression.

① Schools must "add value" and equip children to become employable. They must be more innovative, dynamic and creative in responding to their local context and the challenges within it. For example, working with businesses and CSOs to equip IT labs and to offer creative arts, recreation and skills for entrepreneurship.

① Schools must ensure that only the Head Teacher can send children home.

① Head Teachers must be far more engaged in the day-to-day running of their schools; indeed, they are primarily responsible for finding out the problems within the school and community and initiating action to address them.

① Individual schools must take action against staff who demonstrate no understanding of child development and human relations and are consequently aggressive, discriminatory or unprofessional in their behaviour towards children.

① and finally...

Vulnerable children need a positive attachment in the form of a caring and reliable adult. This means that the quality of the education they receive and how they respond to it is determined by the quality of the relationship between the teacher and the child. Schools must begin their work from this foundation in order to effectively transform the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of children.

9.0 Conclusion

The target schools could be called "sink schools" - they are located in communities where there is a high incidence of social exclusion and are working with children and families whose problems are multi-faceted and complex. Importantly, it is inappropriate to rate the risk factors that children and young people face in terms of one being more or less "risky", since they tend to manifest in multiples. That is, a child suspected to be a victim of domestic violence also tends to have parents who are drinking excessively and are uninvolved in their school progress.

The social structure of rural communities in Kilimanjaro is distorted by the out-migration of productive males, who have left the region to look for work elsewhere. The predominance of children and youth, women and old people in Kilimanjaro ensures that the region has special development needs. This distortion of the community's social fabric exacerbates income poverty and (perhaps more importantly) it exacerbates the non-income forms of poverty that the cause social exclusion of children and young people in the region.

The schools in this research study highlighted that a fundamental problem is the lack of clarity about the role of schools and education within Tanzania. The emphasis within policy making circles in recent years has been predominantly on increasing children's access to primary education without a concomitant emphasis on the quality of the education service.

The present research revealed that failure to equip teachers, school committees and community leaders to conceptualise the scale of the problems facing children and failure to assist them in developing support mechanisms to assist these people will ensure that there is no improvement in the quality of education. This ultimately will stall any developmental progress that Tanzania may have made in the past decade.

MKUKUTA aims to cater to the needs of vulnerable children, but it is impossible to develop a relevant educational practice in the absence of a clear understanding of what makes certain children vulnerable and how such vulnerability manifests in their behaviour. Catering to children's needs with a broad brush and assuming that all vulnerable children have the same learning needs will not address the problems that cause children to drop-out of school, be excluded from school, or play truant.

Interventions that support the most vulnerable must recognise that stigma has excluded these people from development processes. Social safety nets and child protection services, in particular, need to be equipped with the human capital to work with people who have been abused, are traumatised and often highly disillusioned with the state and voluntary services. Child protection services must support - not stigmatise - those on the margins of society.

Appendix 1: Endnotes

1. Research conducted by Mkombozi's Arusha Referral Service for Street Children.
2. Mkombozi Census of Street Children, 2003.
3. Ibid.
4. Household Budget Survey 2000/1.
5. Source: 1998 Census.
6. Source: Census 2002.
7. Source: Household Budget Survey 2000/1.
8. Source: Demographic & Health Survey, 1996.
9. Stambach 1996.
10. Setel 1996.
11. Swantz 1985.
12. Mkombozi, 2005.
13. Ibid.
14. Varvus, 2002.
15. Ibid. Interview, April 15, 1996.
16. World Bank, 1999.
17. Mkombozi Census of Street Children, 2003.
18. Primary Education Development Plan 2000-2005
19. Tanzanian Household Budget Survey 2000/1.
20. Govinda, "Making Basic Education Work for the Poor" (page 83).
21. PEDP Implementation Stock-taking Report, July 2002 (pages 78 - 79).
22. Rapid Assessment of Street Children in Arusha, Arusha Referral Service, May 2002.
23. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.
24. Kemmis and Wilkinson, 1998 (page 21).
25. Source: Mkombozi Census 2005: A comparative analysis of Tanzania's most vulnerable children: Situation and trends in street child populations in Arusha and Moshi from 2003 to 2005.
26. Notably, teachers are, or should, be a key attachment and source of assistance for school children. Therefore it is important to identify how conscious these adults are that some children are at risk, and for what reasons. The teachers' findings may be subjective, but they provide an important indication of the teachers' perceptions of child vulnerability in their communities.
27. An additional point of interest is that the consumption of local brew is completely normalised and accepted so that where a teacher is commenting on it as an issue of concern the drinking should be considered as of alcoholism.
28. Mkombozi Census 2005: A comparative analysis of Tanzania's most vulnerable children: Situation and trends in street child populations in Arusha and Moshi from 2003 to 2005.
29. MOEC, 2003.
30. Source: 1988 Census.
31. Source: Census 2002.
32. Source: Household Budget Survey 2000/1.
33. Source: Demographic & Health Survey, 1996.
34. MOEC, Basic Statistics in Education 1990 - 2003.
35. Gibbon 1998.
36. Hai District Council 1997.
37. Maarifa ni Ufunguo, 2001, Oxfam International, 2001.
38. Oxfam International, 2001.
39. In Hai district this is 190 people per sq. km and in Moshi Rural District it is 294 people per sq. km (Source: Kilimanjaro Region Socio-Economic Profile, 2nd Edition)
40. Kilimanjaro Social Economic Profile, 1997.
41. Ibid.
42. Source: 1998 Census.
43. Household Budget Survey, 2001.
44. March 2004.
45. McAlpine, Child Participation: Platitute or Reality: Paper presented at ESRF Forum, 2003.
46. Census 2002.
47. The National AIDS Control Programme, Surveillance Report 1996 - 2002, Ministry of Health, Tanzania, 1996 - 2002.
48. Villagers: 10 women and 11 men. Date: 7/8/97. Place: Matongo village. (Source: Kilimanjaro Region Socio-Economic Profile, 2nd Edition, 1997; Men and women in Matongo village.)
49. Ishi translates as "Live" and is the national awareness campaign advocating for people to follow the ABC: Abstain, Be Faithful and lastly use Condoms.
50. Nyerere, Socialism and Development
51. Sundet 194:43.

52. Rubin 1996:264.
 53. Mercer, 2001.
 54. Ibid.
 55. Ibid.
 56. Ibid.
 57. Moore 1996.
 58. Stambach 1996a; 1996b.
 59. Mercer, 2001.
 60. Mercer, 2001.
 61. Desai 1996; Green 2000; Mayoux, 1995.
 62. Kiondo 1995.
 63. Process notes of: "Action learning with Head Teachers about the impact of school uniforms on school attendance". Internal documentation for PAR into the Causation of School Drop-outs and Exclusions in Kilimanjaro Region, 5th December 2005.
 64. Working Definitions of Key Terms-strategy paper AE-NFE
 65. Forward of Adult / Non-Formal Education Implementation Plan by Joseph J. Mungai, Minister for Education and Culture.
 66. Source: Household Budget Survey 2000/1.
 67. In Tanzania local Government extends to every 10 houses which have leader in the form of the "Balozzi" or the Ten Cell Leader.
 68. Mkombozi's position is that corporal punishment is an abuse of the child's right to protection.
 69. Process notes of: Action learning with Head Teachers about the impact of school uniforms on school attendance Internal documentation for PAR into the Causation of School Drop-outs and Exclusions in Kilimanjaro Region, 5th December 2005.
 70. Mercer 2002.
 71. Mkombozi Systems for Staff Development and Learning, 2005.
 72. The National AIDS Control Programme, Surveillance Report 1996 - 2002, Ministry of Health, Tanzania, 1996 - 2002.
 73. Ishi translates as "Live" and is the national awareness campaign advocating for people to follow the ABC: Abstain, Be Faithful and lastly use Condoms.

Appendix 2: Glossary

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CYPs	Children and Young People
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
ESR	Education for Self Reliance
ETP	Education Training Policy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IEC	Information Education Communication
LGAs	Local Government Authorities
MEMKWA	Mpango Elimu Maalum Kwa Watoto Waliokosa
NNOC	National Network of Organisations working with Children in Tanzania
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NFE	Non-Formal Education
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
TEN/MET	Tanzanian Education Network
UPE	Universal Primary Education

Community Leader: Ward Executive Officers (WEOs), Village Executive Officers (VEOs), religious leaders, school teachers and other individuals who are generally perceived by the communities to hold a position of responsibility and high repute.



MKOMBOZI BELIEVES... helping children to grow in body, mind and spirit is the way to build a strong community. One unprotected child is one too many.

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