



Mkombozi

Census 2006:

**The rhetoric and reality of
Tanzania's street children**

**Social construction of a "problem"
masks an urgent need for policies
and services for vulnerable youth**

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Abstract

Mkombozi is a unique, Tanzanian organisation that periodically (2003, 2005 & 2006) undertakes a geographically focussed census of children and young people (CYP) who are visible on the streets. The present paper documents the findings from the October 2006 census, which assessed the trends and the situation of vulnerable children on the streets of northern Tanzania's Arusha and Moshi towns. It also indicates whether Mkombozi's preventative work with vulnerable CYP in their communities of origin is influencing how many are migrating to the streets from these rural and urban areas.

This research is significant from an organisational perspective in that it enables Mkombozi to evaluate its outreach interventions whilst also shedding light on the lifestyles and strategies used by CYP who are spending time on the street. Within the larger research and policy-making communities, this research contributes to the limited literature on street children, adding to our understanding that street children do not present a homogenous population (Ayuku et al, 2003).

When compared to the census data from January 2005, it can be seen that part-time CYP in Moshi have increased from 301 in 2005 to 411 in 2006, whereas full-time CYP have reduced from 169 to 51 (a 70% reduction). In Arusha, part-time CYP appear to have reduced from 522 in 2005 to 467 in 2006 (an 11% reduction). This is matched by a notable reduction in full-time CYP in Arusha - from 354 in 2005 to 173 in 2006 (a 51% reduction). Ten percent are female and 90% male. These figures indicate a positive shift in the demographics of street child populations in both towns. Importantly however, we don't believe this reflects a real reduction in the number of vulnerable CYP, we argue that this shift reflects the aging of the street child population.

Two phenomena appear to be occurring. Firstly, as the population of CYP ages, we are seeing more adolescents and young adults relying on the street environment for their survival. They have spent a significant part of their childhood and adolescence in this environment, and whilst honing their survival skills, they have missed out on education and development opportunities that would enable them to function more readily within mainstream society.¹ This has implications for the type of support they need to disengage from the street and better function within mainstream society.

The second phenomenon is that children and young people continue to migrate to the towns in search of employment and opportunities. In fact, many of these young people are adopting an opportunistic approach to their situation, looking at the street as a road towards self-determination and advancement. Overall, Mkombozi advocates that we must address the issue of CYP on the streets not as a problem for which individuals are penalised and stigmatised, but rather as a collective failure in policy making. Our focus is on the lack of investment in education and protection services for children, and employment and recreation opportunities for youth.

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The social construction of “street children” creates a problematic picture of youth as alien to “normal” mainstream society...

1. Defining “street child”

In the research literature, there is a tendency to broadly define the term “street children” (De Moura, 2002). For example, Juarez defines street children as “those who attend organisations which assist street children” (Juarez, 1992, p. 94). Others focus on the role of the street and include children who live on the street and those who live with their families but carry out activities on the street (Ataide, 1993; Bose, 1992). UNICEF’s seminal 1986 definition, which categorises street children as “candidates for the streets”, children “on” the streets and children “of” the streets, is still used as a classification in much of the literature and is assumed to reflect the process of becoming a street child. Within these multiple and varied definitions lies the paradox that despite the human propensity to classify, a child is almost impossible to pigeonhole as a “street child” or an “at risk child”, because essentially, they are individuals with unique histories, aspirations and potential (Mkombozi, 2005).

Parallel to the literature’s attempts to classify children, there is also a characterisation of the individuals and their families who spend time on the streets which reflects the conception of an isolated and alienated street society (De Moura, 2002). The deficient conditions of street life are often emphasised wherein basic rights of food, shelter and education are violated (Dallape, 1989, p. 8), whilst others emphasise the deficient characteristics of the children themselves, differentiating them from their peers who live in a home environment (Cosgrove, 1990). Children away from mainstream society are said to be completely regimented by the lifestyle, values and norms of a sub-culture of their own – “the street society” (Lusk, 1992, p. 297). They are also presented as surrendering to the “temptations of the street” (Campos et al. 1994, p. 327).

In many ways, the conceptual pictures drawn of street children create a “mythic image” (Ennew, 1989) and this social construction of street children offers a powerful picture of young individuals and their street community as alien to “normal” mainstream society. Once on the streets, children are seen as part of a different social realm, with personal characteristics that defy the norms and values praised by western society. (De Moura, 2002). This construction of a separate street world peopled by socially aberrant children and adults both stigmatises the poor who are on the street and perpetuates their social exclusion (De Moura, 2002).

It is within this context, where researchers bring their own value judgements to the subjects, that the use of rhetorical devices has become evident in the estimates of the numbers of street children in different parts of the world (De Moura, 2002). There are large discrepancies between different sources which are explained as the result of contrasting definitions of street children (Agnelli & Rizvi, 1986, Lusk, 1992), the mobile character of this population (Agnelli & Rizvi, 1986, Lusk, 1992, Bose, 1992), and its marginalisation by official statistics (Agnelli & Rizvi, 1986). Although different definitions of street children cover a wide range of youth and situations, this imprecision is often ignored or considered irrelevant by authors, scientists, policymakers and the media (De Moura, 2002). These estimations of street children sensitise readers at the expense of consistency and reliability (De Moura, 2002).

Our role as a civil society organisation is to challenge a status quo that accepts the social exclusion of certain children and youth from opportunities and development within their own country...

Within this context, Mkombozi conducted a census of children and young people who were spending time on the streets of Arusha and Moshi town within a 12-hour time frame in October 2006. We also bring our assumptions to this study, believing that the discourses on street children have profound implications for the way that people perceive and judge poor families (De Moura, 2002). We believe that our role as a civil society organisation (CSO) is to challenge a status quo that accepts the social exclusion of certain children and young people from opportunities and development within their country. Additionally, we are uncomfortable with the perceived desire amongst academics, policymakers and NGOs to categorise children as a prerequisite for making decisions about whether to offer them assistance. This position, taken to extremes, results in social services being withdrawn from children who are not at risk “enough” because they only come to the streets part of the time, or because they are not of a certain age or gender. This paper builds upon Ayuku’s observation that more case studies need to be analysed to determine whether UNICEF’s classification is valid in contemporary Africa (Ayuku et al, 2003).

2. Methodology

Ayuku’s conclusion that there is an absence of census data on street children in Kenya (Ayuku et al, 2003) is typical of the international research literature on street CYP. In Tanzania, Mkombozi is a unique organisation that periodically (2003, 2005 & 2006) undertakes a geographically focussed census of children and youth who are visible on the streets. This paper documents the findings from the October 2006 census. This research exercise provides a snapshot of the trends and situation of vulnerable children spending time on the streets in the northern Tanzania towns of Arusha and Moshi. It also indicates whether Mkombozi’s preventative work with vulnerable CYP in their communities of origin is influencing the numbers of children migrating to the streets from these rural and urban areas. This research is significant from an organisational perspective, in that it enables Mkombozi to ascertain the impact of its outreach interventions, whilst also extending our understanding of the lifestyles and strategies used by children and young people who come into contact with the street. Within the larger research and policy-making communities, this research contributes to the limited literature on street children, hopefully increasing our understanding of the heterogeneity of street CYP (Ayuku et al, 2003). This paper reinforces Ayuku’s findings from Eldoret in Kenya that it is necessary to make structural distinctions within the street child population and for the planning and policy to be adapted for specific subgroups (ibid).

Mkombozi adopted an “advocacy approach” to collecting this census data, whereby former street youth were trained to deliver a questionnaire to people under the age of 25 years on the streets. This was done within a 12-hour period in Arusha town and two days later in Moshi town. In each town, data was collected by the same group of former street youth and Mkombozi staff supervisors. The rationale for using former street youth to collect the data, all of whom were over the age of 18 years, was to address the concern that data collection by unfamiliar adults would be more difficult since street CYP are typically “restless and reluctant responders” (Ayuku et al, 2003). In addition, this exercise is one of Mkombozi’s self-actualisation activities used to expose its CYP to the research process and to offer them opportunities to contribute to our understanding of vulnerable children and young people. This approach also helped Mkombozi gain access to street youth who might have never participated otherwise (e.g. youth who are extremely angry with mainstream society) (Kidd & Kral, 2002).

The interviewers participated in training prior to the census, as well as a post-census debrief; they were not paid, but were instead given Mkombozi coats, hats and t-shirts. Upon publication of this paper, they will participate in a post-census party as a “thank you”.

Purposive sampling was used whereby these interviewers approached all young people who they thought were under the age of 25 years within a limited precinct in each town. When interviewers inadvertently approached and interviewed young people who were over 25 years we retained the data, but it has not been analysed for the purposes of this paper. The 27 interview locations (14 locations in Arusha and 13 in Moshi) had been identified through our ongoing street work activities as areas where street CYP tend to congregate.

A questionnaire was developed, translated from English to Swahili, back to English and then back to Swahili. It was then piloted with former street children who are in care at Mkombozi’s residential centre. Consequently, we believe that it had high face validity. In an attempt to disaggregate children and to discern those living on the streets full-time from those who had partial contact with the streets, participants were asked: “Do you live and sleep on the streets all of the time, both day and night?”. In response to a negative reply they were asked: “Do you come to the streets during the day and return home at night?”. Interviewees were asked what activities they engaged in on a daily basis, and to rate the time spent on them using a Likert scale.



Once children drop out of school or become dislocated in some way from their families, they are more at risk of being attracted to the streets in urban centres...

Given the difficulties in leaving the streets once entrenched in the culture, agencies must research and advocate for policies and services for children and youth who are vulnerable and “at risk” of homelessness...

Participants were also asked if they originated from a list of Mkombozi's 33 targeted communities. These communities cover areas where Mkombozi has engaged in outreach work over the past six, three and one years, respectively, and other urban areas where we anticipate scaling up our preventative work in 2007. There was a range of motives in asking this question. These motives included the need for Mkombozi to obtain baseline information about the numbers of street children coming from communities where we are considering scaling up our work. We were also looking for quantitative data to assess whether our current outreach efforts are influencing the numbers of children migrating to the streets.

Children were also asked whether they attend or have attended one of our 10 target primary schools, as well as their current status (i.e. attending, playing truant, recently dropped out or recently graduated). This gives us an indication of whether the participatory action research that we have been conducting within these schools has impacted the number of children dropping out and coming to the streets. These questions assume a “linear theory of causality based on the degree of family connection” (De Moura, 2002), proposing that once children drop out of school, or become dislocated in some way from their families, they are consequently more at risk of being attracted to the streets in urban centres.

In addition to Mkombozi's interventions in these communities, there is an array of contingency variables that affect whether a child leaves home or not for the streets. But given the difficulties in leaving the streets once a youth becomes entrenched in the culture (Barry et al, 2002), we and other agencies need to engage in research and advocacy for policy and the development of services that work with children and youth who are at risk of becoming homeless. This census contributes to practitioners', policymakers' and academics' understanding of whether this approach is an appropriate and useful way to address the numbers of children spending time on the streets in northern Tanzania.

Notably, the 2005 census revealed a 472% increase in the number of children coming from Majengo suburb (Mkombozi, 2005). Upon investigation with schools and community leaders as part of a participatory action research process (Mkombozi, 2006), it was revealed that there have been at least 20 cases of child abuse reported in the past two years at Majengo Primary School. In fact, school officials believe there are more cases than those that have been reported.

Mkombozi was keen to use the opportunity this census provided to deepen its understanding about abuse of children, and to investigate a possible link between abusive treatment of children in the home and their migration to the streets (this trend has been indicated in our interactions with street children over the past 10 years). Adapting a set of questions from the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study, we asked children the following questions, which they rated on a Likert scale from “never”, “sometimes”, “often” and “very often”. Although these response options were not of a high face validity because children's perceptions of terms such as “sometimes” may differ, the scale served our purpose by giving us an indication of the extent of abusive behaviour towards children who are now spending time on the street:



Did a parent or other adult in the household swear at you, insult you, put you down and/or act in a way that made you think that you might be physically hurt?

Did an adult push, grab, slap, or throw something at you and/or ever hit so hard that you had marks or were injured?

Has an adult or caretaker ever hurt you emotionally, physically or sexually and/or have you ever witnessed this happening to someone else?

Have you ever experienced something in your life that caused you to feel very afraid or stressed for a long period of time, have nightmares and/or cause you to fear for your safety?

Does your family make you feel special, loved?

Do you think that your family is a source of strength, support and protection?

At home, is/was there enough to eat?

Does your parents' drinking interfere with their care for you?

The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study used a confidential non-identifying survey format. Given that the interviewers were potentially participants' peers, we were concerned that children might worry about confidentiality and how the interviewer might use this information about them. To address this issue, we only asked questions taken from the ACE survey that would indicate a protection concern for the child, rather than outright abuse. We also gave the children the opportunity to not answer this question. The ACE study was created for Western adults, which limits its generalisability for a Tanzanian group of children and young people. Nonetheless, it is an important contribution to the epidemiological data on street children and youth, and it upgrades theoretical knowledge.

Data from the census exercise was entered into an Access database and analysed using SPSS to give basic descriptive statistics for frequency and cross tabulations.

Using former street youth to collect and record the data is a double-edged sword. Although they bring value in reducing the potential barriers between interviewer and interviewee, there were inconsistencies in their recording of data. This occurred despite their prior training (in approaching girls), practice (in interviewing) and testing to ensure that they could deliver the questionnaire clearly and consistently. In line with these constraints, we identified a confidence level of 0.1%. This is an increase from 0.05% in the 2005 census and reflects our growing understanding of the research methodologies and limitations within our data collection processes.



The findings of this census contradict prevailing attitudes that street children are deviants and criminals who need palliative and alienating “interventions”...

In keeping with holistic and comprehensive practice, Mkombazi believes there is untapped potential in these youth and that helping to unlock it is key to the overall healing process...

3. Analysis & Discussion

Demographics of vulnerable children and youth in Arusha and Moshi towns

In Arusha, a total of 1,010 CYP were interviewed within the 12-hour period. Of these, 36% (n. 370) were CYP going about their daily business. Similarly in Moshi, of the 1,020 CYP interviewed, 55% (n. 558) had no proximate relation to the street in terms of employment or seeking fulfilment of their basic needs for shelter, food and security.

Significantly, the trend of part-time CYP who come to the streets during the day for work, recreation or begging continues to outnumber CYP who live full-time in the street environment. In Arusha 17% (n. 173) of the total number interviewed were full-time street CYP, compared to 46% (n. 467) who come to the streets during the day. In Moshi, a similar proportion (40% / n. 411) come to the streets part-time, but there are fewer CYP who live and sleep on the streets full-time. In fact, in Moshi, full-time CYP only account for 5% (n. 51) of the total number of CYP interviewed.

When compared to the census data from January 2005, it can be seen that whilst real numbers of part-time CYP in Moshi have increased from 301 in 2005 to 411 in 2006, the full-time number has reduced from 169 to 51. In Arusha, part-time CYP appear to have reduced from 522 in 2005 to 467 in 2006, and this reduction is matched by a notable decrease from 354 full-time CYP in 2005 to 173 in 2006.

There is no difference between the two towns in terms of the gender breakdown of full-time CYP on the streets: 10% are female and 90% are male.² In terms of part-time CYP, both Arusha and Moshi are similar, with an average of 15% being female.³ This indicates a slight change in the trend that we had been witnessing since 2003, where the proportion of street girls was increasing. It shows a reduction of four percent since 2005 in the proportion of full-time female CYP, but no movement in the proportion of part-time females in both towns.

These figures indicate a positive shift in the demographics of street child populations in both towns. However, as opposed to a real reduction in the number of vulnerable CYP, we believe that this shift reflects the aging of the street child population. In 2005, 62% of full-time CYP were over the age of 15 years. In 2006, the percentage of those sleeping on the streets full-time in Arusha who were over the age of 15 years had increased to 96%.⁴ In Moshi, the situation is slightly different in that there is a slight majority (39% / n. 20) of 10-14 year olds who are sleeping on the streets. Nonetheless, of the total group of full-time CYP in Moshi (n. 51), 54% are over the age of 15 years.⁵

In 2005, there was an average of 70% of part-time CYP in both towns over the age of 15 years. This appears to have remained constant, with 71% of Arusha part-time CYP being over the age of 15 years in 2006⁶ and 84% of Moshi part-time CYP being over the age of 15 years.⁷

Upon analysis of the amount of time spent on the streets by CYP, it is possible to posit that two phenomena are occurring. Firstly, as the population of CYP ages, we are seeing more and more adolescents and young adults relying on the street environment for their survival. In Arusha, 24% (n. 111) of part-time CYP and 30% (n. 52) of full-time CYP had been on the streets for over three years. They had spent a significant part of their childhood and adolescence in this environment, and whilst honing their survival skills, they have missed out on education and development opportunities that would enable them to function more easily within mainstream society.⁸ This has implications for the type of support they need to disengage from the street and function within mainstream society.

The second phenomenon is that children and young people continue to migrate to the towns in search of employment and opportunities. This can be seen in Moshi where 43% (n. 22) of CYP sleeping on the streets have only been doing so for one to six months, with only 4% (n. 2) for less than one month. Twenty percent (n. 10) had been there for more than one year. In Arusha, this can be seen amongst those CYP who come to the streets during the day: 22% (n. 105) had only been doing so for one to six months. This correlates with the data we collected on school status where 15% (n. 26) had recently completed standard primary education, and were attracted to the streets as a way to embark upon employment or other opportunities post school.

Participant characteristics

“Discourses on street children naturalise social deprivation and stigmatise poor children and families” (De Moura, 2002). The representation of a street society alienated from mainstream society inspires interventions aimed at improving the life condition for “outsiders”, rather than long term and comprehensive social support for excluded “insiders” (ibid). The literature describes social exclusion as a process of collective deprivation, incorporating poverty, discrimination, subordination, inequality, inaccessibility and lack of representation (Sposati, 1996). In Tanzania, as elsewhere, the prevailing norms of Western societies, inculcated in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, regard children and youth as vulnerable and in need of adult protection and guidance. These norms influence the interventions of NGOs and other agencies (Boyden, 1990).

However, this combines with a palliative and fragmented approach (De Moura, 2002) that does not favour holistic and comprehensive practices but, rather, inspires interventions which sustain the status quo of social inequalities. In other words, “the actions aim at helping street children perpetuate life on the street” (De Moura, 2002, p. 362). Mkombozi agrees that there is an enormous and largely untapped potential residing in these youth, and that helping them to find it is a key part of the healing process (Kidd & Kral, 2002). However, there is also a pressing need to challenge the social stigma faced by homeless youth, the erroneous foundations upon which such stigma is based and the damage caused by stigmatisation and prejudicial policy and legislation (O’Grady & Greene, 2003).

This census gives us a snapshot of the lives and aspirations of street children and youth in northern Tanzania. The picture that is emerging contradicts prevailing attitudes that stigmatise these children as deviants, criminals and as socially aberrant. In fact, across Arusha and Moshi towns, 36% of CYP reported that they spend their time working, with 77% of those reporting that they do so for more than 12 hours a day. Twenty-six percent said that they spend their time meeting their basic needs. Twenty-four percent reported spending their time begging, with 75% doing so for more than 12 hours a day.

Whilst it is possible to argue that CYP on the streets may be unable to accurately report the time spent on activities, an interesting picture emerged that contradicts the stereotypical image of street children and youth as lazy and undirected. For instance, the questionnaire offered interviewees the option to note multiple activities that they were engaged in. Notably, boys indicated multiple activities, whereas girls only indicated one, saying they either spend their time working, begging or obtaining their basic needs. Each girl only used one of these strategies, as opposed to boys who tended to deploy a number of strategies concurrently. No girls who live full-time on the streets admitted to playing, and only five part-time girls acknowledged that they play. This reinforces the findings of Abuyu’s research that despite the high social support achieved by street girls in Eldoret (Abuyu et al, 2003), the small network of the street girls makes them vulnerable. Interventions need to be developed that are gender specific and aim at increasing the size of these girls’ networks (Ayuku et al, 2003).

Drug use and prostitution as strategies for survival:

Throughout the literature, street children are reported to be prematurely sexualised (Bernier & Ascensio, 1995, Campos et al, 1994; Raffaelli et al, 1993) and engaged in high-risk activities such as prostitution (Bernier & Ascensio, 1995; Ewart-Briggs, 1990), homosexual activities and intercourse (Bernier & Ascensio, 1995, Raffaelli et al, 1993).



This census shows that street child networks in Moshi and Arusha do not support gang and organised criminal behaviour, as is often implied in public discourse...

Given the importance of personal social networks to child development, it is surprising that few studies offer an in-depth analysis of the nature, extent and function of social ties among street children...

In fact, most of the literature notes the close association of life on the streets with crime, delinquency, robbery, theft and drug use (Ataide, 1993, Campos et al., 1994, Oliveira et al, 1992).

This census and questions about drug use took place within a context where drug use is illegal; this likely affected the level of disclosure amongst CYP. Indeed, only 5% of those sleeping on the streets in Arusha admitted to using drugs, and none did so in Moshi. Similarly, in Arusha only two CYP admitted to selling drugs, and only then as a partial strategy for survival, spending only two to four hours a day engaged in this activity. Oddly, the one male full-time youth who reported selling drugs in Moshi did so as his primary source of income, spending more than 12 hours a day. Amongst those CYP spending a part of the day on the streets, only 1% in Arusha admitted using and selling drugs, with none in Moshi. In Arusha, different youth admitted to selling drugs (one female, two male), from those who admitted to taking drugs. Despite the constraints around disclosure on this topic, these findings can be partially verified by Mkombozi's experience and observation of street children and youth, who tend to use and abuse drugs and solvents in Arusha, but less so in Moshi.

A major stressor in the lives of street youth is finding a source of income. Research has indicated that 16-46% of street youth become involved in prostitution (Kipke, Unger, O'Connor, Palmer & LaFrance, 1997; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992; Schissel, 1997; Yates, McKenzie, Pennbridge, & Swofford, 1991). In Moshi, no CYP admitted to prostitution, whilst in Arusha, eight CYP admitted to involvement in prostitution and classified it as work (five female, three male). These CYP were primarily 15-19 (n. 6) and 20-24 (n. 2) years old.

Kidd and Kral (2002) observed that homeless youth in Canada who associate with peers engaged in destructive coping strategies (e.g. drug abuse) leads newcomers to adopt similar behaviours. In the northern Tanzanian context however, there continues to be considerable social stigma amongst street CYP with regard to prostitution and drug use. Thus, there is a need for further research around these young people's attitudes towards the use of drugs and prostitution as strategies for survival and income generation, since the taboo on such subjects is so intense that this census can only indicate the prevalence and motivation for such behaviour.

Working and social support networks as strategies for survival:

Of those who work, the female CYP in both Arusha and Moshi rely on a regular, daily job at the same place (27 females in Arusha and 29 females in Moshi) and then, secondarily, on buying and selling goods (13 females in Arusha and 8 in Moshi). In contrast, males tend to focus on "opportunistic work" (102 males in Arusha and 110 in Moshi). The proceeds from work are primarily used by all CYP for themselves (64% / n. 169 in Arusha and 65% / n. 198 in Moshi). Secondarily, the proceeds are shared with the family (24% / n. 65 in Arusha and 28% / n. 85 in Moshi). No CYP reported sharing the proceeds of their work with a gang and only 4% across both towns reported sharing their money with friends. This indicates that the social support networks used by such children and young people are limited and urge a reliance upon the individual to both find their own income and to dispose of it as they see fit.

Given the importance of personal social networks to child development, it is surprising that few studies offer an in-depth analysis of the nature, extent and functions of ties among street CYP (Campos et al, 1994). Certainly, evidence pertaining to the vulnerability and coping of street children is contradictory. Peer relationships are reported as erratic and unstable in some publications and mutually caring in others (Donald & Swart-Kruger, 1994). Swart (1990) argues that street children networks provide a high enough degree of social support to be characterised as “pseudo-families”, whereas Kidd and Kral (2002) point to the superficiality of friendships on the streets. The evidence from this census indicates that street children networks in Moshi and Arusha should not be primarily viewed as supporting gang and organised criminal behaviour, as is often implied in the public discourse (Ayuku et al, 2003), and that although street children normally have friends they know only for a short period, this pattern of fluidity has also been reported among Western school children (Cairns et al, 1995). The length of relationship is not always a good proxy for the closeness of friendship when investigating street children (Ayuku et al, 2003), and although support networks do exist within the street CYP population, there is also considerable emphasis on the individual supporting him/herself financially.

TABLE 1A: Activities of full-time street CYP in Moshi and Arusha

	OF THE 173 FULL-TIME STREET CYP IN ARUSHA	OF THE 51 FULL-TIME STREET CYP IN MOSHI
WORKING	31% (n. 53) reported that they spend their time working, only 5 of whom were girls. 68% (n. 36) spend more than 12 hours a day and 2% (n. 1) spend less than 2 hours a day working.	41% (n. 21) reported that they spend their time working, only 2 of whom were girls. 86% (n. 18) reported working for more than 12 hours a day.
SURVIVING	27% (n. 47) said that they look for basic needs, 8 of whom were girls.	24% (n. 12) reported that they look for basic needs, 2 of whom were girls. 66% (n. 8) reported doing so for more than 12 hours a day.
USING DRUGS	5% (n. 9) report using drugs (8 boys, 1 girl). 44% (n. 4) spend more than 12 hours a day doing so and 44% (n. 4) spend two to four hours using drugs.	None reported using drugs.
SELLING DRUGS	1% (n. 2) admit to selling drugs (all boys). 100% (n. 2) spend 2-4 hours a day doing so.	One male reported selling drugs, for more than 12 hours a day.
PLAYING	2% (n. 4) say they play, all were male. 50% (n. 2) spend 2-4 hours doing so; 25% (n. 1) spend 8.5 - 12 hours; 25% (n. 1) spending less than 2 hours.	Only (n. 1) male reported playing, doing so for more than 12 hours a day.
BEGGING	25% (n. 43) beg, only 4 of whom were girls. 67% (n. 29) spend more than 12 hours a day begging, 16% (n. 7) spend 8.5-12 hours, 9% (n. 4) spend 4.5-8 hours, 5% (n. 2) spend 2-4 hours, and 2% (n. 1) spend less than 2 hours doing so.	22% (n. 11) reported begging, only (n. 1) of whom was female and (n. 10) were male. 82% (n. 9) beg for more than 12 hours a day.
OTHER...	13% (n. 23) spend their time in “other activities” (only 1 girl) and 7% (n. 12) said that none of the above options were suitable for them, all of whom are boys.	(n. 5) reported being engaged in “other activities”, and (n. 1) said “none of the above”.

See Table 1B (re: part-time CYP) on page 13 >>



The census shows that the urban suburbs (more so than the rural communities) of Moshi and Arusha are critical sources of street children and youth...

Effectiveness of community outreach activities in Arusha and Moshi towns

In analysing the communities from which street children and youth originate, our motivation is to identify communities that could benefit from Mkombozi's outreach work. This involves strengthening child protection, education and development services. It follows the hypothesis that as safety nets for vulnerable children are initiated and improved, there will be a consequent pay-off in reducing the number of children coming to the streets from these communities. Additionally, we use the census to build a picture of whether our already existing outreach work is effective in this regard.

This census reveals that both the suburbs of Moshi and Arusha are important sources of children and youth who come to the streets. In Arusha, the following percentage of CYP on the streets (either full-time or part-time) came from these suburbs:

- Arusha Ngaramtoni - 12% (n. 125)
- Arusha Ngarenaro - 9% (n. 91)
- Arusha Unga Ltd - 8% (n. 83)
- Arusha Esso - 7% (n. 68)
- Arusha Majengo - 8% (n. 78)

Likewise, the suburbs of Moshi are a source of street children. Specifically, these are:

- Moshi Njoro - 18% (n. 187)
- Moshi Pasua - 10% (n. 100)
- Moshi Kiboriloni - 7% (n. 70)
- The 6 streets that comprise Majengo continue to be a cumulative source of street children with a total of 13% (n. 131).

Mkombozi will use this information in choosing additional target communities as it embarks on its five-year work programme to strengthen the development and financing of child protection services. This census revealed that migration to the streets from Mkombozi's rural target communities of Kibosho and Machame numbered 1% (n. 11) and 0.1% (n. 4), respectively. This is a reduction from 63 CYP from Kibosho and 8 CYP from Machame in 2005.

The findings of this census encourage Mkombozi to refocus our efforts on urban suburbs rather than rural communities.

Whereas street boys engage in multiple activities, girls spend their time either working, begging or obtaining basic needs. Thus, interventions need to be developed that are gender specific and aim to increase the size of street girls' networks.

TABLE 2: Numbers of CYP coming to the streets of Moshi and Arusha from Mkombozi's target communities

	2003	2005	REDUCTION 2003-5	2006	REDUCTION 2003-6
KIBOSHO (rural)	86	63	23%	15	83%
MACHAME (rural)	26	8	69%	8	69%
MAJENGO (urban)	23	110	-378%	135	-487%
URU (urban)	60	36	40%	24	60%

TABLE 1B: Activities of part-time street CYP in Moshi and Arusha

	OF THE 467 PART-TIME STREET CYP IN ARUSHA	OF THE 411 PART-TIME STREET CYP IN MOSHI
WORKING	53% (n. 248) work, 49 of whom were girls. Time spent working: 53% (n. 131) more than 12 hours, 31% (n. 76) 8.5-12 hours, 13% (n. 31) 4.5-8 hours, 3% (n. 8) 2-4 hours and 0% (n. 2) under 2 hours.	65% (n. 266) were working, 14% (n. 36) of whom were girls.
SURVIVING	22% (n. 103) look for basic needs, 18 of whom were girls. Time spent: 38% (n. 39) more than 12 hours, 23% (n. 24) 8.5-12 hours, 16% (n. 16) 4.5-8 hours, 17% (n. 18) 2-4 hours and 6% (n. 6) under 2 hours.	17% (n. 68) report that they look for their basic needs, only 5 of whom were girls.
USING DRUGS	1% (n. 6) use drugs, none of whom were girls. Time spent using drugs: 66% (n. 4) more than 12 hours, 17% (n. 1) 8.5-12 hours, 17% (n. 1) 2-4 hours.	None reported using drugs.
SELLING DRUGS	0% (n. 1) sells drugs, none of whom are girls. The individual reported only spending 2-4 hours a day doing so.	None reported selling drugs.
PLAYING	7% (n. 31) play, only 4 of whom were girls. Time spent playing: 35% (n. 11) more than 12 hours, 31% (n. 8) 4.5-8 hours, 26% (n. 8) 2-4 hours and 13% (n. 4) under 2 hours.	2% (n. 10) said that they spent their time playing, only one of whom was female.
BEGGING	7% (n. 32) beg, only 6 of whom were girls. Time spent begging: 16% (n. 5) more than 12 hours, 31% (n. 10) 8.5 - 12 hours, 31% (n. 10) 4.5-8 hours, 19% (n. 6) 2-4 hours and 3% (n. 1) under 2 hours.	2% (n. 10) said that they spent their time begging, again only one of whom was female.
OTHER...	10% (n. 48) spend their time on "other activities", 6 were girls, and 7% (n. 35) answered "none of the above" (3 were girls).	15% (n. 61) reported being engaged in "other activities".



Contrary to popular assumption, a surprising number of youth are also attending primary school while living or spending time on the streets...

Young people spend time on the streets in the absence of any other constructive way to spend their time after school. Mkombozi stresses the urgent need for leisure and recreational facilities for urban children...

For many years, there has been an implicit assumption amongst childcare practitioners within Moshi and Arusha regions that street children migrate between the two towns. However, this census revealed that, in Moshi, 44% (n. 445) of CYP did not come from any of our target communities. Additionally, there are only 2% (n. 18) of children and youth in Moshi originating from the Arusha target communities. In Arusha, 48% (n. 483) of CYP did not come from any of our target communities, and there were very few children in Arusha originating from Kilimanjaro Region (those who did originated from suburbs in Moshi; specifically, Njoro at 0.5% / n. 5 and Rombo Useri at 0.5 / n. 5).

Eighty-six percent of CYP who came to the streets from Mkombozi's target communities were between the ages of 10-24 years,⁹ which would imply that a proportion of them should be enrolled and attending primary or secondary school. In Moshi, of the 51 CYP sleeping on the streets, 43% (n. 22) said they were not primary school students, compared to the 29% (n. 51) who said that they were not primary school students in Arusha.

Interestingly however, 13% of full-time street children (n. 7 in Moshi and n. 20 in Arusha) claimed that they were attending primary school daily, as did 17% of part-time CYP (12% / n. 49) in Moshi and 21% / n. 102) in Arusha. This is extraordinary, given our assumptions that life on the streets precludes attendance in school, and warrants further research to understand how these children are managing their lives and education.

In Moshi, 20% (n. 10) of full-time CYP are primary school dropouts, whilst 16% (n. 72) of part-time children are dropouts. In Arusha, 18% (n. 32) of full-time street children and youth were playing truant from primary school, 25% (n. 44) were dropouts, and 15% (n. 26) had recently completed standard primary education.

In Moshi, 20% (n. 10) of full-time CYP had recently completed Standard VII primary education, and staggeringly, 52% (n. 212) of part-time CYP had recently completed primary. In Arusha, 15% (n. 26) of full-time CYP had recently completed Standard VII primary education and 31% (n. 147) of part-time CYP had recently completed primary. In Arusha, 17% (n. 79) of part-time street CYP were school dropouts, while 10% (n. 49) were playing truant.

Table 3 (see page 15 >>) indicates two phenomena that should be cause for concern:

(1) Firstly, the number of children who claim to be attending school daily (n = 73 from Mkombozi's target schools) whilst also spending time on the streets must be noted. Numbers are particularly high from urban schools (Mwenge, Majengo) and those near the main road into Moshi and Arusha (Lambo Extended). For many years, Mkombozi has been highlighting the lack of leisure and recreational facilities for urban children. This census may explain our observation that young people spend time on the streets in the absence of any other constructive way to spend their time after school.

(2) The second phenomenon of note is the number of youth on the streets who have recently completed primary school (n = 44 from Mkombozi's target schools).

TABLE 3: School status of street CYP from Mkombozi's target schools

	ATTEND DAILY	DROPOUT	TRUANT	DONE PRIMARY	TOTAL
MWENGE (urban)	19	0	1	3	23
PASUA (urban)	6	5	2	13	26
MAJENGO (urban)	21	4	4	14	43
RAU (peri-urban)	5	5	3	6	19
MNINI (rural)	1	0	0	1	2
KIFUMBO (rural)	1	0	0	1	1
KOMBO (rural)	2	2	0	0	4
MANUSHI Juu (rural)	1	0	0	0	1
KIABONI (urban)	1	2	1	1	5
LAMBO EXTENDED (rural)	16	10	7	5	38
NONE OF THE ABOVE	618	234	178	494	1,524

Street CYP's knowledge of their rights

This is the first time that Mkombozi has used the census as an opportunity to assess the degree to which children and youth are accessing information about their rights. We asked all participants (n. 1,010 in Arusha and n. 1,020 in Moshi) if they had received information on children's rights, and if so, from what source. In both towns there was an almost equal division between those who knew and those who did not.¹⁰ There was no significant variation between the sub-groups of CYP in terms of knowing about their rights, except for part-time males in Arusha, 388 of whom knew about child rights and 219 who did not.

Clearly, despite living in what is often considered a marginalised situation, these young people obtain much of their information through mainstream media. Notably, radio, television and newspapers are the main sources of information on rights for these children and youth.

There is a clear opportunity for Mkombozi staff and those in other NGOs to become more active in sharing child rights information with these young people, particularly as an aspect of the outreach and street work. This would improve the currently negligible impact that we have on educating CYP about their rights. Although television and radio is an expensive approach to sharing child rights information, it is evidently one that would be most successful in widely disseminating messages.

Note that, in Moshi, Mkombozi recently broadcast a six-month series of child rights programmes on Radio Sauti ya Njili - this may account for the 31.6% of CYP in Moshi who had heard about child rights on the radio.



A significant proportion of CYP are on the streets due to pragmatic need and the desire to self-improve, not because of familial or personal dysfunction...

Q:

Is your family a source of support and protection?

A:

Arusha: Full-time CYP

- 56% (n. 95) said never
- 14% (n. 25) said often
- 14% (n. 25) said sometimes
- 14% (n. 25) said very often

Arusha: Part-time CYP

- 34% (n. 158) said never
- 18% (n. 83) said often
- 21% (n. 97) said sometimes
- 27% (n. 127) said very often

Moshi: Full-time CYP

- 39% (n. 20) said never
- 10% (n. 5) said often
- 18% (n. 9) said sometimes
- 33% (n. 17) said very often

Moshi: Part-time CYP

- 18% (n. 74) said never
- 27% (n. 112) said often
- 15% (n. 61) said sometimes
- 40% (n. 163) said very often

If Mkombozi is to further participate in such popular information, education and communication campaigns, it will be necessary to evaluate the impact that child rights messages are having on young listeners. Additionally, we will need to reinforce this information with a commitment by our staff and publicity materials to enable CYP to better act on the information they obtain by linking them to health, legal, education and employment services.

Street CYP's exposure to stress, violence and abuse

Although findings are inconsistent, reports indicate that street children have twice as many health problems when compared to other urban children, including developmental delays, depression, anxiety, behaviour problems, and social incompetence (Rafferty & Shinn, 1991). The lack of stable parental figures has been linked to a variety of negative outcomes (Damon, 1983, Kranzler, 1990), whereas social support from family and non-family members may alleviate the negative impact of stressful events in childhood (Roberts, 1974).

Street children are dislocated to a greater or lesser degree from their families. In this census there was a high incidence (33% of CYP) reporting that their families never made them feel special or loved,¹¹ and indicating a high degree of emotional neglect. However, 32% of respondents said that their families made them feel special and loved very often.¹² This is remarkable, particularly in the group of full-time CYP, 39% of whom said that their families made them feel special. This resonates with Mkombozi's conclusions that a notable proportion of CYP on the streets are there because of a pragmatic need and desire to further their objectives for self-improvement, and not because of familial or personal dysfunction.

However, at the other end of the spectrum, 33% of interviewees said that their families never make them feel special. It is revealing to compare these findings with the rates uncovered amongst American adults in the Adverse Childhood Experiences survey, where 14.8% answered the question this way. Assuming that the demographics of our population are exceptional (since these are children who have often run away from home), the percentage that does not rely on their family as a source of emotional support is important. That is, given that children's ties to their families and their compensatory relationships with significant others are of developmental significance (Kimchi & Schaffner, 1990), it should be a high priority to conduct further research to find out who, in the absence of a supportive family, these young people do rely on for emotional support.

Additionally, in determining interventions for street children and youth, high priority needs to be placed on offering these young people an alternative positive attachment in the absence of one from their families.

An average of 53% of all CYP across both towns reported that their parents or another adult in the household swore, insulted, put them down or acted in a way that they thought they might be physically hurt.¹³ This emotional abuse was rated as 10.6% of interviewees on the ACE study in the United States, which is a quite considerable difference in scale.

These findings indicate that physical abuse may be normalised in adult behaviour and may even be more prevalent than emotional abuse. Again, the incidence of this behaviour exceeds that of the ACE study, where 28.3% of respondents reported such incidents. Remarkably, in this census, 18.75% said that they had been the victims of this behaviour “very often”, predictably with full-time CYP reporting a higher rate (Arusha: full-time 25% / n. 44 and Moshi: full-time 20% / n. 10). Again, there is considerable stigma in Tanzania around disclosing abuse, and in fact, the numbers of children being abused may be higher. In Mkombozi’s experience working with CYP, people are hesitant to report abusive behaviour and it is often normalised as “discipline”; moreover, the use of corporal punishment and threatening language with children is not even considered abusive amongst some parents.

In a context such as Tanzania, it is not necessarily appropriate to compare rates of physical neglect to those in Western countries, given the absence of any sort of family or childcare services from the Tanzanian State. However, 28% of all CYP interviewed said that there was never enough to eat in their homes¹⁴ and 26% said that their parents’ drinking very often interfered with their care.¹⁵ This is verified by the life histories and background checks of children and youth who come into contact with Mkombozi’s social workers. The clear message from this census is that despite the evident risks of spending time on the streets, the home situation of many children and youth is often equally risky. Whilst the mortality rates of homeless youth are up to 40 times greater than the average in the United Kingdom (Shaw & Dorling, 1998) and suicide is the leading cause of death (Roy et al, 2004), we would tentatively posit that the home situation of many street children and youth in northern Tanzania is as risky as that of the streets.

This is further evidenced by the levels of stress reported by children and youth, 13.75% of whom said that they very often felt very afraid or stressed for a long period of time, and have nightmares or fear for their safety.¹⁶ Notably, only 44% said that they never had these feelings. This indicates that such children and youth are living under a remarkable degree of chronic stress, which has implications for their ability to learn, to build relationships and to function at any level of cognitive and emotional normalcy for their age. These levels of trauma may be related to the incidence of physical, sexual and emotional abuse. A remarkable 55.75% of participants said that they had never been hurt emotionally, physically or sexually or had witnessed it happening to someone else,¹⁷ which means that 44.25% of these interviewees had been the victims of or witnessed violence at some point.

This finding concurs with our observations of abuse occurring in Majengo Ward (Mkombozi, 2006), which indicated that the prevalence of physical and sexual violence towards children was far higher than is commonly acknowledged in the literature on childhood in Tanzania, within the popular press, and within policymaking circles. For instance, child abuse and protection issues are not even noted as an issue in Tanzania’s National Strategy for Growth the Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA, 2005–2010). When compared to other street youth, individuals who engage in prostitution more frequently report histories of childhood abuse, particularly sexual abuse (Adlaf & Zdanowicz, 1999; Schissel, 1997; Yates et al., 1991). This census reveals a paradox that despite the apparently high levels of abuse being reported, equally few children and youth are reporting being involved in prostitution. These findings demonstrate the urgent need for further in-depth research into the prevalence and incidence of abuse of CYP in Tanzania, and secondarily its impact on lifestyle choices and behaviour of young people.

TABLE 4: Sources from which CYP access information about child rights

	ARUSHA FREQUENCY	ARUSHA PERCENT	MOSHI FREQUENCY	MOSHI PERCENT
MKOMBOZI STAFF	27	2.7 %	18	1.8 %
OTHER ORGANISATION	23	2.3 %	54	5.3 %
ADVERTISING	15	1.5 %	20	2.0 %
LEAFLETS	32	3.2 %	29	2.8 %
NEWSPAPERS	107	10.6 %	116	11.4 %
RADIO	269	26.6 %	322	31.6 %
OTHER CYP	40	4.0 %	52	5.1 %
WEBSITES	20	2.0 %	10	1.0 %
TELEVISION	205	20.3 %	257	25.2 %
NONE OF THE ABOVE	38	3.8 %	5	0.5 %
CONTINGENCY	10	1 %	10	1 %



The social construction of street children is a form of social action; the language we use to present them determines the interventions created to assist them...

Mkombozi advocates that the issue of street children is addressed as a failure in policy making, protection services and work opportunities for youth - not as a "problem". whereby individuals are stigmatised and penalised...

4. Conclusion

Social inequalities are a prominent feature of contemporary society (De Moura, 2002), and in Tanzania, as a Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC), inequalities are becoming more pronounced as we undertake a rapid transition towards a capitalist economy. Different descriptions or social constructions of the world lead to different types of social action (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985). Cooperrinder and Srivastva's (1987) concept of "Appreciative Inquiry" adopts a constructivist approach whereby we create our own reality. They maintain that organisations move in the direction of that which they study (Cooperrinder, 1990), so that if you study a problem you create a problem, if you study a success you create a success, if you study the status quo you become the status quo and if you study change you create change. Cooperrinder (1987) originally described Appreciative Inquiry as "a research perspective that is uniquely intended for discovering, understanding and fostering innovations in social-organisational arrangements and processes".

A similar perspective can be taken on the social construction of street children, because the language that is used to understand and express their situation invites certain kinds of interventions at the expense of others (De Moura, 2002). Language does not simply reflect reality, but also creates it. As Howe states, "different languages produce different values and worlds of meaning and experience" (Howe, 1994, p. 522). Currently, street children and their families are portrayed as manifesting socially unacceptable attributes, which interpretation places them outside of mainstream society. The social construction of street children prompts interventions which sustain the status quo of social inequalities (De Moura, 2002), while punitive policy and practice can be attributed to the negative presentation of children and young people who commit crimes (Goldson, 2000).

"The social construction of street children is itself a form of social action" (De Moura, 2002, p. 359). Herein lies the importance of language in how we present street CYP, and how that presentation affects the interventions directed at assisting them. Mkombozi believes that street children and youth have an innate potential which must be catalysed and unleashed that so that they can become productive members of society. Much of the current literature on street children is one-sided and disregards other aspects of human existence and social life (De Moura, 2002). In contrast, this census demonstrates that within the context of rapid urbanisation, youth unemployment and poverty, street CYP are, in fact, often making pragmatic and sensible decisions to use the streets as a means of elevating themselves out and away from lives of poverty and/or abuse.

In fact, many CYP are adopting an opportunistic approach to their situation, looking at the street as a road towards self-determination and advancement. Mkombozi advocates that the issue of street CYP is addressed as a failure in policy making and not as a problem where individuals are stigmatised. We see in these census findings a lack of investment in education and protection services for children, and a lack of employment and recreation opportunities for youth.

5. Addendum: A street child's story

“ My name is Alfayo. My brother and I live here together at Mkombozi. We come from Arusha and used to live with our parents, until my mom moved away in 2001 because my father used to go drinking all day and would fight my mom. He would stay out all night and drink alcohol, then return at night and beat my mom because the food was not good, he said. I always felt bad seeing this happen. One night my dad beat her in the dark so we couldn't see, and that morning my mom told us children she couldn't take anymore. She left us all and it makes me really sad. Ever since our lives have been so much more difficult. Now our father would beat us instead of my mom. He didn't permit me to go to school, so I could care for his cows, during when I was in first grade.

By 2004, most of my brothers had run away from home because my dad was really mean and angry and drunk. Only my younger brother and I stayed with my dad. I didn't like going to school because I didn't see the point of it, and I never had money to buy lunch at school. So my brother and I would skip school and tend the cow. Then one day we failed to take proper care of the cows and they ended up entering someone's field. That night my dad beat us so bad. Even our neighbours would beat us because they thought we were stealing their food, since we were given no food. One day, after we were beaten, we decided to run away and never come back.

We walked and walked all day, not knowing where to go, but looking for our mom. My young brother was 5. He started complaining of cold, so we stopped at a place where a man helped us when he saw it was midnight and we didn't know where to go. The man took us to his home, and let us shower and gave us some food. The next morning he brought us to the police, who asked us if we were going to Moshi. We said yes, since that is where we thought our mother was. The police commanded a bus (daladala) bring us for free to Moshi, and when we got there, my brother and I begged for food. Eventually, we saw one of my brothers who had run away already and he brought us to Mkombozi, since we were unable to live in the street and he was unable to feed us.

Soon after I arrived here I began to study in the non-formal education class, and was so happy to study since education will help me later in life. But in the beginning, I would beat the weaker boys to show my power. My friends began to advise me to change, because I was acting very bad. I know now it wasn't right to act that way, and now I live peacefully with the other boys in the centre. I have succeeded in non-formal education and now study in formal education where I am very happy learning all the subjects.

Mkombozi helped me to change my behaviour by making me understand that being mean and filthy is not acceptable. Mkombozi helped me to understand the importance of education by helping me to access it and giving me all I need to succeed, with food, exercise books, pens and, most of all, adult care. At home I was beaten and didn't feel loved; here, the staff gives me support and love which makes it easier for me to love and care for others and myself.”



The majority of street youth in Arusha are 15-19 years old; in Moshi, the majority of those on the streets are 10-14 years of age...

Q:
Has an adult caretaker ever hurt you (emotionally, physically and/or sexually)?

A:
Arusha: Full-time CYP

- 46% (n. 95) said never
- 12% (n. 25) said often
- 27% (n. 25) said sometimes
- 17% (n. 25) said very often

Arusha: Part-time CYP

- 55% (n. 158) said never
- 9% (n. 83) said often
- 23% (n. 97) said sometimes
- 12% (n. 127) said very often

Moshi: Full-time CYP

- 61% (n. 20) said never
- 10% (n. 5) said often
- 16% (n. 9) said sometimes
- 14% (n. 17) said very often

Moshi: Part-time CYP

- 61% (n. 74) said never
- 8% (n. 112) said often
- 18% (n. 61) said sometimes
- 12% (n. 163) said very often

6. Endnotes

1. In Arusha there was no significant variation amongst CYP sleeping on the streets in terms of the time they had been in this situation (16% (n. 29) 1-6 months, 17% (n. 31) 6 months-1 year, 21% (n. 37) 1 year, 13% (n. 24) less than 1 month, and 30% for over 3 years.
2. In Arusha (=173), 10% (n. 18) were female and 90% (n. 155) were male and in Moshi (=51), 10% (n. 5) were female and 90% (n. 46) were male.
3. 17% (n. 79) of part-time CYP in Arusha are girls and 14% (n. 58) of the group in Moshi are girls.
4. Age breakdown in Arusha: the vast predominance of those sleeping on the streets were between the age of 15-19 (42% / n. 72), with 10-14 year olds at 27% (n. 47) and 20-24 year olds at 21% (n. 37). Note that 6% (n. 10) were over the age of 25 years.
5. In terms of age breakdown in Moshi, a slight majority of those sleeping on the streets were between the age of 10-14 (39% / n. 20), with 31% (n. 16) at the age of 15-19 years and 15% (n. 8) 20-24 year olds. Note that 8% (n. 4) were over the age of 25 years.
6. Of the children coming to the streets for part of the day in Arusha, 24% (n. 111) were 10-14 year olds, 43% (n. 202) were 15-19 year olds, 22% (n. 105) were 20-24 year olds and 6% (n. 31) were over the age of 25 years.
7. Of the children coming to the streets for part of the day in Moshi, the trend was the same as Arusha with 12% (n. 53) being 10-14 year olds, 47% (n. 196) as 15-19 year olds, and 30% (n. 124) as 20-24 year olds. Note that 7% (n. 27) were over the age of 25 years.
8. In Arusha, there was no significant variation amongst CYP sleeping on the streets in terms of the time they had been in this situation: 16% (n. 29) 1-6 months, 17% (n. 31) 6 months-1 year, 21% (n. 37) 1 year, 13% (n. 24) less than 1 month, and 30% over 3 years.
9. 84% (n. 461) of CYP coming to Moshi from the communities were between the ages of 10-24 (n. 461). Similarly, those coming to Arusha from these areas were also between the ages of 10 - 24 years (n. 461 / 87%).
10. Arusha girls: 83 know about children's rights and 89 do not. Arusha boys: 370 know and 467 not. Moshi girls: 127 know and 112 do not. Moshi boys: 353 know and 427 do not.
11. 46% (n = 79) of full-time CYP in Arusha, 31% (n = 147) part-time CYP in Arusha, 39% (n = 20) full-time CYP in Moshi and 14% (n = 58) of part-time CYP in Moshi reported that their families never made them feel special or loved.
12. Does your family make you feel special and loved? Arusha full-time CYP: 21% (n. 36) very often. Arusha part-time CYP: 30% (n. 140) very often. Moshi full-time CYP: 33% (n. 17) very often. Moshi part-time CYP: 45% (n. 187) very often.
13. Did a parent or other adult in the household swear at you, insult you, or put you down and/or act in a way that made you think that you might be physically hurt? Arusha full-time CYP: 2% (n. 3) refused to answer, 39% (n. 68) said never, 10.5% (n. 18) said often, 23% (n. 40) said sometimes and 25.5% (n. 44) said very often. Arusha part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 49% (n. 230) said never, 7% (n. 33) said often, 23% (n. 109) said sometimes, and 20% (n. 94) said very often. Moshi full-time CYP: none

refused to answer, 41% (n. 21) answered never, 10% (n. 5) often, 22% (n.11) sometimes, and 27% (n. 14) very often. Moshi part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 56% (n. 231) never, 7% (n. 28) often, 21% (n. 88) sometimes, and 15% (n. 63) very often.

14. At home is/was there enough to eat? Arusha full-time CYP: 2% (n. 3) refused to answer, 47% (n. 82) said never, 15% (n. 26) said often, 19% (n. 33) said sometimes and 17% (n. 29) said very often. Arusha part-time CYP: 0% (n. 2) refused to answer, 34% (n. 158) said never, 18% (n. 83) said often, 22% (n. 104) said sometimes, 27% (n. 120) said very often. Moshi full-time CYP: none refused to answer, 24% (n. 12) never, 16% (n. 8) often, 20% (n. 10) sometimes, and 41% (n. 21) very often. Moshi part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 16% (n. 64) never, 25% (n. 104) often, 20% (n. 83) sometimes and 39% (n. 159) very often.

15. Does your parents drinking interfere with your care? Arusha full-time CYP: 2% (n. 4) refused to answer, 47% (n. 82) said never, 17% (n. 29) said often, 10% (n. 18) said sometimes, and 23% (n. 40) said very often. Arusha part-time CYP: 1% (n. 4) refused to answer, 61% (n. 287) said never, 7% (n. 35) said often, 10% (n. 47) said sometimes, and 20% (n. 94) said very often. Moshi full-time CYP: none refused to answer, 45% (n. 23) never, 4% (n. 2) often, 12% (n. 6) sometimes, and 39% (n. 20) very often. Moshi part-time CYP: 1% (n. 3) refused to answer, 61% (n. 250) never, 8% (n. 32) often, 7% (n. 30) sometimes and 23% (n. 96) very often.

16. Have you ever experienced something in your life that caused you to feel very afraid or stressed for a long period of time, have nightmares or cause you to fear for your safety? Arusha full-time CYP: 2% (n. 3) refused to answer, 33% (n. 57) said never, 14% (n. 25) said often, 34% (n. 59) said sometimes, and 17% (n. 29) said very often. Arusha part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 49% (n. 228) said never, 10% (n. 45) said often, 30% (n. 138) said sometimes, and 12% (n. 55) said very often. Moshi full-time CYP: none refused to answer, 47% (n. 24) never, 14% (n. 7) often, 24% (n. 12) sometimes and 16% (n. 8) very often. Moshi part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 48% (n. 198) never, 10% (n. 43) often, 31% (n. 127) sometimes and 10% (n. 42) very often.

17. Has an adult or caretaker ever hurt you emotionally, physically or sexually or have you ever witnessed this happening to someone else? Arusha full-time CYP: 2% (n. 3) refused to answer, 46% (n. 79) said never, 12% (n. 20) said often, 27% (n. 41) said sometimes, and 17% (n. 30) said very often. Arusha part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 55% (n. 258) said never, 9% (n. 41) said often, 23% (n. 109) said sometimes, 12% (n. 58) said very often. Moshi full-time CYP: none refused to answer, 61% (n. 31) never, 10% (n. 5) often, 16% (n. 8) sometimes, and 14% (n. 7) very often. Moshi part-time CYP: 0% (n. 1) refused to answer, 61% (n. 252) never, 8% (n. 34) often, 18% (n. 76) sometimes and 12% (n. 48) very often.

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- Empowering children
- Engaging families
- Enabling communities

Our “change vision”
of the future is to be
a determined,
proactive, innovative,
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that others choose to
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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 help vulnerable children and youth to grow in mind, body and spirit and to build a more caring society for all.

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.

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.

Our “change vision” of the future...

is to move ahead in a determined and proactive way as a leading NGO in the field of child rights. This vision defines our intentions to be an innovative, grassroots NGO that others choose to follow and it inspires our work to change the public perception of vulnerable and street children.

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