



# Mkombozi

## Baseline Study:

Community attitudes,  
child vulnerability &  
protective factors  
in Kilimanjaro  
& Arusha

Empowering children  
Engaging families  
Enabling communities



## Table of Contents

- p/1 ■ **1. Abstract/Summary**
- 1.1 Background (p/1)
  - 1.2 Goals & Objectives (p/1)
  - 1.3 The Context (p/2)
- p/5 ■ **2. Methodology**
- 2.1 Location (p/5)
  - 2.2 Questionnaires (p/5)
  - 2.3 Focus Group Discussions (p/8)
  - 2.4 Information from Key Respondents (p/8)
- p/9 ■ **3. Results**
- 3.1 Results from Questionnaires (p/1)
  - 3.2 Results from Focus Group Discussions (p/17)
  - 3.3 The Context (p/2)
- p/22 ■ **4. Discussion**
- p/26 ■ **5. Conclusion**
- p/28 ■ **6. Appendices**

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Mkombozi has just finalised our strategic plan for 2011–2015 which focuses on children being empowered to be agents in their own development rather than merely recipients of direct services. After years of experience in working with street-involved children in Arusha and Moshi<sup>1</sup>, Mkombozi has come to realise that, in most cases, a family environment is the best place for a child to be brought up rather than alternatives such as institutional care. In order to support a child-friendly environment in which this can happen, we want to work more systematically on a local level to increase awareness of child protection issues. This will mean partnering with local people and local institutions, such as government and police, in our interventions.

As part of this process, Mkombozi feels it is important to get a real understanding of what the local community knows and thinks about their behaviour towards children. An insight like this should then help inform the work we do with the community and the children themselves, to tackle the root causes that drive so many children to make a life on the streets in the Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions.

## 1.2 Goals and Objectives

Mkombozi has always used research as an experimental tool to shape our interventions on the ground. Over the years, we have built up a bank of knowledge on vulnerable children in Moshi and Arusha.<sup>2</sup> In particular, our research provides a good insight into the experience of children who are involved in street life, the dangers they face and the factors which they think pull and push them towards such a lifestyle. Most recently, we have completed some interesting research into the resilience shown by children when coping with the challenges of street life.

From an adult perspective, we have some information about how street-involved children are perceived and about their relationships with school. However, in general, we have little insight into the attitudes and behaviours of the local community towards children in general. In order to prevent more children coming to the streets, we need to know more about child vulnerability and protective factors in the local area. Therefore, from March – August 2011, we carried out a baseline survey with the following goals and objectives:

### 1.2.1. Goals

- To carry out a baseline survey of community attitudes and behaviour towards children in certain areas of Moshi and Arusha, focussing on issues of child vulnerability and child protective factors.

### 1.2.2. Objectives

- To gain an understanding of the attitudes of various local community members including parents, local leaders, teachers, police, local government members and social workers with regards to child vulnerability and child protective factors.
- To determine how the local community behave towards children in their care.
- To gain an insight into what is the current extent of child abuse within families and the wider community.

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<sup>1</sup> Moshi is the largest town in the Kilimanjaro region

<sup>2</sup> Please find all of Mkombozi's publications at our website [www.mkombozi.org](http://www.mkombozi.org)

- To gain an understanding of formal and non formal child protection networks and systems that are currently in place in these areas.
- To inform our current work with the community towards improving awareness of child protection issues.
- To collect baseline data which can be used for planning, implementation and, monitoring and evaluation of our new strategic plan.

### **1.2.3. Purpose**

- To deepen our understanding of what really drives children to life on the streets.
- To strengthen our work in community engagement.
- To have a starting point for helping target communities to take increased responsibility to enable their children to grow positively in a safer environment in their own development, as laid out in the our strategic plan.

## **1.3 The Context**

Having established a gap in our understanding of how the community thinks about children in general, this baseline will explore attitudes and reported behaviours towards children with a specific focus on child vulnerability and protective factors. When discussing such topics it is important to clarify exactly what is meant by each one in this context as they can both be such broad areas. For the purposes of this research, we will use the terms vulnerability and protective factor as discussed below.

### **1.3.1. What do we mean by child vulnerability?**

For the purposes of this baseline report, a vulnerable child is one who is at risk of becoming street-involved. There are a multitude of factors that can contribute towards child vulnerability and this paper will attempt to explore them. As mentioned above, Mkombozi has produced a good amount of research on what causes children to leave home and try to make a life for themselves on the streets.

In 2005, we carried out a vast participatory action research (PRA) into the causation of primary school drop outs and educational exclusion in the Kilimanjaro region. This research indicated that, despite many people claiming to understand how poverty, being orphaned or being denied a quality education may negatively effect a child, there was a very low awareness, among adults, about the consequences of violence towards children. Moreover, in this region, violence is often used as a tool to create “respect” for elders in the community.<sup>3</sup> This lack of awareness is confirmed by another study that Mkombozi carried out more recently into local community perceptions of children who live on the streets. In this research,<sup>4</sup> again, the majority of respondents acknowledged the role of poverty, or a child being orphaned but very few cited child abuse or violence as a factor that may drive a child to the streets.

On the contrary, similar research carried out with children who had ended up on the streets showed that a common motivation for leaving home was to escape the violence and abuse

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<sup>3</sup> McAlpine, Kate, 2005, *Participatory Action Research: Local causation of primary school drop-outs and exclusions in Kilimanjaro region – Volume 1*, Mkombozi Centre for Street Children, Tanzania

<sup>4</sup> Thor, Anna, 2010, *Perception Survey: Survey of community members' perceptions of children who are living and working on the streets*, Mkombozi Centre for Street Children, Tanzania

they suffered either in the home or at school.<sup>5</sup> This may suggest a misconception within the community about the potential harm caused by violence and abuse.

Recently, our Community Engagement team issued a very short questionnaire to try to investigate current attitudes in the community towards children. They asked 53 adults aged between 14 – 75 years what they liked about the relationship between children and adults and what they did not. This was done for the purpose of internal monitoring and evaluation at the beginning of a training session on child protection in Pasua<sup>6</sup> and, therefore, there only a small amount of data was collected.

After analysing the data, it emerged that educating children and raising them with good morals was the most common answer given for what people like to see between adults and children. This was closely followed by 30% of the respondents saying that the provision of basic necessities was something they liked. Interestingly, 47% of respondents claimed that child abuse was something they didn't like about the relationship that adults have with children. Yet, only 6% vocalised a need to protect children from such abuse. This suggests that although child abuse is seen as a negative factor by a large proportion of people, the community may not prioritise child protection as an issue specifically for them. This supports the findings of the perceptions study explained above where the majority of people viewed child protection as the responsibility of the government or other external agencies rather than the community. By conducting our base line study we aim to explore this idea in more depth.

It is important to clarify that, by Mkombozi's definition, anything that causes physical or psychological harm to a child is considered abuse.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, the most recent Mkombozi census of street involved children in Moshi and Arusha indicated that Mkombozi's interventions in target areas are generally "preventative and well focused"<sup>8</sup>. However, the census also showed that many areas from which a high volume of children come to the streets are ones in which Mkombozi already has interventions. This would suggest a need to better understand these target communities with the view to adapting our programmes and child protections services in order to potentially prevent vulnerable children from leaving home.

### **1.3.2. What do we mean by protective factors?**

The term child protection is commonly heard within much literature on development, especially relating to those who work to improve the lives of vulnerable children. In fact, child protection has recently become a concept in its own right, with many organisations having child protection officers and guidelines. Mkombozi has been working with the local community to establish Child Protection Committees (CPCs) to address the gaps in government provision of frontline child protection services. However, in this research, we have chosen to refer to child protective factors rather than child protection, as we wanted to understand the ways in which the community can support the positive development of a child beyond formal child protection services.

In a similar vein, UNICEF (2005)<sup>9</sup> has examined all the pieces that go together to make up a protective environment for child. These include:

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<sup>5</sup> Consortium for Street Children, 2009, 'Survey on Street Involved Children', CSC, London

<sup>6</sup> An Mkombozi target area that was not selected for the baseline research

<sup>7</sup> McAlpine, Kate, 2006, 'Child Protection Policy', Mkombozi Centre for Street Children, Tanzania

<sup>8</sup> Buntin-Wren, Katie, 2011, 'Mkombozi Census Report 2010', Mkombozi, Tanzania

<sup>9</sup> United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2005), 'The State of the World's Children 2006: Excluded and Invisible', United Nations, New York

- the capacity of the family and wider community to uphold child rearing practices that protect a child from exploitation and abuse and recognise areas where children may be at risk of harm
- the capacity of the government to put child protection on their agenda in a serious way by following international and domestic protocol for social welfare schemes and allocating budget and resources to enable this process
- having a strong legal framework to enforce the protection of children and to prosecute anyone who is found guilty of harming a child
- challenging any cultural practice and attitudes that may prejudice a child or cause harm to a child – this is the responsibility of the government especially
- having adequate essential services that can offer support and care to any child that is in need of protection

As can be seen in this list, the inclusion of family and community attitudes and cultural practices can be very important factors in protecting a child, especially in a context where child raising responsibilities are often shared outside of the family as in Tanzania. Furthermore, the lack of adequate frontline child protection services that are available in these communities makes it even more important to examine if there are any informal behaviours or structures to protect children.

On the contrary, it is just as useful to examine the above factors to see where issues of potential harm to children may exist so as to strengthen the concept of child protection in these communities through future Mkombozi interventions.

### **1.3.3. Protective Factors on a National Level**

Tanzania is one of the many countries who have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child which means they are committed to protecting the rights of all children. Moreover, given over 50% of the population of Tanzania is aged 18 years and under, the need to invest in the development and protection of children becomes even more urgent.

However, it can be argued that the government of Tanzania are not taking the adequate steps to ensure the welfare of all children in Tanzania. Until recently, there was no single piece of legislation that directly concentrated on the issue of children. Then, eventually, in 2009 The Law of the Child Act was passed, after much demand from advocates of vulnerable children in Tanzania. Although, this Act can be seen as a step in the right direction as a way of confirming the rights of a child and responsibilities of their duty bearers, it is still unclear as to how it will work in practise and nothing has been drafted in relation to this. Additionally, there are no guidelines for government actors, civil society or child development practitioners to use this act making it a somewhat shallow attempt at protecting the rights of a child.

Another example of the government displaying the intention of supporting vulnerable children is The Tanzanian National Plan of Action for Most Vulnerable Children which aims to provide support for many children through village level Most Vulnerable Children Committees (MVCCs). The MVCC plan begins at the national level where the policy is planned and laid out with contributions from a variety of actors such as international NGOs and donors. Funds are directed through district level administrations who then map out the needs at the local level. The chain ends with these MVCCs at the village level who are responsible for identifying the most vulnerable children in the area and ensuring they get the adequate assistance.

However, the presence of MVCCs are very much dependant on geographical location and there have been reports of inadequate funding and support in some areas where they have been established.<sup>10</sup> The subsequent rolling out of this service in every district in Tanzania is yet to be seen. Our baseline will attempt to survey the presence of MVCCs and other formal child protection systems in Mkombozi target communities.

## **2. Methodology**

### **2.1 Location**

The geographical focus of this survey looked at the 3 districts; Moshi Urban, Moshi Rural and Arusha Municipal. Within these districts there were 10 research wards. Below is a short profile of each of these wards.

<b>Ward</b>	<b>District</b>
Njoro	Moshi Urban
Kaloleni	Moshi Urban
Mji Mpya	Moshi Urban
Rau	Moshi Urban
Manushi Juu	Moshi Rural
Uru Mashariki	Moshi Rural
Kombo	Moshi Rural
Ngarenaro	Arusha Municipal
Unga Ltd	Arusha Municipal
Sokon One	Arusha Municipal

It is important to note two issues that arose when selecting research areas for this study.

Firstly, we had originally planned to look at Ngaremtoni, a semi-urban area in Arusha where Mkombozi has worked for several years. However, unfortunately, due to our time constraints and logistical issues, we were unable to use Ngaremtoni as a research area. This means that this baseline is not representative of the non-urban communities within Arusha.

Secondly, we only carried out 6 Focus Group Discussions (FGD) in Njoro, Kaloleni, Manushi Juu, Uru Mashariki, Unga Ltd and Ngarenaro. The locality of our FGDs depended very much on the contacts the Community Engagement team had in each district. As our comparison wards, Mji Mpya and Sokon One, are areas in which we have not yet established contacts, we did not hold any discussions in these areas. Consequently, the comparison element of the analysis can only be based on the data gathered from the questionnaires. This will be an area to improve on when repeating this baseline research in years to come.

### **2.2 Questionnaires**

For the initial stage of baseline data collection we designed a short questionnaire to try to get a picture of how people think and behave towards the children around them. This questionnaire had 9 questions about how people bring up children and a few simple demographic questions.

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<sup>10</sup> Correll, L and Correll, T, (2006), 'The National Plan of Action for the Most Vulnerable Children: A Human Capacity Needs Assessment', USAID and The Capacity Project

We carried out the questionnaires in all 10 of the chosen areas of study as explained above. Between April and May 2011, a group of three researchers (two Swahili speakers and one research assistant) spent a day in each area to administer the questionnaires. To ensure that we gathered as much data as possible in the short amount of time we had and to guarantee each questionnaire was returned, the Swahili speaking researcher went through the questions with each participant and wrote down the answers for them. This made the process like a short, structured interview rather than a basic questionnaire.

Additionally, by having someone fill in the questionnaire for the participant, we were able to bypass any potential problems with literacy that some participants may have experienced.

### **2.2.1. Sample**

In total we surveyed 402 people over the 10 areas. Although we aimed to have an equal divide between men and women, in the end, 55% (n = 223) were female and 42% (n = 172) were male. The sex of seven participants was not recorded, which may have been due to inaccuracy on the researcher's part in the initial stages of gathering the data.

We took an opportunistic sample by approaching people who were passing by and working in the research areas rather than collecting data door to door. The participants that we approached were given a general introduction to the baseline process and Mkombozi as an organisation before being asked if they wanted to take part. We took verbal rather than written consent as permission to carry on. The respondents were free to opt out at any point and all data was anonymous.

### **2.2.2. Sample by Age**

The age of participants varied according to the people who were available at the time. From Table 1, it is clear that younger adults, those ranging from 18 years to 45 years were over-represented in our research.

**Table 1: Age breakdown of participants (mixed male and female)**

18 – 25	94	23%
26 – 35	132	33%
36 – 45	84	21%
46 – 55	46	11%
56 – 65	26	6%
66 – 75	12	3%
76 – 85	5	1%
No answer	3	0.7%

When looking at the age breakdown for males and females, there is a similar pattern to the above. However, there were more females in the 18 – 25 category with 29% (n = 65), than males with only 16% (n = 28). There was a slightly higher percentage of males in the 56 – 65 and the 66 – 75 brackets than there were females.<sup>11</sup>

### **2.2.3. Sample by education**

The questionnaire also asked for the participant's level of education<sup>12</sup>. Overwhelmingly, Standard Seven (the last year of primary school) was the most common level of education

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix A for breakdown of age by sex

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix B for data tables on education levels

achieved at 52% (n = 211). When divided by gender the results showed that 47% (n = 81) of males had stopped their education at Standard Seven and 57% (n = 127) of females had done the same.

The second highest concentration of participants by education level comes at Form Four (the last year of secondary school), with 15% (n = 61) of all participants reporting that they had left the education system at this point. This was 17% (n = 29) of the male participants and 14% (n = 31) of the female participants.

The highest level of education shown was degree/college level. Only five participants reported that they had reached this point and, strikingly, all were male. The highest level of education reported for females was diploma (in education) and this was only reported by one participant.

Finally, a total of 8 participants (2%) reported that they had no education at all. This was fairly evenly split between males and females with 1.7% (n = 3) and 2% (n = 5) respectively. Additionally, 10% (n = 41) of our participants did not give an answer for their level of education. There was no reason given for this. It may be that some participants were reluctant to say if it was a very low level of education as the researchers reported that during the interview process some people seemed shy about this question. However, it could also come down to negligence on the part of the researcher to record the information accurately.

In summary, it seems that there is not much difference between the education level of male and females except for at the highest level. Although our sample is fairly small and not representative enough to conclude concretely that more men go on to university than women, it seems likely that men have a greater opportunity to access higher level education than women. According to location, Arusha Municipal seems to have a slightly higher level of education compared to Moshi Urban or Rural with 17% of respondents having completed form four compared with 16% and 12% respectively. In addition, three of the five participants who reported college level education were located in Arusha Municipal.

#### **2.2.4. Sample by number of children in the family**

The questionnaire also asked if the participant had any children, and if so, how many. When designing the questionnaire there was much discussion about whether to include this question. This is because being unable to have children can be viewed very harshly in the Tanzanian context and, thus, participants may have been reluctant to share these details. Eventually we decided to put this question at the end in the hope that, by this point, people felt more comfortable with the process and had already answered questions that may have been somewhat sensitive.

That said, people seemed to respond well to this question and no one refused to answer. Answers varied from no children right up to 14 children. In fact one male participant in Sokon One claimed to have 60 children. The participant in question was Maasai. This is a conceivable amount of children for a Maasai male to father and could well be true. Yet, as he is not representative of the local communities we were looking at, we have taken this as an anomaly when looking at the rest of the data.

Having one, two or three children was the average for those that had children at 17% (n = 68), 18% (n = 81) and 17% (n = 68) respectively. This was followed by 10% (n = 40) of participants reporting four children. This then drops down to not more than 6% for anything higher than that.

A good number of participants, 19% (n = 77), reported that they did not have any children. However, when looking at the ages of these participants in Table 2, 71% of them were aged between 18 – 25 years old. This would suggest that they have not had children yet but may be expecting to in their life time rather than they have made the conscious decision not to have children.

**Table 2: Analysis of those who do not have children**

Age	Male	%	Female	%
18 – 25	18	53%	30	71%
26 – 35	11	32%	7	17%
36 – 45	3	9%	5	12%
46 – 55	1	3%	0	n/a
56 - 65	1	3%	0	n/a

Interestingly, it seems that women are more likely to have a child at an older age compared to men. The data above shows more variation across the age ranges of men who do not have any children, whereas women who do not have children are very much concentrated at less than 35 years.

### **2.3 Focus Group Discussions**

We held six FGDs in total. There were two in each district. The idea behind these FGDs was to explore some of the issues that have come up in the questionnaires in an in-depth manner while, at the same time, providing a forum where people could talk openly and inform us of their views and concerns surrounding child vulnerability and protective factors.

In order to keep the discussions as open as possible, we agreed on two different sets of key questions that would be used alternatively in different groups to start the discussion. After this, there were an agreed set of questions available to guide the facilitator but the discussion itself was unrestricted. The key topics were as follows:

#### Child Vulnerability:

- 1) What does a child need to grow into a healthy, productive adult?
- 2) Are there things that may hinder a child's development?

#### Protective Factors:

- 1) What are the things that can be harmful for a child?
- 2) How can we protect children from these things?
- 3) Who is responsible for protecting children?

#### **2.3.1. Sample**

The participants were adult members of the local community unless specified otherwise. The details are shown below:

##### Moshi Urban:

Njoro – 5 females, 3 males, 2 local government officials (2 females), 1 Mkombozi facilitator (male), 2 Mkombozi note-takers (1 male, 1 female).

Kaloleni – 4 females, 4 males, 1 Mkombozi facilitator (male), 1 Mkombozi note-taker (male)

##### Moshi Rural:

Uru Mashariki – 3 female, 7 male, 1 Mkombozi facilitator (male), 1 Mkombozi note-taker (male)

Manushi Juu – 6 female, 0 male, 1 Mkombozi facilitator (male), 1 community member note-taker (male)

**Arusha Municipal:**

Ngarenaro – 7 females, 0 males, 1 Mkombozi facilitator (male), 1 Mkombozi note-taker (male)  
Unga Ltd – 5 female, 6 male, Mkombozi facilitator (male), 1 Mkombozi note-taker (male)

## **2.4 Information gathered from key respondents**

To complement the data that we gathered from the local community and to enhance our baseline study, we interviewed some key respondents who could give us some information on child protective factors in the sample areas. These interviews were carried out in April 2011 by members of the Mkombozi Community Engagement team who have established some very good relationships with local authority figures and were, therefore, best placed to get this information.

Our key respondents were made up of members of MVCCs, local police officers and community police at ward level, social welfare officers, teachers and employees of other NGOs who work with vulnerable children in these areas.

### **2.4.1. Sample**

Below is a list of those who took part in our key respondent interviews:

1. Ward officer (male) – Manushi Juu
2. Head Teacher (male) – Manushi Juu
3. 6 Members of MVCC (3 male and 3 female) – Moshi Urban
4. Head Teacher in a government school (female) – Kaloleni
5. Local government education coordinator (male)– Arusha
6. Local government member (male) - Arusha
7. OSC<sup>13</sup> Police Officer (male) – Arusha
8. Outreach Coordinator for a local NGO (male) – Arusha

## **3. Results**

### **3.1 Results from Questionnaires**

#### **Child Vulnerability**

##### What age defines a child?

One of the first areas that the questionnaire looked at was what people thought of as a “child” in terms of age. The Law of the Child Act 2009 clearly defines a child as between 0 – 18 years old. However, only 35% (n = 140) of all the respondents correctly defined a child as being below the age of 18 years. This was closely followed by the age ranges 0 – 17 years and 0 – 15 years. Although 0 – 18 years was the most common age that was named, 35% is not a very high majority considering it is the legal definition. This begs the question as to whether the key provisions of the Law of the Child Act are being promoted adequately in Tanzania. The remaining participants gave answers ranging from 0 – 4 years right up to 0 – 27 years.

Furthermore, there was a noticeable difference in the way that men and women thought about the age of a child. While many of the answers given by males of all ages were concentrated around the age of 0 – 15 years and 0 – 18 years, the answers from our female participants varied greatly and women seemed to see children as being in a younger age

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<sup>13</sup> An officer in the official police force rather than the community level police

range than men. Our research shows that most of the participants who said that the age range of child is below 15 years old were female.

#### Leaving school and leaving home

The questionnaire aimed to assess the scale on which children were at risk of either dropping out of education or leaving home in the 10 research areas. From the data we collected it seems that both are fairly prevalent in all these communities. Over all, 42% (n = 169) people claimed that they knew a child that had left school and 24% (n = 98) of respondents claimed that they knew a child who had run away from home.

It appears that Arusha Municipal has the lowest reported number of children that drop out of school or leave home with 33% (n= 46) of respondents claiming that they knew a child who had left school and only 17% (n = 23) reporting knowledge of a child who had left home. Whereas, Moshi Urban has the highest rates with 49% (n = 70) reporting school leavers and 36% (n = 49) reporting home leavers.

**Table 3: Participants who reported school drop out and home leavers by research area**

Location	Left school	%	Left home	%	Both	% of those that had left school	% of total
Ngarenaro	14	28%	9	18%	4	27%	8%
Sokon One	13	27%	3	6%	1	8%	2%
Unga Ltd	19	48%	11	27%	11	58%	27%
Kaloleni	20	48%	12	29%	9	45%	21%
Njoro	25	72%	15	42%	13	52%	36%
Rau	16	57%	12	43%	11	69%	39%
Mji Mpya	9	26%	10	29%	7	78%	20%
Uru East	17	36%	9	20%	7	15%	41%
Manushi Juu	10	33%	3	10%	3	30%	10%
Kombo	25	54%	14	30%	11	44%	23%

Table 3, above, shows the breakdown of each area within the 3 districts. From what our participants have reported Njoro stands out as the area which has the most children who drop out of school (72%, n = 25) and a very high amount of children who have left home (42%, n = 13). This is closely followed by Rau where 57% (n = 16) of participants claimed to know a child that had left school and 43% (n = 12) who claimed to know a child who had left home.

The Arusha ward of Sokon One had very low reported levels of school leavers (27%, n = 13) and was the lowest by far for children leaving home with only 6% (n = 3) of participants reporting that they knew of this. This figure of 6% is especially low in comparison to the rest of the wards.

The reasons given for why these children left home and school varied slightly depending on geographical area.<sup>14</sup> In all 3 districts, the main reported cause of a child leaving school was poverty/financial reasons, especially in Moshi Urban where 49% (n =34) of participants named this as a cause. In Arusha Municipal, the following reasons were truancy or bad behaviour of the child (28%), domestic issues (20%) and poor care of the child (20%). Whereas both in Moshi Urban and Moshi Rural the other reasons given were poor care/attitude of the parents (26% of Moshi Urban and 25% of Moshi Rural respondents),

<sup>14</sup> See Appendices C & D for full list of reasons given for both leaving school and leaving home.

being orphaned (17% of the Moshi Urban respondents) and truancy or bad behaviour of the child (15% of Moshi Rural respondents).

As for leaving home, domestic violence was the main reason given in both Arusha (52%) and Moshi Urban (33%). In Arusha this was followed by parental separation (22%), lack of parental care (22%) and poverty (17%). Whereas in Moshi Urban it was followed by poverty (11%) and separation of the family including maltreatment by a step parent (16%) as reasons for leaving home. In Moshi Urban, however, poverty came as the highest reported reason that a child had left home (42%), followed by domestic violence and punishments (23%), the child being expelled from home (15%), the child running away for a better life in the city (15%) and lack of parental care (15%).

These results suggest that the underlying reasons for a child to leave home may vary depending on the geographical location of his home, especially when it comes to living in an urban environment versus a rural one. For example, the above shows that, according to the community, issues of poverty in influencing a child's decision to run away is more common in rural areas than urban ones. However, it is important to note that, these were the participants' perceived reasons, not necessarily the confirmed reasons, for a child leaving school or leaving home.

Disciplining a child – physical violence in the home and community

As discussed in the literature review, physical punishments are often given in Tanzania to discipline children. This research attempts to capture the extent to which this occurs in our research areas and how else people behave towards children in this context.

The questionnaire asked participants “when you see a child doing something they should not, what would you do?” This provided a broad range of answers and, as such, it was difficult to analyse this information in a quantitative manner. In order to do so, the responses were broken down into broader categories such as ‘non-physical reaction/verbal warning’, ‘physical reaction/beating’, ‘combination of both physical and non physical reaction’ and ‘punishment’. The latter category is somewhat vague but many respondents answered simply with “I give punishment”, where there is no way of telling whether this is a physical or non-physical punishment at the questionnaire level.

Overall, 57% of respondents claimed that they would give some kind of physical response, either alone (22%) or combined with a verbal warning (35%). A further 11% had given “punishment” as their answer which may well include a physical reaction. The table below lists all the examples given in the questionnaires. Many of them seem to be particularly cruel and unnecessary as a form of discipline and would definitely align with Mkombozi's definition of abuse.

**Table 4: Types of physical reactions to a child misbehaving**

<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Hitting with a stick	Whipping
Denying food	Hitting with a stick
Whipping – (“till they ask for mercy” in one case)	Scratching with finger nails
Push ups	Beating
Slapping	Slapping
Hitting with a cane	Giving them work to do
Sending to corrective schools	Threaten to tell their father
Mopping/sweeping	Digging the farm
	Washing dishes
	Denying food
	Scratching on their legs

Although 32% of respondents claimed only to give a “warning”, it is difficult to know what exactly this involves. For the purpose of this analysis, we have taken it to mean a verbal warning with no physical reactions involved. This is based on the fact that some respondents claimed to “warn and then beat if the child repeated the mistake” whereas those included in the 32% above, claimed to “warn” or “give warning only”.

It appears that many people make a distinction between ages in how they discipline a child. Many respondents made the suggestion that the punishment should be based on how young the child is. For example, it came out that people were more likely to beat an older child and just give out a warning to a younger child. This distinction also came out when respondents were asked about their views on the issue of punishments for children. Many people reported that the punishment should match the age of the child and a young child should not be given “heavy work”.

It seems that there is some geographical variation between wards concerning how people discipline their children. All 3 areas in Arusha show fairly similar levels of each type of reaction with 20% of respondents in Sokon One, 21% of respondents in Ngarenaro and 20% in Unga Limited all reporting the use of physical reactions such as beating their child when they misbehave. Levels of beating were similar in Moshi Rural with 24% reported in Kombo, 17% reported in Manushi Juu and 15% reported in Uru Mashariki. Moshi Urban, on the other hand, had slightly more varied results and, in some areas, a higher reported rate of beating. In Njoro, 33% of participants reported the use of beating and 31% of participants in Mji Mpya said the same. This became lower in Rau with 26% of participants reporting beating and lower again in Kaloleni with 17% of participants admitting to beating their children. Although Rau does report a moderate level of beating, it had the highest reported use of verbal warnings only with 52% of the respondents here claiming this is how they react. This is much higher than the other areas of Moshi Urban with only 11% in Njoro, 17% in Mji Mpya and 26% in Kaloleni.

When we were collecting data in Kaloleni, one male with whom we spoke said that he used to use violence against his children when they misbehaved but after having attended some seminars, held by Mkombozi, he no longer does this. Perhaps, the difference in physical reactions shown within Moshi Urban can be explained, in part, by the provision of interventions by Mkombozi. For example, Mji Mpya reported one of the higher levels of using violence against children and Mkombozi has not held any interventions in this ward.

Interestingly, when participants were asked to report on “when a child does something they should not, what do you see other people doing?”, the reported rate by all our participants of beating/physical reaction rose to 44% (n = 175) with a further 15% (n = 61) choosing a combination of warning and beating. Perhaps it is easier for people to report on the action of others rather than their own, where there may be a risk of stigma and judgement. Participants in Unga Ltd and Ngarenaro actually reported incidents of children being beaten to death by their parents.

Subsequently, the questionnaires explored whether people knew of any practices that may harm a child. Out of all the participants, 95% (n = 378) said that they did know of such practices, and 77% (n = 306) of which claimed that they saw them happening today. Moreover, a further 6% (n = 23) said that although they personally had not seen them occur, they had heard of them taking place. Examples of such harmful behaviours are physical abuse/violence (70%), denying food (21%), sexual abuse/rape/sodomy (20%), “heavy punishments” (17%), denying basic rights e.g. education, shelter (15%), verbal insults/aggression (12%), and kicking a child out of the home (8%).<sup>15</sup> Other issues mentioned

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<sup>15</sup> *Participants' answers were put into these categories in order to make analysis possible. A full list of the different practices that people reported can be seen in Appendix E.*

by a few participants were forced marriage, child labour and letting a child drink alcohol or smoke. However, there were a few participants (6%) who took this question to mean something else and named harmful things that children do to themselves.

Geographically, again Moshi Urban had the highest reported rate of seeing such practices on the ground with an average of 85% for all for wards. Rau had a 100% reported rate of harmful practice. The fact that Rau was our smallest sample group with only 28 questionnaires carried out, means that perhaps this is not completely representative or comparable but it does indicate a particularly high level of child abuse in this area. Moshi Rural had the lowest reported rate of harmful practices with an average of 70% for the 3 research wards in this district.

Our comparison areas had a relatively low reported rate of harmful practices towards children with 65% in Sokon One and 60% in Mji Mpya. These areas also stood out within their districts as being the lowest reported rates of violence, especially for Mji Mpya in comparison to the rest of Moshi Urban. From our research, it is not clear why this is the case. It may indicate a lack of awareness in areas without Mkombozi intervention of what harms a child. This is a possible area to investigate further.

Alcohol related issues, mainly parents drinking heavily and then beating the children or neglecting their welfare, or children being given alcohol, were heavily reported in Manushi Juu. When carrying out our research, it was evident that alcohol use was prevalent in this community even around mid morning.

Instances of sexual abuse, namely rape and sodomy, were more often reported in Unga Ltd, Sokon One and Njoro. From the questionnaires, it seems that this is not used as a form of discipline but is a widely reported harmful practice in these particular areas. This is an area that will be explored further in the FGDs.

#### Attitudes towards violence against children

Despite the high level of violence towards children present in our research areas, there is also a good level of awareness of the negative effects of behaving in a way that could harm a child. Taken as a whole, when asked about their opinions on discipline, 51% of participants gave some acknowledgement that beating a child/physically abusing a child is a bad thing. These responses were fairly balanced when it comes to gender, except in the 56 – 65 years age bracket where women were significantly more likely to support the idea of physical punishments than men.

That said, 38% of participants did think that beating was a positive way to bring up a child. The remaining participants either did not want to answer or simply said they did not know. Reasons for supporting the idea of beating a child included support from the bible, instilling discipline, making a child learn as well as many people claiming it was part of their culture or tradition.

Lastly, the questionnaires attempted to gauge people's attitudes towards the harmful practices they had mentioned by asking "what do you think of these practices?" This question was the most difficult to analyse because it was such an open question which provided a broad range of answers. In response, some participants offered suggestions and solutions for the future, whereas, others merely commented on the action itself. The answers were broken down into the following categories:

- a) a desire for some kind of education for social change – stopping beating, improved parenting etc;
- b) a desire to see an end to child abuse;

- c) a desire for the government to take responsibility for child protection by upholding the relevant laws and policies and by holding people accountable for any abuse/mistreatment of children;
- d) Some acknowledgement that physical abuse/harmful practices are bad for a child's development;
- e) a positive attitude towards the use of beating/physical punishment of a child for discipline, instilling respect, cultural reasons etc;
- f) Don't know/no answer.

In Arusha Municipal and Moshi Urban, the most common response was for the government to take responsibility and action for child protection. This was closely followed by a desire to have some kind of social education to help prevent child abuse and encourage good parenting skills. Whereas, in Moshi Rural, it was the need for education that came out as the most common response.

However, there was a certain amount of people who were in support of what Mkombozi would see as forms of child abuse. This was common in Moshi Urban where 15% of our respondents showed some positive reactions towards the harmful practices about which they spoke. This was lower in Moshi Urban (9%) and Arusha (7%).

### **Protective Factors**

#### Support networks for caring for children

The questionnaire tried to establish who is responsible for child care in the Tanzanian context. However, in hindsight, the main survey question on this topic, "Which people are involved in a child's life?" may not have addressed this issue successfully. The majority of participants reported that parents were the people who are responsible for looking after a child (74%) when really the question was aimed at exploring the wider support networks available in bringing up a child. Although, there was some mention of other family members (5%), the community (7%) and even the government on a few occasions (3%).

Of note, 11% of participants claimed that it was specifically a woman's/mother's role to bring up a child as the fathers were either not responsible, did not take responsibility or were only responsible for bringing in money for the family. Of this 11%, 89% were mothers themselves and perhaps were sharing their own personal experience.

The questionnaire then asked what support networks are available for children who have lost their parents for any reason. The list below shows the different reactions that were given.

**Table 5: list of people who can care for a child when they have no parents**

Everyone/anyone	37	9%
The community/neighbours	114	28%
Relatives	230	57%
Government	69	17%
Orphanage/Child care centre	17	4%
NGOs/Good Samaritan, sponsor	32	8%
Church	2	0.4%
Clan decision	3	0.7%
No one	1	0.2%
Don't know	7	2%

The vast majority of people (57%) responded with some sort of relative as grouped together above. The relatives that were often named in particular were siblings and

grandparents of the child. The next highest answer was the community or neighbours (28%), followed by the government (17%).

When looking at who participants in each area reported as a support network (see Table 6 below), we noticed a difference between the rural areas and urban areas. In the rural areas like Kombo or, even, a more community based area like Rau<sup>16</sup>, there is a high focus on the role of relatives and community members to care for a child with no parents, whereas in urban, more mixed community areas like Njoro and Unga Ltd, there is a much stronger reliance on the government or child care centres/orphanages to look after such children.

**Table 6: Breakdown of people to care for a child by Urban vs. Rural areas**

	<b>Njoro</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Unga Ltd</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Rau</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Kombo</b>	<b>%</b>
Everyone/anyone	2	6%	7	18%	0	n/a	0	n/a
The community/neighbours	9	25%	9	23%	10	36%	10	22%
Relatives	14	39%	18	45%	25	89%	29	63%
Government	19	53%	11	28%	0	n/a	8	17%
Orphanage/child care centres	4	11%	2	5%	0	n/a	0	n/a
NGO/Good Samaritans, sponsor	6	17%	0	n/a	5	18%	2	4%
Other	2	6%	0	n/a	0	n/a	0	n/a

Despite this heavy reliance, in urban areas, on government support for vulnerable children, there is a real lack of reported services available on the ground in all our research areas. 77% (n= 311) of our sample claimed that they did not know of any government service that was available in their area to provide support for vulnerable children.

Furthermore, 4% (n = 15) of those that did claim to know of such services, were referring to services provided by non governmental organisations such as Mkombozi rather than a government service. Another point to note is that 38% of reported government services were restricted to the care of orphans rather than all vulnerable children in the community.

This highlights a huge gap in service provision either due to there not being any services available or their presence not being adequately communicated to those that need them. This point was raised by many people we spoke to, that government services were reserved for people who could afford to pay for them or who knew the people that ran them rather than being available to those who were vulnerable and in need of free, high-quality services.

#### Available child protection services

In addition to the questionnaires and FGDs, we spoke to some key informants in the field of child protection in order to map out which formal services should be available in these areas and what challenges they face. The list of those informants can be found in section 3.4 above.

For this baseline survey, the information on available child protection systems has been compiled into the table below.

<sup>16</sup> Rau is located on the edge of Moshi Urban close to Moshi Rural ward making it more community orientated than other Moshi Urban research areas

**Table 7: List of available child protection services in research wards**

<b>Community Location – e.g. ward/district level</b>	<b>Available child protection services</b>	<b>Official function of the service</b>	<b>Do they have service protocols?</b>
District level & stations/post	1. Police	-Referrals -Juvenile remand homes -Probation officers -Community police dealing with domestic gender based violence -Intervention/initiative to promote child safety e.g. Road Safety – traffic police	Follow national laws – no mention of internal procedures in our baseline interviews
Ward Level	2. Ward Development Committee	To oversee the development of the ward & collection of levies. To oversee the protection & security of the ward (involving the police). To oversee the plans & budgets. To advise & coordinate the social services in the ward (education etc)	Chairperson is the councillor of the ward. Secretary is the Ward Executive Officer, members are the Village Chairpersons & others invited members are the Village Executives & other service providers both government & private. Three main agendas are: - Protection & security. These roles are stipulated in the constitution #7) - Planning & finance - Social services management
Ward Level	3. Ward Security Committee	Ensure security of the ward for adults & children. To discuss the security agendas that would be taken to the ward development committees. To monitor government resources	WEO is chairman of the committee. Secretary is the OCS (Officer Commanding Station). Members are the Village Chairpersons. There are others who are invited for the meetings including all service providers, religious leaders, Councillor & influential people.
Ward Level	4. 'Baraza la usuluhishi la kata' (Ward conflict resolution committee)	Conflict resolution of smaller issues in the ward (like local court). This is to reduce amount of cases in the court.	Members are community members (over 18 yrs & not affiliated to the government). Chairman is elected by the committee. The secretary is chosen by the Municipal Director. They report to the WEO. For bigger issues the WEO takes it to the municipal council where a legal professional advises. They have the mandate to jail a person for up to 6 months.
Ward Level	4. Social Welfare	-Reunification -Adoption -Family Counselling -Interventions in neglect cases	No information available
Ward & District Level	5. Courts	-Legal assistance -Approve adoptions	No information available
Ward Level	6. Most Vulnerable Child Committee (MVCC)	-Protection -Nutrition -Education	-Currently no guidelines as it is new system -Follows Clan Leaders advice
District, Ward level	7. NGOs	-Education & Advocacy on Children's Rights -Shelter -Food & basic needs	-Internal child protection policy -Internal constitution -National guidelines on adoption, fostering, labour etc
Ward Level	8. Child Protection Committees	-Ensure implementation of child protection services in the ward -Identification of vulnerable children & subsequent referrals -Awareness raising in the local community -Documentation of abuse cases	-Written internal policy -Ward level child protection policy -Can vary per ward
Village Level	9. Clan committees	-Act as court in discipline issues in the community -Divide property/inheritance -Guardianships/support of orphans	-Elected members/hierarchy system
Village/Street Level	10. Small Christian Committees	-Solve abuse/neglect cases (adult & children) -Informal social support	-Elected committee members

Challenges from the service providers:

- Corruption and lack of transparency – both the teachers we spoke to stressed the challenge of corruption and lack of support from the government. One gave the example of how it is very difficult for poor families to access services like hospitals without paying bribes or having the “right name”. He also talked of how he, as a teacher, tried to report a rape case of a girl in his school but was told by local government officials not to pursue the matter further or he would risk being transferred far from the area. It was not completely clear from the interview data but it seems that the man accused of rape was an acquaintance of the government official in this case.
- Lack of coordination and resources – there was a heavily reported lack of coordination or cooperation between different services providers, especially between local government and NGOs. A ward level officer in Manushi Juu complained that financial resources tend to stop at district level making it very hard for ward level services to operate.
- Lack of awareness in the community – many service providers claimed to struggle with the lack of understanding of child protection in the community. This is compounded by the reluctance of some to change traditional attitudes towards children.

### **3.2 Results from Focus Group Discussions**

#### **Child Vulnerability**

##### Social issues with the communities

Poverty is widespread and enduring in all our research communities. It came out in all the FGDs, at some point, as a reason for not being able to afford school fees, not being able to provide ample food for children and not having enough cash to give them to prevent them sourcing their own in a dangerous or illegal manner. In many of the discussions the idea of raising a child to be economically independent was a sign of good upbringing, for example, in Kaloleni teaching a child the family business was of utmost importance in raising a child.

Alcoholism was a heavily reported problem in several of our research areas, including Uru Mashariki, Manushi Juu, Njoro and Ngarenaro. In Uru Mashariki the issue of many parents getting drunk on “gongo”<sup>17</sup>, a potent local brew, and not returning to the house to look after their children for the whole day was brought up almost immediately in the discussion. The participants here claimed that this led to these children having “bad morals” including dressing poorly and not going to school. Alcohol was also a problem in Njoro where it was claimed that mothers take their babies to the bars all day while they get drunk and then return home unable to care for their children. Here it was said that, parents who drink can also be abusive to any community members who try to intervene by looking after their children. Alcohol was a problem specifically for men in Ngarenaro, where participants talked about them getting drunk each day on 4 different kinds of local brew that were available and then neglecting their family responsibilities.

Other addictive behaviours such as gambling in Njoro and smoking marijuana in Uru Mashariki were reported. The smoking of marijuana seems to be a behaviour shown by both adults and children in the community. Whereas, in the FGDs at least, the gambling “mobs” involved children and young people more than adults. In Uru Mashariki drinking and smoking marijuana is often carried out in secret which makes it much harder to tackle,

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<sup>17</sup> *The use of quotation marks throughout this chapter shows extracts from the English translated transcripts from the focus group discussions*

the FDG noted. General drug using and dealing was reported as a problem in Unga Ltd with heavy use among fathers being a particular issue.

In Mkombozi's experience, the relationship between poverty and addictive behaviours can be quite complex. On the one hand it can be that poverty drives people to unproductive actions like drinking and taking drugs. On the other hand, there have been many cases where parents prioritise spending for alcohol and drugs over investing in a child's upbringing and education which only perpetuates the cycle of poverty in these communities.

Video rooms, where films are played for the public, were reported in Njoro, Unga Ltd, Uru Mashariki and Kaloleni. Children spend their time here when they should be at school and often stay late into the night. Here, they can access pornographic material and violent movies very easily. They are also seen as place where young girls can find young men to begin prostituting themselves, as was reported in Unga Ltd. The residents in Njoro campaigned to have them closed down but this was not followed up or enforced by the local authorities and police.

One of the main problems in the research areas is simply that children have nothing to do. Many participants were concerned that there were no child-friendly spaces for children or opportunities for them to spend their time productively e.g. playing sports. Moreover, several of the discussions revealed that the large majority of those children that were found roaming the streets idly in their areas did, in fact, have parents at home but they did not take any interest in what they were doing.

Participants in Njoro were very concerned about the number of single parent families seen in the area (often with only the mother present). They claimed that children of such families were more likely to be neglected as the sole parent was preoccupied with finding an income and didn't have time to look after their children properly. It was said that many single mothers were found in bars during the day time with their babies strapped to their backs while they got drunk. Family dynamics were also mentioned in Ngarenaro where it is common to find many very young mothers with up to 8 children.

Additionally, there are many families where the father or mother has children from outside the marriage which can cause a great deal of tension within the family. In very low income families like this, the tensions often revolve around neglecting the children from outside the current marriage when it comes to providing food and other basic needs.

#### Gender discrimination

Generally, gender differences in children did not appear in the FGDs unless the topic was specifically introduced by the facilitator. On the whole, participants did not see any real differences between girls and boys. In fact, the majority of people considered girls and boys to be equal in terms of the opportunities they deserve and also in terms of any bad behaviour with which they may engage.

In Kaloleni and Unga Ltd, however, it was mentioned that the household responsibilities would be split according to sex. For example, girls are expected to do domestic chores and child rearing, while boys are encouraged to help with physical labour. It was suggested that girls take more of the burden than boys. Boys were considered to be more likely to play truant and join gambling "mobs" than girls in Kaloleni.

#### Misbehaviour and punishment

Participants were encouraged to explain what their concept of misbehaviour was. All the answers were very similar and centred around a child not respecting nor obeying his or her parents and not having good morals. This was summarised nicely by a participant in

Manushi Juu who claimed that “misbehaviour is the tendency of being against community ethics.”

We have already established through the questionnaires that there is a high incidence of children being beaten when they misbehave. This was very much supported by all the FGDs. Most participants agreed that beating was the right way to discipline a child as it meant that they learnt not to repeat their mistakes. Reasons given for beating/denying food/burning a child were:

- Girls wearing short skirts
- Not going to school
- Not listening to parents/not coming when called
- Theft e.g. stealing phones
- Telling lies

In order to go beyond the scope of the questionnaires, the discussions explored the participants' childhood experiences of punishment. Many shared quite brutal stories about being beaten and being caused pain when they misbehaved. One woman in Kaloleni told how she had been kicked into a coma by her father as a child. Nevertheless, she used this as a positive example of how she has learnt not to make the mistake again. Many similar reports were given by other participants in each area. A woman from Manushi Juu claimed that beating a child was only dangerous when the parent is angry or emotional as this is when children tend to get injured or even killed.

There were some participants who were strongly against physical punishments for children. One father in Njoro described how he spent time talking with his children when they had behavioural issues. An older woman in Uru Mashariki also recognised that explaining a mistake and why certain behaviours are wrong has a much more profound effect on a child. A man in Kaloleni spoke of how he accidentally blinded his niece by beating her and now carries so much guilt that he would never beat another child.

While these were positive and encouraging additions to the discussion from Mkombozi's perspective, they were rebuffed by the majority of participants who firmly believed in beating as a main form of discipline. More over, many participants in all the areas commented negatively on those parents who did not discipline their children at all. Many people reported stories of parents in their neighbourhood who let their children run free and didn't ever stop them from behaving badly. This lack of discipline was viewed as more concerning than parents who beat their children. Furthermore, it was commonly said that when other people try to get involved in a situation involving a child that is not their own, they face aggression and even violence from that child's parents.

On a positive note for Mkombozi, there were reports from Unga Ltd about the success of their child protection seminars. The participants of the FGD had attended such an event previously and reported that they are now trying to help their neighbours be more aware of the negative effects of beating a child.

### Sexual abuse

The questionnaires suggested a very large amount of rape and sexual abuse in some of the urban communities like Unga Ltd, Njoro and Sokon one. When this issue was explored further through the FGDs, it seems that the real issue is that of under age sex and girls entering into sexual activities in exchange for money or goods. Participants in Uru Mashariki were clear to point out that although a concern, this under age sex was not considered to be rape because it was consensual on both sides.

In Njoro, the participants claimed that the number of known rape cases had declined in the past 6 months due to community training and awareness-raising. Also, in Ngarenaro, participants stated that they had not ever heard of any confirmed rape cases in their community. They suggested that this was because it was often carried out in secret.

However, it is clear that organised prostitution takes place in many of the urban wards. Both Njoro and Kaloleni reported cars coming at night to pick up girls and take them to local night clubs for prostitution. The discussion in Njoro linked this activity to the high rates of HIV/AIDS shown in the area. Unga Ltd was reported to have a large number of child prostitutes who are regularly seen walking the streets in search of business with the local men in the community.

In Kaloleni, participants claimed that girls can start having sexual intercourse from 10 years old. It was often said that girls and boys will perform sexual favours for pocket money and meals. Many parents worried that they were unable to give enough pocket money to children to prevent this occurring, showing the scale of the problem. It appears to be more of a risk for girls than boys. Also, it seems to be the case that adults are using the fact that children are keen to get money to manipulate them into these situations rather than the children actively seeking out such opportunities.

This was also true in Ngarenaro where the participants became slightly angry that the facilitator did not realise the extent that a young girl will go to in order to get a meal, explaining that "This is the real situation, there are families that have a single meal a day at 8pm. They don't even know the taste of sugar since they do not get tea in their families. Do you believe such a miserable girl can resist providing sex to some one for the sake of earning a daily meal?" Such an aggressive reaction, again, demonstrates the extent to which this problem exists. The participants of this group also described how they see many young girls with old men as their sexual partners.

## **Protective Factors**

### Upbringing

The requirements for a good upbringing were, according to the groups, having enough nutritious food, adequate shelter, getting access to education, a good level of health and having a strong moral influence from those around them. Access to education was one requirement that came up repeatedly throughout the FGDs. However, many people were concerned that it was difficult to achieve due to the "contributions"<sup>18</sup> they are required to pay for each school child. This was expressly mentioned in Unga Ltd, Kaloleni and Ngarenaro. Being taught how to be clean and hygienic was seen as important in Unga Ltd. Only in Njoro was the idea of being loving towards a child explicitly mentioned.

In order to achieve this good upbringing, most respondents stressed the need for the involvement of both parents taking responsibility together when raising a child. However, in some cases like Njoro, women insisted that in reality, it was the mother who really took responsibility for a child's upbringing as the fathers were either at work or didn't take any interest in the child's welfare. Mothers are also seen as more familiar with domestic work and responsibilities. In Kaloleni, respondents went as far as to say that children themselves respected their mothers more than their fathers.

Additionally, in Njoro, people see raising a child as a job for the community as well as the parents. One man claimed that it was everyone's responsibility to make sure a child has the

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<sup>18</sup> Contributions are maintenance fees set by the school head teacher which all families must pay per child. This charge varies from school to school and can become very high for most low-income families who often have more than one child. Contributions are separate from the official school fees.

freedom to grow up well. Yet, participants in most of the discussion areas did complain that when they intervene in a situation involving another child they often faced aggression and harassment from the parents. Below are the main challenges found in providing a “good upbringing” to children in each research area.

### **Moshi Rural**

Uru Mashariki – alcohol, poverty and inflation

Manushi Juu – alcohol and diseases like HIV/AIDS

### **Moshi Urban**

Njoro – poverty, the risk of sexual violence

Kaloleni – poverty, especially when it comes to providing high school contributions, parents allowing their children too much freedom to roam around and use video halls without really caring where they are

### **Arusha Municipal**

Ngarenaro – poverty, not being able to pay tuition fees, not being able to feed your children properly, unemployment

Unga Ltd – poverty, pressure of finding an income, the great physical distance that many children have to travel to and from school and the amount of money it takes to do it, alcohol and drugs

### Protecting children in the home

The notion of protecting a child was introduced at some point in all the discussions, to which most people agreed that parents were primarily responsible for the task. The ways in which this should be done were numerous. People saw protecting a child as anything from providing them with nutritious food to prevent them being hungry and taking money/snacks from elsewhere to talking openly about issues like pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, sex and school work with their children so they are informed enough to make sensible decisions in life. Many respondents from different groups recognised the need to maintain an open dialogue with their children.

In Unga Ltd, participants were very concerned that children were not involved in decision making processes in the home. They argued that children’s participation is crucial in allowing a child to develop in life as they need freedom to express themselves. Unfortunately, this concept did not come up in any of the other discussions.

In Njoro it was stressed again, that it was the mother’s role to protect a child as they spend more time with them and, therefore, often have a closer relationship with their children. It is interesting to note that when this insistence that a mother’s role is more important than a father’s appeared in the discussions, the responses mostly came from women.

Occasionally, there was an underlying sense of resentment towards some of the topics that were introduced to the discussion. For instance, when asked about how parents cooperated in child care in Ngarenaro, the participants simply said “we have already talked about this and now we are tired”. This may demonstrate a fatigue towards this kind of research and discussion without any action being taken. The same occurred in Unga Ltd where participants raised the need to act on these discussions about their role in child protection, rather than just talking about the matter – “if we don’t take any measure against it, nothing will happen.”

### Protecting children in the community

Overwhelmingly, participants reported that the child protection focussed police presence in their areas was non-existent. In Ngarenaro, it was said that the police will only make follow-ups on issues in which they can gain a bribe like drug dealing and the illegal selling of alcohol. Where as child protection issues do not offer any perceived benefits for these officers. Participants in Unga Ltd also claimed that the police were untrustworthy and more than likely tangled up in bribes with the offenders themselves. In Njoro, it was said that police would eventually deal with child protection issues but only when they were brought directly to their attention.

Teachers were seen as key figures for child protection in the community as they spend much time with children. However, they were not always reported as being successful in this role. Communication between parents and teachers is an area of contention for many participants. Parents feel that they are not given enough information about their children's progress and behaviour in school, yet people also report that many parents do not take an interest in their children's schooling so any messages that come from teachers are ignored. On top of this, there is the resentment of the school contribution fees, mentioned above, which puts strain on parent-teacher relations.

Key informants identified the presence of ward education officers as a formal child protection system. However, in the discussion from Unga Ltd there were complaints that the ward education officer mainly confused parents who were having issues around school by sending them back and forth from one authority to another which only exacerbated the distance between teachers and parents in protecting children.

In Kaloleni, the ward chairman is used to mediate in minor incidents. Similarly, Parents in Manushi Juu reported that the ward executive officer could deal with problems concerning children and that they were able to work alongside the village chairman on issues of child protection. Clan leaders were also mentioned in the Manushi Juu discussion as mediators of such conflicts.

The local community and neighbours themselves play a vital role in child protection it would seem. There was an example from Ngarenaro of community members identifying those families who can not afford contributions and, thus, do not attend school. Collectively, the community contacted local leaders who wrote to the headmaster in the hope of having fees waived. Apparently, for children who attend secondary school, the municipal council (in Arusha, in this case) are more likely to pay the fees on behalf of the child.

Nevertheless, there is a general sense of frustration from the participants who recognise the need for more to be done to protect children. This is summarised well by a respondent in Unga Ltd who acknowledged how "we are still sleeping, and so are local government leaders. Local government authorities are very afraid to deal with people who are violating the rights of children"

## **4. Discussion**

### **Child Vulnerability**

#### Attitudes towards children

Despite the legal definition of a child ranging from 0 – 18 years, our research has shown that many people, women in particular, think of childhood as ending at an earlier age. This may have an impact on how people behave towards older children. For example, in the reports of disciplining a child, many people made the distinction between children that were too young to be beaten whereas with older children it was not a problem. If this is the

case, perhaps there is a need to tailor any child protection interventions to different age ranges of children and youth and improve awareness of the legal definition of a child as 0 – 18 years.

There is a high level of physical abuse towards children. Even verbal responses to misbehaviour can be insulting and cruel. However, it is the attitudes towards this that are especially alarming. There are still many people who believe in the power of beating a child as a successful tool of discipline. As seen from the questionnaires and from the stories told in the discussions, beating can be a way to make a child learn from their mistakes and even serious assaults are viewed, by some, as a positive learning experience. Even some of those who claim to realise the harm in physical violence towards a child, still admit to using it as punishment on their children. The reasons given to support the use of beating were cultural or religious which makes them very difficult to challenge. This must be kept in mind when attempting to change this behaviour.

Children and young people's attitudes towards sex were seen as a problem for most participants. Children were accused of dressing provocatively and talking casually about sex and being careless in their sexual behaviours. Some adults in both Unga Ltd and Kaloleni remarked on how many young girls would cover themselves in traditional, long clothing only to reveal short skirts and other revealing items once away from their home. This was seen as a result of westernisation and media which concerned parents who worried about the morals of their children. Even the idea of having a romantic relationship was seen as a negative, "westernised" concept. As with any parent and child relationship, there is a need to find a common ground in order to reach a level of agreement between the two parties. The mention of the importance of child participation in household decisions in Unga Ltd and the reports about having an open dialogue between parent and child by some participants suggests there is scope for change.

#### Geographic differences

The results show that, by and large, there is a similarity in all of the research areas, especially when it comes to age, sex, levels of education and reports of poverty and unemployment. However, there are subtle differences between research areas. One of the most noticeable is the difference between urban and rural areas. Looking at the FGD transcripts in detail, the discussions from both Uru Mashariki and Manushi Juu were much shorter than the others and tended to focus only on the misbehaviour of a child and the subsequent ways of dealing with them. There was a lot of discussion around beating a child and, in both areas, it was seen as the most common and effective way to discipline a child. However, the data collected from the questionnaires suggested that Moshi Rural had the lowest rate of reported beating out of the 3 districts. This difference was minimal with an average of 19% of respondents claiming they would beat a child compared to 20% in Arusha Municipal and 27% in Moshi Urban. Moreover, the average amount of people who said they used the 'combination' of beating with a verbal warning for Moshi Rural was 37% which was the same as Moshi Urban and more than Arusha Municipal (33%). This may suggest that there is marginally less physical violence towards children in Moshi Rural compared with Moshi Urban.

Secondly, there was little mention of any of the underlying social issues, described in many of the urban areas, except for alcohol abuse. The use of the local brew in both rural research areas is extremely common and intoxicated people could be seen easily when collecting the data from participants. Rape or other sexual abuse is not reported. Even when explicitly asked by the facilitator in Uru Mashariki, the respondents claimed there was no such problem. There were no reports of the organised prostitution that occurs in the urban areas. Whether this phenomenon does not exist or was just not talked about is unknown, but it seems that commercial sex is not a problem in rural areas to the extent that it is more urban neighbourhoods. Information from the questionnaires also shows that

the biggest reported reason for children leaving school in Moshi Rural was poverty, whereas it was domestic violence and abuse in both Moshi Urban and Arusha Municipal.

In addition, as mentioned above, respondents from more rural areas were more likely to rely on the local community for informal support rather than call on government services. This came through not only in the data above, but was also mentioned by the researchers at the time. The rural communities tend to be more homogenous in terms of local culture. That is to say that most people who live there have been born there and their family would originate from that place. This is likely to encourage a stronger sense of community bonding than in urban environments meaning that more informal support systems may be available.

Conversely, the urban environments such as Njoro and Unga Ltd consist of a mix of people from different areas of Tanzania and who may have varied religious backgrounds. Many of the residents have settled in these areas fairly recently to look for work in the towns. This decreases the sense of community and, therefore, may reduce the availability of community support. Rau is a slightly different case. Although it is a ward within Moshi Urban, Rau is located on the edge between Uru and the outskirts of Moshi's urban centre so it shares characteristics of both urban and rural environments.

Moreover, in the FGDs from urban locations, there were reports of people facing aggression from parents when they intervene in situations involving their child, whereas this did not appear in either of the FGDs in Uru Mashariki or Manushi Juu. Again, it could be that this was not expressly mentioned in the discussions rather than never occurring. However, it could be a sign of a better relationship between the local communities in rural areas. Also, there were fewer reports of available government services for vulnerable children than in Moshi Urban and Arusha Municipal. A lack of available alternatives may also reinforce the need to rely on the local community in the rural setting.

#### Comparison areas

A further geographic difference to explore is that of the comparison areas Mji Mpya and Sokon One. When devising the baseline, it was assumed that the areas in which Mkombozi had not had any direct community interventions would show higher levels of child vulnerability and be generally fair worse than other target areas. However, interestingly that may not be the case. When looking at both reported school drop out and children that have run away from home, the participants in Mji Mpya and Sokon One were far less likely to report such incidents than in the other areas. This is in contrast to our 2010 census which named Sokon One as a big 'sending community', meaning that a lot of children come from there to the streets.

Either the respondents in this area were under reporting the problem, or possibly, the children that come from there to the streets have actually originated from a different location previously. In that sense these children would not be seen as leaving home in Sokon One. Alternatively, it could be that the children who come from Sokon One are what we refer to as part-time street-involved, meaning that they spend their days on the streets and then return home at night. Perhaps this is an area for further investigation.

#### Urban dangers

As mentioned above, the social issues that are found in urban areas can compound the risks for children. When participants were asked about the reasons why a child would leave home prematurely, the answers from both Moshi Urban and Arusha Municipal pointed to the underlying social issues in the community rather than simply poverty. In Arusha, 52% of people blamed domestic violence and abuse as a reason for children to run away. This was followed by the separation of parents (22%) and lack of care from parents (22%). In Moshi

Urban, 33% of people agreed that domestic violence and abuse was the cause of runaways. The FGD in these areas were particularly telling. The transcript from Ngarenaro painted a very negative picture of urban life with reports of alcoholism, unemployment and children being left to fend for themselves without parental care. The fact that one of the participants in Ngarenaro became almost hostile with the researchers during the FGDs when talking about the amount of young girls who end up selling sex to get pocket money shows the extent of risks faced by children and young people in the area. The Arusha Municipal questionnaires even mentioned children who had died from being beaten or punished in Unga Ltd and Ngarenaro. Njoro repeatedly appeared as the worst area for school leavers and school drop outs in the questionnaires.

However, despite the often reported dangers reported in Arusha Municipal, it did fare better than both Moshi Urban and Rural on the reported school leavers and home runaways. Fewer people claimed to know a child that had dropped out of school or left home in any of the Ngarenaro, Unga Ltd and Sokon One. Additionally, when looking at the demographic analysis, the participants in Arusha Municipal were slightly better educated, on the whole, than in the other districts. There were no real explanations offered in the FGDs as to why this may be the case. Conversely, the struggle with contribution fees and the physical distance of getting children to school were brought up as challenges to accessing education, as discussed below, in Ngarenaro and Unga Ltd. This leaves the area open for further investigation and research.

## **Protective factors**

### Gap in service provision

The results gathered above show a great contradiction in the availability of child protection services. On the one hand, community reports would suggest that there is a definite lack of support for child protection on the ground. The questionnaires showed how little people knew of government services for vulnerable children in their area and the FGDs suggested that there was minimal cooperation from local authorities, police and schools. Ultimately, there seemed to be resentment towards authorities in this matter from the local community. On the other hand, information from the key respondents and desk research into the 10 areas indicates a vast number of services that, at least claim to provide child protection services and general support to vulnerable children.

According to the key informants there should be a good number of child protection services in place already. Other than the more formal systems that are expected such as the police, social welfare officers and courts, there were a number of more localised options that would seem to have potential in this field. In rural areas, the ward conflict resolution committees and clan committees act like a local courts and could have a serious impact on resolving family issues. The ward conflict resolution committees have the power to imprison a person for up to 6 months which could be extremely useful in holding people accountable for minor incidents of child abuse. The MVCCs should be instrumental in identifying vulnerable children before child protection services even need to be accessed.

Finally, Child Protection Committees have been set up to document the amount of cases of child abuse that occur and also to identify and intervene in cases of vulnerable children. Nevertheless, not one of these services was mentioned by the community members in our research, except for village elders and clan councils which were briefly touched on in the FGD in Manushi Juu.

Otherwise, people did not report any of these localised options as a serious means of child protection. This either demonstrates a huge gap in knowledge and awareness of child protection services on the ground in research areas, or a failure in understanding how to

access these services. Either way, this would seem to be an area for Mkombozi to act on immediately.

In order to bridge this gap, Mkombozi interventions should involve more partnering with local service providers and strengthen not only their internal capacities but also their presence in the community. The reported challenges from service providers were corruption, lack of coordination and a lack of awareness in the community. Corruption is something which is beyond the scope of Mkombozi to truly deal with other than to campaign for fairer, more transparent process within these formal systems. However, lack of coordination could be easily improved and facilitated by Mkombozi. Our Community Engagement team is already making progress in our target areas on awareness-raising and aims to widen its scope by increasing the number of areas in which it works. Ultimately, in order to make sustainable improvements, it is crucial that Mkombozi works alongside already existing structures rather than offering yet another child protection service.

### The school situation

Although they were not mentioned by the key informants, many parents saw the school environment as somewhere that should act as a protective factor for children. The rationale being that teachers spend many hours with children and should, therefore, be aware of any issues that arise. The physical school environment was also seen as protective. However, there is some contradiction in attitudes towards teachers. Some participants felt that they could cooperate with teachers who could report on their progress and work together with parents in raising the child. On the other hand, some participants felt that teachers ignored this duty and did not communicate adequately with parents.

Moreover, there is the added complication of the 'contribution fee' which is demanded by the teachers for school maintenance. Many parents were very resentful that they had to pay relatively high sums of money per child and did not see anything in return. In many cases, the burden of the contribution fee could mean the difference from keeping a child in school or not.

The physical distance that children had to travel to school was also a reported problem, specifically in Unga Ltd. In some cases, children had to take 2 or 3 *dallas*<sup>19</sup> to reach their school which is an extra financial burden on the parents. Additionally, children are exposed to more physical hazards on the long journey.

Truancy was also an issue. Many of the stories involved children drinking, smoking, gambling, attending video halls and even taking part in prostitution when they should be in school. Teachers blame parents for not following up on their children or not providing them with any breakfast before coming to school, making them lose their concentration faster. Parents blame the teachers for sending children away from school when they are unable to pay their contribution fees and for not monitoring their attendance.

It is clear that there is a need for greater cooperation between teachers and parents in order to strengthen child protection. This seems like an area in which Mkombozi could take a facilitative role.

### The changes people want

At the end of the questionnaires people were asked about their attitudes towards the harmful practices and child abuse that they saw in their communities. Despite there being some who were keen on the idea of physical discipline in raising a child, there were an encouraging number of participants who recognised the need for change. Participants

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<sup>19</sup> *Local buses in Tanzania, that can often be poorly maintained and are notorious for driving recklessly*

wanted to see the government take more responsibility by holding people accountable for child abuse and by providing better services for vulnerable children.

Likewise, there was a call for some kind of social education to improve awareness of the issues that children face and how to overcome them. The subsequent discussions also supported this approach with many parents demanding a change. One father in the FGD in Kaloleni summed up the general consensus well when he said that “parents have to forget about the past and start working together again”. This is a positive comment for Mkombozi as it very much validates the community work we are doing currently.

## **5. Conclusion**

The information presented above paints a realistic picture of the everyday interaction between children and adults, as described by adults themselves, in the 10 research areas we have examined. From this data we have gathered solid baseline data of the community’s attitudes and behaviours towards children focussing on child vulnerability and protective factors.

Poverty is prevalent in all 10 areas. The economic challenges faced by most people were very apparent when conducting the questionnaires, yet, it was not until the FGD section of the research that the extent of the poverty people face came to light. The accounts from Unga Ltd, Ngarenaro and Njoro, especially, show a startling reality consisting of substance abuse, prostitution, unemployment and a lack of support from local authorities. It can be very easy to judge certain behaviours and attitudes towards children from a westernised perspective without adequately taking the context into account. While, clearly this paper makes no attempt to condone such behaviour as beating a child, it does bring to light the everyday challenges that many parents face in raising their children.

From the information presented above, it looks as if poverty and unemployment often drive people to destructive behaviours such as drinking, gambling and taking drugs which, in turn, can impact negatively on their home life. School contribution fees are another challenge for many parents who, despite their best intentions, may not be able to afford to keep their children in school. Therefore, when discussing violence against children in this context, it is vital to acknowledge the external factors that can contribute to such behaviour. This holistic understanding becomes extremely important when looking at potential interventions.

That said, this baseline survey indicates a high level of abusive behaviour towards children in our research areas. An overwhelming majority of respondents reported regularly witnessing harmful practices. The physical abuse aimed at children often goes beyond a beating when they have misbehaved to include cruel punishments like burning, pinching and kicking and has even resulted in reported fatalities in some cases. Added on to that is the risk of general neglect by parents, the risk of sexual abuse, and the influence of alcohol, marijuana and gambling. Essentially, there are many children in these areas who are extremely vulnerable.

In addition, this research has made clear that although there are existing child protection systems in place in our research areas, they are not adequately reaching vulnerable children or their families. This is an important starting block for Mkombozi to begin to address the huge need for increased protection for children in Moshi and Arusha. Crucially this can be done by strengthening and coordinating the current systems rather than replicating their services.

One potential flaw in this research is that although we want to assess people's behaviour towards children, we have only been able to measure their reported behaviours. Therefore, we must allow for people over and under reporting their own behaviours. By asking what participants saw other people doing rather than themselves, it is possible that we eliminated the fear of stigma from their responses meaning they could answer more openly.

Yet, there is no way of knowing this was the case. We must also allow for the fact that when people see NGOs, especially with the presence of foreigners, some participants may have over-reported levels of poverty with the hope of receiving some assistance. When we carried out the questionnaires, it was common for people to approach us and ask for support from Mkombozi.

Nevertheless, this baseline study has given us a good insight into the attitudes of the communities we work with and those in which we aim to work more closely. This insight can now be used to shape our current and future interventions in community engagement with the aim of, hopefully, increasing child protection, reducing child vulnerability and, ultimately, decreasing the number of children who end up living on the streets in the Kilimanjaro and Arusha Regions. We believe this can only be achieved with the combined efforts of Mkombozi and the local community members themselves.

## 6. Appendices

### A: Breakdown of respondents by age and sex

Females by age:

18 – 25	65	29%
26 – 35	69	31%
36 – 45	41	18%
46 – 55	28	13%
56 – 65	12	5%
66 – 75	3	1%
76 – 85	4	2%
No answer	1	0.4%

Males by age:

18 – 25	28	16%
26 – 35	59	34%
36 – 45	42	24%
46 – 55	18	10%
56 – 65	13	8%
66 – 75	9	5%
76 – 85	1	0.6%
No answer	2	1%

### B: Breakdown of participants by education

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
College	1	0.5%	0	n/a	1	0.2%
Degree	4	2%	0	n/a	4	1%
Diploma	3	1.7%	1	0.4%	4	1%
VTC	1	0.5%	0	n/a	1	0.2%
Driver	1	0.5%	0	n/a	1	0.2%
Form 1	2	1%	1	0.4%	3	0.7%
Form 2	6	3%	11	5%	17	4%
Form 3	2	1%	2	1%	4	0.5%
Form 4	29	17%	31	14%	61 (one gender missing)	15%
Form 6	5	3%	3	1%	8	2%
Std 8	5	3%	3	1%	8	2%
Std 7	81	47%	127	57%	211 (3 gender missing)	52%
Std 6	3	1.7%	2	1%	6 (1 gender missing)	1.5%
Std 5	1	0.5%	2	1%	3	0.7%
Std 4	9	5%	9	4%	19 (1 gender missing)	5%
Std 2	0	n/a	2	1%	2	0.5%
No education	3	1.7%	5	2%	8	2%
No answer	16	9%	24	11%	41 (1 gender missing)	10%

### C: Suspected reasons children dropping out of school

	Total number	%
Poverty, lack of income, lack of financial means	77	46%
Truancy, bad behaviour of child	32	19%
"hard life"/domestic issues	20	12%
Parents behaviour/attitudes, lack of care	38	22%
Orphans, abandonment	20	12%
Family separation - care of extended family	7	4%
Location of school	3	2%
Expelled from school	1	0.6%
Child born out of wedlock	1	0.6%
Disability of child	2	1%
Child has to work	2	1%
No birth certificate of child	1	0.6%
Don't know	3	2%

### **D: Suspected reasons for children leaving home**

	Total number	%
Domestic violence, punishments/beating of children	30	31%
Orphans	5	5%
Parents separation/abandonment	12	12%
Bad behaviour – theft, drugs	7	7%
Poverty	29	30%
Child ran away – attracted to city life, followed peers, wanted to work	11	11%
Lack of parental care, negative attitudes of parents	15	15%
Pregnancy	2	2%
Thrown out of home	5	5%
Don't know	3	3%

### **E: List of harmful practices reported**

	Total	% of those who said "yes"
"Heavy punishment"	66	17%
Physical abuse/violence*	267	70%
Rape/sodomy/sexual abuse	77	20%
Verbal insult/aggression	46	12%
Forced into marriage	4	1%
Deny food	80	21%
Kick out of their home	30	8%
Heavy/hard work	26	7%
Persecution/oppression	13	3%
Deny basic rights and needs e.g. shelter, education	58	15%
Child labour	10	2%
Make a child drink alcohol or smoke	5	1%
Bad behaviour of the child*	22	6%

\*both physical abuse/violence and bad behaviour of the child are more categories that I have matched answers to. Below are lists of the different types of actions that people reported

Physical abuse:

Kicking	Burning	Burn with hot water	Caning
Beating	Whipping	Domestic Violence	To jail a child
Burning on fire	Beating on wrong	Beat with hard objects	Using a weapon to

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	body part		beat a child
Slapping	Scratching with finger nails	"over beating"	Beating with hot items
Beating with a stone	Using a knife on a child	Making them sleep outside	Beating on the head
Cutting a child	Beating "too much"	Beating a child to death	Rubbing salt into an open wound

Bad behaviour of the child:

Truancy	Fighting with each other	Smoking marijuana
Watching porn	Gambling	Being naughty at school
Under age sex	Not respecting elders	Drug abuse
Theft	Bad games	

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