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Contemporary Childhood in Bagamoyo

A Child-focused Study on Perceptions and Experiences of Childhood in Coastal Tanzania

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Abstract

Through international agencies and non-governmental organisations building their work on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, childhood has become increasingly homogenised as an idea. A 'global model' of childhood is promoted all over the world, but this is a model who fails in recognising the diverse realities of children's lives. The diversity of childhood is on the other hand demonstrated through a growing body of literature on local childhood experiences, also in the majority world. Children living in opposition to the global model of childhood are here given predominantly attention, presenting children in especially difficult circumstances, in correspondence with most of media and NGO's representations of children's lives in the majority world. The experiences of the 'ordinary' lives of children in this part of the world are however underrepresented in literature, as well as in media.

Drawing on empirical research with 21 children in the age from eight to thirteen, representing diverse socio-economical backgrounds, this thesis provides a qualitative analysis of the experiences and perceptions of childhood in Bagamoyo, a coastal area of Tanzania. Along with the search for local experiences and perceptions, this study aims at providing a contribution to the knowledge about children's lives located in the interstice between global ideas of childhood and lived realities of childhood in the majority world. I intend to give a broader picture of African childhood, reducing the gap between the two contrasts referred to above.

My theoretical perspective derives from the social studies of children and childhood. Data is gathered through a variety of participatory research tools, inspired by the Mosaic approach. The thesis adapts a perception of childhood combining the social constructed child approach and the socio-structural child approach. I essentially engage in the dichotomy found between the particularity and universality of childhood; the local and global aspect of childhood. Findings revealed in this study will also be discussed in regard to the debate on children's status as human beings or 'becomings'.

It will be demonstrated that childhood incorporates aspects of both commonalities and differences. And I will argue that global and local aspects of childhood should be understood as intertwined. Transitions from childhood to adulthood will be proven blurry and moreover dynamic and fluent, suggesting that the state of 'becoming' should not be considered in contrast to the state of being. Rather they should be seen in combination.

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To all my research participants - this thesis came into being thanks to you. I want to express my gratitude to you for sharing your thoughts with me. I wish from all of my heart that your hopes and dreams will come through.

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List of acronyms

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ART	Anti-Retroviral Therapy
CEDC	Children in especially difficult circumstances
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MVC	Most vulnerable children
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
OVC	Orphans and vulnerable children
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan 2000-2006
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund

Glossary

Akili	Sense
Bajaji	Taxi in form of a motorbike with a wagon behind, for a couple of persons
Basi	Expression meaning 'enough', 'that's all'
Chapati	Staple food; thin bread made of flour and water
Dada	Sister
Fundi	Craftsman
Kanga	A traditional type of dress, colourful garment women wrap around them
Madrasa	Islamic religious classes
Mandazi	Sweet, fried bread, similar to 'doughnut'
Malaika	Angel
Mdako	Children's game using stones, played on the ground
Mkubwa	Big, superior, elder, adult
Mtu mzima	Whole person
Mwalimu	Teacher
Piki piki	Motorbike, used for transporting people and goods for money
Rede	Children's game played in team with a ball, in Norwegian called 'kanonball'
Shamba	Cultivated field
Ugali	Staple food, a stiff porridge made of maize flour and water
Uhuru	Independence
Ujamaa	Stands for African socialism promoted by Julius Nyerere, yet also meaning family-ties, relationship and brotherhood

1 INTRODUCTION

Increasingly people all over the world are subject of promotion of values and beliefs, values that are considered universal and have their origin in the Western world. This process is also relevant to children's lives. Colonialism, missionary activity and migration contributed to a globalisation of the Western model of childhood in the nineteenth century. This process has been followed up by the work of international agencies, international law and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) since the mid-twentieth century (Ansell, 2005).

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) serves as an important instrument in regulating childhood at a global scale. The CRC was adopted by the UN Commission on Human Rights in the 1989 and became "...the first document of international law that speaks of the child as a rights-holder" (Wells, 2009, p. 31). And in the succession of the convention there has been a shift from a child-saving to a child rights agenda (ibid.). Despite the many advantages of a right-based approach, the principles set in the CRC do not always comply with children's own priorities and realities, and may unfortunately also lead to negative consequences for children's lives (Nieuwenhuys, 2006; Boyden, 1990).

Every country in the world, with the exceptions of the USA and Somalia has signed and ratified the CRC and, in so doing, agreed upon certain standards of the concept of childhood. An effort has increasingly been placed on obtaining equal opportunities and a 'proper' childhood for all children, promoting a 'global model' of childhood. The term 'world's children' has been invoked by international agencies such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and NGO's, creating an idea of each and every child in the world as equal with the same rights and hence; childhood as an homogenised idea (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Child rights advocates together with international actors as mentioned above, building their work on the CRC, have played an important role in shaping ideas of the 'global child' (Boyden, 1990).

Global models of childhood is characterised by dependency, vulnerability and a time for learning (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). The child is intended to be at school and not working. He or she is supposed to be taken care of by loving parents and separated from wider forces of politics, economy and society. Supplementary the child is seen as a right-bearing individual (Wells, 2009).

But even though childhood increasingly has been understood as universal or homogenised, children's lived realities have remained diverse (Bühler-Niederberger & van

Krieken, 2008). The 'global model' of childhood is an ideal, and for the majority of our world's children it is an image that fails to describe their reality, even in the Western world.

Research on children's lives in the majority world[1] has proved that the global model of childhood, fails in acknowledging the reality for many children. Scholars have demonstrated that children in the majority world provide significantly contributions to their households, which challenges universal ideas of childhood (see Katz, 2004; Abebe, 2008; Punch, 2001). They have demonstrated that children live outside the frames of a caring and protecting family and engage in activities seen as inappropriate for children (see Kesby et al., 2006; Ansell, 2005). Furthermore Whyte et al. (2008) suggest that the young generation of Africa suddenly emerged as a major topic of political and scholarly concern towards the end of the 1990s. "AIDS orphans, child soldiers, disaffected and marginalized young men, and sexually active teenage girls represented the dangers and tribulations of an historical generation at a troubled conjuncture of Africa's history" (Whyte et al. 2008, p. 1). Work, responsibility and misery still tend to be aspects highlighted when discussing African childhood, whereas play and happiness are downplayed.

Literature on childhood experiences in Tanzania is not extensive, but growing. Hollos (2002) has for instance examined how socio-economical changes have led to a development of two diverse conceptions of childhood co-existing in a small community. The study is however conducted predominantly based on adults' perspectives. Klocker (2007) has examined experiences of child domestic workers. Street children's and children affected by HIV/AIDS' experiences are among others, examined by Evans (2004; 2005; 2010; 2011). She gives attention to both children's experiences of caring for their siblings and children's migration as strategies in coping with HIV/AIDS, and moreover children's experiences of living on the street and reasons for leading them into this kind of life.

There is a tendency, also in the descriptions of children's lives in Tanzania, to focus on children who differ the most from the universal notion of childhood, children in especially difficult circumstances. I suggest that this tendency within the academic, contributes to the dichotomies currently found within the social studies of children and childhood, which will be elaborated in chapter three. Moreover in regard to the general attention to children's rights and policy work aiming at improving children's lives, it contributes to a sharpened contrast between global ideas of childhood and majority world realities of childhood.

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[1] Inspired by Penn (2001), I will in this thesis refer to the terms majority and minority world, rather than terms such as Global North and South, first and third world countries . This is due to fact that "The majority of the world's children live in South America, Asia and Africa, and many if not most of this majority live in very different circumstances from the minority" (Penn, 2001, p. 86).

1.1 Initial interest

My personal observations and experiences tell me that the general understanding people in the minority world have of children's lives in the majority world seldom go beyond stereotypes. Our understanding is greatly influenced by media reports and NGOs promoting their work and seeking to raise money. These channels do not show the whole picture, they show the part of the picture that matches their message and agenda, and their pictures are often of the stereotype kind, nonetheless; having great power and influence on our ideas (Ansell, 2005)..

My first personal interest for the theme of this study emerged several years before I initiated this master's degree. After having done voluntary work with children on the streets in Honduras for six months, I came back to Norway and was faced with comments and questions, whereas some surprised me and some provoked me. In response to my photos, some people questioned whether some of the children were actually poor and expressed that they certainly did not look like street children. It was for instance suggested that a girl's hair was done too pretty, a dress seemed too clean or that the children looked too happy. In other words; moments and children captured by my camera, did not match commentators' images of poor children or street children. On the other side, I also met people who simply gave me pity faces and could not believe how I had coped; spending time with children in those circumstances, and imagining my experience as horrible and sad.

The perceptions I was faced with concerning 'my children's' lives felt so wrong, and I started wondering how these children themselves perceived their lives. Did they perceive their own lives in terms of what they did not have, compared to a Western idealised childhood? Do children in the majority world pity themselves the way they are pitied by people in the minority world? Do we all share the same ideals and by that, aim for the same kind of living? In this thesis it is not my aim to provide answers to these questions, I however want to articulate them, because they initially triggered reflections and curiosity in me, which again returned during my studies, and influenced me in the dawn of this study.

Four years later, in 2011, a couple of weeks after arriving at my research site, Bagamoyo, I had an interesting conversation with a local man. In my attempt to give him an explanation of my research project and my motivation behind it, he rapidly related to my ideas and told me about one of his personal experiences: As a grown up man, visiting his parents' home, he had discovered a photo of himself as a young child. As he studied the photo he was surprised by what he saw and thought to himself; 'Wow, I was a poor child'. One of

the things he noticed was his ripped clothes, and it made him think about children he currently observed in his community. He told me that if he saw a child in the streets, looking like he did in that photo, he would think of that child as poor, living under difficult circumstances. He laughed and shook his head, as if he thought of himself as a bit stupid. Because as he continued; recalling those days as a young boy, he could not remember that he ever felt poor himself, or that he expected people to pity him.

1.2 Aim of the study

As I pointed out above, in addition to my interest of local perceptions and experiences, I personally think the picture of childhood in the majority world are too much influenced by stereotypes and deserves a broader and more nuanced attention. I therefore chose to study ordinary children in an African community without focusing on categories of 'children in especially difficult circumstances' (CEDC)[2]. CEDCs are an important group of children, they are however also usually given the majority of attention, sometimes at the expense of other children. The majority of children in the Global South fall outside these categories, yet many of them live in circumstances that we in the Western world still would consider difficult (Ansell, 2005). It was important for me that my research participants would not be representing *one* special category of children, like 'street children' or 'AIDS orphans', but representing diverse socio-economical and familial backgrounds present in this society, showing a more representative picture of children's lives at the chosen site.

When I first went into the field I purposely kept my research objectives broad, since I was not personally familiar with the research field beforehand. I was interested in local understandings and experiences of childhood among ordinary children in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. Moreover I was interested in these children's perspectives on how childhood *ought* to be and their perspectives on their own experiences of childhood. Having in mind that many children in Africa live outside the frames of the universal definition of a child, I was curious on how these children defined *who* a child was. I had also gained interest in the debate within social studies of children and childhood regarding commonalities and differences within childhood. I therefore sought to engage in this debate by examining perspectives of children who were part of the same community, yet representing a diversity of socio-economical

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[2] A term used by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for children in especially difficult situations like in warfare, children with disabilities or children exploited for their labour and for commercial sexual gratification. The purpose of using the term was to easier provide children in pre-defined circumstances the appropriate assistance (Ansell, 2005).

family backgrounds. Further, I wanted to examine how these children's ideas on childhood corresponded, or differed with the global model of childhood. During my fieldwork some ideas emerged as more interesting than others, steering the study into a certain direction. And in the process of interpreting my data, this direction increasingly became more focused.

1.2.1   Research objectives

This thesis provides a qualitative analysis of the experiences and perceptions of childhood in a coastal community of Tanzania. It aims at achieving the following specific objectives:

- To explore how children perceive their social positions within families.
- To examine how children articulate roles and expectations during childhood.
- To discuss children's perspectives on transitions linked to childhood.
- To explore children's perspectives on their experiences of childhood in the context of familial relationships.

Through these research objectives I seek to engage in what James & James (2001) suggest as a key issue of contemporary childhood studies; the challenge of simultaneously agreeing on both commonalities and diversities of childhood, among my research participants, yet also by drawing lines from findings in the current study to the above mentioned 'global model' of childhood.

1.3   Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter acts as an introduction and aims at positioning this particular study within the broader context of childhood studies. This is done through a brief description of the underlying motivation and aim of the study. Specific research objectives are also articulated. The second chapter provides background information on the country and the area in particular where my study was conducted. Chapter three intends to articulate the theoretical perspectives guiding my study and introduce theoretical issues I will further engage in. Leading on, the fourth chapter is devoted to my research methodology. My choice of methodological approach will be described, as well as the process of data collection and creating knowledge out of the data. Both practical and ethical issues emerging in the field will be discussed. The presentation of data interpretations are organised into two chapters; chapter five and six. Chapter five examines local meanings of childhood. Chapter six provides a presentation of children's diverse experiences of childhood, yet also shared ideas on what childhood *ought* to be. Children's position within the family is examined

as well as children's perspectives on childhood transitions. Finally, chapter seven offers a concluding discussion. Key finding will be discussed in regard to my research objectives and I will strive at answering the articulated aims of my study.

2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON COUNTRY AND STUDY AREA

This chapter is intended to give a basic understanding of the context of where my study has taken place, the society my research participants are part of and the wider structures affecting their individual lives. Some main characteristics of Tanzania and the study area in particular will be provided, in addition to some historical changes and contemporary challenges I find especially relevant for children's lives.

2.1 Brief description of Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania[3] is the largest country in East Africa, bordering to Kenya and Uganda in the north, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia to the west, and Malawi and Mozambique to the south. Mainland Tanzania is divided into 21 regions and each region is further subdivided into several administrative districts, one of them being Bagamoyo District, where this study was conducted (National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) & ICF Macro, 2011). Tanzania's fourth multi-party election was held in 2010 and Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete was elected the fourth president of Tanzania, for his second period (NBS, 2011).

Figure 1 Map of Tanzania (Source: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tz.html).

According to National Bureau of Statistics' (2011), projections, the population in mainland Tanzania would be around 42 million in 2010. The population is rather young, with some 44 percent being under the age of 15 years (The United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 2012). After more than 50 years of independence, Tanzania is a poor country, dependent on

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[3] "The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in April 1964 from the merger of the Republic of Tanganyika (independent in 1961) and the People's Republic of Zanzibar (independent in 1963)" (Askew, 2006, p. 16). This thesis will refer to mainland Tanzania.

development assistance. Agriculture accounts for about half of Tanzania's income and is further the source of food and provides employment opportunities to about 80 percent of its population (URT , no date a). Three in four households posses agricultural land (NBS & ICF Macro, 2011). The agricultural sector is however dominated by smallholder farmers.

Numbers from the 2007 Household Budget Survey, suggest that 34 percent of Tanzania's population live below the basic needs poverty line[4] (UNICEF, 2009). This means they have difficulty attaining basic needs for food, shelter, health and clothing. The 2011 Human Development Report further ranked the Republic of Tanzania as 152 out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2011).

2.1.1   After the independence

Tanganyika, now mainland Tanzania, became independent in 1961, after being a German colony from 1885 until 1920, and further under British administration from 1920 until independence. At the time of independence, Tanzania consisted of some 120 ethnic groups living scattered around the country. Due to colonial policies ethnic groups had been kept divided and underdeveloped. Nevertheless, Tanzania has been dominated by political harmony and experienced few inter-ethnic conflicts. The first president, Julius Nyerere, has often gotten credit for this (Vilby, 2005). He argued the importance of uniting the population as one nation, and he had a vision of self-reliant rural development in Tanzania, through 'ujamaa'[5], or African socialism[6], which he argued was inherent in African ways of life (Vavrus, 2005).

Nyerere was called 'Mwalimu' (teacher) by his people, who had great trust in him (Vilby, 2005). He was, and still is, praised by the Tanzanian for his contribution to independence, unity and peace for his country. Western countries, on the contrary, have often criticised him for his socialism and for driving his country toward an economical ruin (Askew, 2006).

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[4] "For mainland Tanzania, the basic needs poverty line was set at … TShs 13,998 per person per 28 days in 2007 (roughly TShs 500 or US$ [0.317] per person per day at current rates)" (UNICEF, 2009, p. 15). My currency translation from 26.08.2012.

[5] 'Ujamaa' translated into English has the meaning of family ties, relationship and brotherhood, in addition to socialism.

[6] The 'Ujamaa' villageisation is one of his government's policies that have gotten much attention. Around 10 million people were moved into state-designed villages, and it became one of the largest forced resettlement plans ever carried out in Africa (Askew, 2006)

2.1.2   The era of Structural Adjustment Programs

By the late 1970s, many Third World countries found themselves highly indebted, after having accepted loans consisting of large amounts of money from Western banks and donors (Ansell, 2005). These loans came to work through a development model called 'modernisation theory'[7], applied in the 1960's. However, the expectations of this model and the loans given failed, and hence the indebtedness. As a solution the International Monetary Fund (IMF) rescheduled national debt, but only on the condition that strict structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were implemented. Some of the main strategies were free market, trade liberalization and reduction of the state's control of the economy. User-fees were introduced under the argument of 'cost-sharing' (Ansell, 2005).

In Tanzania, SAPs were not implemented until the mid-1980s. Nyerere and his government sought to improve Tanzania's conditions in their own way, and in contrast to the IMFs strategy, their strategy was increasing state involvement in the economy (Vavrus, 2005). The state was highly involved in job creation and in education. School fees were eliminated for both primary and secondary schools, and the enrolment of students increased dramatically. In 1980, Tanzania experienced the highest number of primary-school enrolment in Africa (Askew, 2006). Medical care was also free and rural health care centres were constructed, giving easier access to health care for most people (Heggenhougen & Lugalla, 2005).

The expectations of economical improvements were however not answered. During the 1970s and early 1980s, Tanzania met a series of problems, such as war with neighbouring country Uganda, drought, oil crisis and reduced prices for its agricultural products. The country went into a period of economic decline and because of a dramatic decrease in production, Tanzania became dependent on food aid. But despite the serious situation of his country, Nyerere rejected to negotiate with the IMF. In 1985, however, Ali Hassan Mwinyi was elected new president. He saw no other alternatives than to make an agreement with the IMF and the World Bank, and a number of SAPs designed to improve the country's macroeconomic achievements, was further implemented (Vavrus, 2005). "These specific restructuring activities include[d] devaluing the Tanzanian shilling, creating greater opportunity for foreign investment, eliminating consumer and agricultural subsidies, and reducing civil service employment" (Vavrus, 2005, p. 182). The agricultural sector in Tanzania was affected by privatisation, use of market determined prices, reduction of

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[7] The modernisation theory implied an economical development, with focus on the macro-economic level, through a series of stages – a recipe which was assumed to be able to convert any poor society into the standards of the 'ideal' Western societies (Ansell, 2005).

agricultural import restrictions leading to a higher competition for Tanzanian farmers and elimination of subsidies for fertilizers, to mention some (Vavrus, 2005).

During the era of SAPs, the macroeconomic situation did improve in Tanzania, but for the majority of the population, their lives did not improve. These policies also had direct impacts on children's lives, since they in general included cuts in public spending, and especially on education and health. User fees were introduced for public services, which followed the trend of an increasingly privatised childhood during the late 1980s and 1990s. Children's lives increasingly depended on their household's ability to take care of them (Ansell, 2005).

2.1.3   Children's lives in Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania ratified, without reservations, the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991, and the African Charter for the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) in 2003 (Mamdani et al., 2009, p.12).

Children in Tanzania have an active role in social and economical contribution within their family collectives, and their contribution increases with age and ability (Research and Analysis Working Group, 2008; Koda, 2000). They do however constitute a subordinate role in the society. "'Silencing' of children and denying them agency is apparent at all levels of Tanzanian society" (Klocker, 2007, p. 86). Children's experiences in their everyday life, derives from a society's perception of children. The UNCRC (Articles 12 to 16) and the ACRWC (Article 7) state that children have the right to participation in matters affecting their lives. However;

> ...the Tanzanian Government (a signatory to both conventions) stated in its June 1994 report to the United Nations Committee on Children's Rights that 'generally these Articles are not covered by law mainly owing to society's belief that...a child...cannot be left to make decisions concerning his or her life' (Rwezaura 1998 as cited in Klocker, 2007, p. 86).

Tanzania is characterised by high levels of chronic poverty, in addition the HIV epidemic is making lives even harder. Children are especially vulnerable, being fundamentally dependent on their parents and households. The problem of orphan hood has been enhanced by the epidemic; "Roughly 10% of all children below the age of eighteen years, roughly 2 million children, have lost one or both parents. Altogether, orphans and

vulnerable children (OVC)[8] accounted for 16% of the child population" (Mamdani et al.,
2009, p. 21). In a household affected by HIV/AIDS the experiences of vulnerability do not
appear simultaneously as a death. Long-term sickness in a household and especially
concerning a parent, has crucial affect on this household's livelihood, not only emotional and
mentally. Whether the person was responsible for paid employment, agricultural activity or
household activity, someone has to take over this responsibility, in addition to taking care of
the sick person. Their economy will further be challenged by the cost of medical care and in
worst case also the cost of a funeral (Ansell & van Blerk, 2004).

In 2004, the estimated number of most vulnerable children (MVC) in Tanzania was
1.5 million (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). In Tanzania MVC are defined as children
"…in the intersection of vulnerability and orphan-hood" (ibid., p. 3). They do not necessarily
have to be orphans, but they are children who themselves or who's caretakers "…are unable
to meet their basic needs to grow into adulthood" (ibid., p. 3) The identification of MVC are
done locally in each village and a village assembly will decide whether a child should be
defined most vulnerable (Kagaruki, 2011).

Children in Tanzania live in a range of family variations, such as "...nuclear, extended,
monogamous, polygamous and single-parent families..." (Koda, 2000, p. 243). The number of
sibling-headed households is also increasing (Evans, 2010). Not only sickness and death but
difficulties and conflicts caused by poverty leads to migration as a coping strategy for
households, which makes these family collectives[9] very dynamic (Evans, 2004; 2005).

2.1.3.1   The HIV/AIDS epidemic

The first AIDS cases in Tanzania were identified in the early 1980s and the epidemic spread
rapidly.

> The 2007-2008 Tanzania HIV Indicator Survey suggests the national HIV prevalence among
> those aged 15-49 years in Mainland is 5.7% (6.8% for women and 4.7% for men). By the end
> of 2008 it was estimated that 1.3 million people including adults and children were living with
> HIV (UNAIDS, 2009, p. 1).

People face inadequate information about sexually transmitted diseases, yet poverty,
unemployment, lack of opportunities and a sense of hopelessness also leads to a hazardous

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[8] "…vulnerable children were defined as children with one or both parents very sick for at least 3 months in the
12 months prior to the survey, or children living in a household with no adult between the ages of 18 and 59
years" (Mamdani et al., 2009, p. 21).
[9] Because of the variety of family/household compositions in Tanzania, and the fluidity of them, the term family
collective is applied for this thesis (Abebe, 2011).

sense of indifference, in addition to casual sex and paid sexual contact. Vavrus' (2005) findings show that young girls' temptation to have sex with older men in exchange with money for school fees or consumer goods, makes them especially vulnerable to HIV infection. Additionally the temptation to simply have a good time with a man should not be ignored either. A participatory action research project conducted in among other districts, Bagamoyo, further suggests that certain cultural practices contribute to the spread of HIV. Young girls are being encouraged to depend on sexual partners instead of parents for essential, material goods and to have another sexual partner in addition to a husband. Further traditional songs and dancing are encouraging to the activity of casual sex. Another form of transmission found was traditional healers and circumcisers' use of unsterilized instruments (Bagamoyo College of Arts et al., 2002).

Health services have also experienced a process of privatisation as a consequence of the SAPs. Inequality is experienced between those who can afford to pay for health services and those who cannot, and even more so, when the quality of health services is better in private clinics than in public ones (Vavrus, 2005). One of Tanzania's responds to the national disaster of HIV/AIDS, has been the provision of Anti-Retroviral Therapy[10] (ART) to affected people for free. And as a consequence; 136.000 people in Tanzania were on ART in 2007, compared to 3.000 in 2004 (Sørumgård, 2009). Even though, many people infected still struggle, especially due to a lack of nutrition and infrastructure. Nutrition affects how the ART works and how the body reacts to the strong medication, not to mention the health in general. Bad infrastructure makes it difficult and not affordable for many patients to reach clinics for their crucial treatment on regular basis.

2.1.3.2 Education
Basic education in Tanzania constitutes two years of pre-primary education and seven years of primary education. Secondary education further constitutes six years divided into four years of ordinary level and the two last years of advanced level. In basic education, students are instructed in Swahili and taught English through a compulsory subject. While in secondary education, students are instructed in English and taught Swahili as a compulsory subject (URT , no date b). The educational approach in Tanzania is in general of a 'top-down' approach, where children are expected to learn in a passive way, copying notes from the

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[10] Medication used in treatment for HIV/AIDS.

blackboard. Corporal punishment is also in general present in Tanzanian school, both literally and as threats (Research and Analysis Working Group, 2008).

After years of free education and increasing enrolment, school fees were, under SAPs, reintroduced in Tanzania and "...gross primary school enrolment rates declined from around 90 percent in the early 1980s to somewhere between 66 percent and 75 percent a decade later" (Vavrus, 2005, p. 182)[11]. At the same time as the value of parents' income was declining, the requirements for family contributions to schooling increased, and many parents had to give up their children's education, leading to inequality of educational opportunities.

By the late 1990s there was an increased attention on the crisis in education access and quality, in Tanzania and also internationally; "From a somewhat 'parochial' issue in the 1980s and 90s, education had now become central to the overall development agenda, and of concern to heads of development agencies" (Mamdani et al., 2009, p. 3). The response became the Primary Education Development Plan 2000-2006 (PEDP) which led to large investments in the education sector across the country. Through PEDP, primary school fees and contributions were abolished, over 41.000 new classrooms were built, the number of teachers was increased with 50 percent and the enrolment of children in primary schools increased (ibid., p. 5). Nonetheless, all challenges are not conquered; due to such as corruption and poor administration, funds disbursed do not always reach the school level, the distribution of teachers are not equal across the country, further children with disabilities tend to be excluded from basic education, and even if the enrolment has increased successfully, the quality of primary education in Tanzania is extremely poor. PEDP's focus has been on quantity on the expense of quality (ibid., 2009).

In 2009, 80 percent of primary school-age children in Tanzania attended primary school. In the same school-year, one in four secondary school-age adolescences attended secondary school (NBS & ICF Macro, 2011). Educational attainment in Tanzania and the quality of it is not equal. Statistics[12] illustrate that the wealth of a given household have great impact on the household members' educational level, especially when it comes to female members. In the wealthiest households[13], only 7 percent of the female members have never been to school. Yet in the poorest households, 46 percent of the same group, above the age of

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[11] "The gross enrollment rate expresses the relationship between the number of children enrolled in primary school relative to the number of children of primary school-age in a population" (Vavrus, 2005, p. 198).

[12] The data derive from "...a nationally representative survey of 10,300 households selected from 475 sample points throughout Tanzania. ... The sample was designed to produce separate estimates on key indicators for the national level, for urban and rural areas, and for seven zones" (NBS, 2010, p. xix).

[13] Based on statistical data divided into five quintiles; each representing 20% of the given number of households.

6, have never attended school (NBS & ICF Macro, 2011). This clearly demonstrates that in addition to the socio-economical frames of growing up, a child's gender also influences his or her access to education. There is also a high gap between urban and rural youth. Urban youth are more likely to attend school and to obtain a longer education than rural youth (ibid.).

Even though school fees in primary schools are abolished, school contributions are still claimed, in cash or kind (such as firewood or vegetables). The amount of school contributions, the use of them and consequences of not providing them, vary significantly from school to school; where some children are denied attending school, other punished and others not facing further consequences (Research and Analysis Working Group, 2008).

When the economical situation is already critical, overcrowded schools with unmotivated and not well educated teachers do not encourage parents to send their children and youth to school (Boyden, 1990; Mamdani et al., 2009). Vilby (2005) has described Tanzanian parents worrying about the quality of education and schools not providing their children with the right skills, and therefore not serving as a good investment in their future. To be a good fisherman for instance, you need to start early to earn good skills. Vavrus (2005) further noted a common opinion among people that 'connections' was needed in addition to education to get formal employment. SAPs led to a decline in employment opportunities in Tanzania. The policies encouraged the government, who in the 1960 and 70s had been the major employer in the country, to reduce the size of its labour force, so civil service jobs became fewer while the informal job sector grew (Vavrus, 2005). Throughout the 1990s it got increasingly more difficult to find employment for youth, which again works as a demotivating factor for both parents and youth.

2.2 Brief demographical and socio-economical background of the study area

Bagamoyo District is one of six districts in the Pwani Region of Tanzania. The district covers an area of 9.847 square kilometres and is divided into 82 villages. The population was estimated to 228.967 in 2002 (URT, 2007). The main source of income is agriculture, but most people live on subsistence farming and few have secure access to cash. Fishing is also a major source of income for a large part of the coastal people, the fishery is however dominated by small scale fisheries.

My fieldwork was conducted in the coastal town of Bagamoyo[14], where I also stayed for the period of my fieldwork. Additionally one village, Sauri[15], also located in Bagamoyo District, was included for the study. Sauri is one of four villages constituting the Ward Yombo. This Ward had a population of 7.165 in 2002 (URT, 2007).

Bagamoyo town is located 75 kilometres north of Dar Es Salaam City (UN-Habitat, 2009), and has a population of about 30.000 (Sørumgård, 2009). Its economy depends on subsistence and cash crops, as well as fishing (Bagamoyo College of Arts et al., 2002). Due to increasing unemployment and underemployment in formal sector, a large part of Bagamoyo's labour force is employed within the informal sector (UN-Habitat, 2009). Many people operate with small scale businesses both in mobile and stationary forms, selling goods from small stalls or by walking around in public areas. Bagamoyo is a historical and cultural site and tourism is slowly becoming more important for the economy.

Poverty is a concern for the majority of Bagamoyo's population, and many people live below the poverty line of US$ 1 a day (UN-Habitat, 2009). This in reality means living 'from hand to mouth' and not having a surplus in case of need for medical care. A population growth has taken place, many people live without secure employment and income, and finding affordable housing is a problem. According to UN-Habitat (2009), more than half the population of Bagamoyo town lives in unplanned settlements with generally poor services and unsanitary conditions. According to numbers from the Social Welfare Office in Bagamoyo, 4.887 children are identified as MVCs in Bagamoyo District (Kagaruki, 2011).

One of the factors creating inequality among the population is their level of education. Life standard is dependent on employment, and opportunities of employment are reserved for those who have education on a higher level. Without employment opportunities, people face being forced to engage in informal employment and risk behavior, such as selling their bodies even to get their basic needs. This life strategy is, by Social Welfare worker, Kagaruki (2011), identified as one of the major challenges children and youth in Bagamoyo face. The fish market creates informal job opportunities for children and youth, yet it also creates temptations to enter into commercial sex activity. Kagaruki further explained that motivating parents to encourage their children to attain education and to priority school costs, has generally been a great challenge in this district. Yet changes have been seen for the better after the implementation of PEDP.

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[14] See appendix A for photos from the field.
[15] Due to confidentiality, the name of the village, as well as the names of research participants are replaced by pseudonyms.

3 CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

In this chapter I aim to position my study within the wider debates in the field of childhood studies. I will demonstrate the theoretical perspectives of this study and give an account of how I understand certain key concepts adopted in my thesis, having in mind that these concepts may hold various meanings.

3.1 Theoretical perspectives

A research project should be seen as a part of a broader context and of a paradigm, which informs the author's perspectives. "A paradigm is a set of beliefs about the way in which particular problems exist and a set of agreements on how such problems can be investigated" (Fraser & Robinson, 2004, p. 59). Paradigms influence the way one looks at a research problem or phenomenon, and the way one chooses methods to investigate this phenomenon. My theoretical perspectives, deriving from the new social studies of children and childhood, have been crucial through my research process, because they have been a part of the foundation of *what* I have chosen to do, *how* I have chosen to do it and *why*.

3.1.1 New social studies of children and childhood

3.1.1.1 Emerging as a criticism

According to Kuhn, paradigms are not constant, rather they are influenced and go through a change, as already established beliefs and knowledge is challenged and criticised by emerging beliefs and knowledge (Fraser & Robinson, 2004, p. 66). The social studies of children and childhood[16] also emerged as a criticism on already established conceptualisations and theories on child and childhood, within mainstream research approaches.

The social studies of children and childhood is mainly criticising the child and childhood perspectives within child development theory and socialisation theory - the 'dominant frameworks'. Through his development theory, Piaget argued that children's thoughts and intelligence developed through clearly defined and universal stages, from birth to early adolescence (Jenks, 1996). These stages were organised hierarchically from low status to high status. Only when reaching the last stage, one was considered fully human. The model of the fully human being was seen as a universal standard (Lee, 2001).

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[16] 'The social studies of children and childhood', 'the new social studies of childhood', 'sociology of childhood' and 'sociological studies on childhood' are terms used of various authors describing more or less the same paradigm. In this thesis I have chosen to use the term 'the social studies of children and childhood'.

Sociologist, Parson, has described socialisation as: "the internalization of the culture of the society into which the child is born" (Parson, 1956 as cited in Lee, 2001, p. 39). In other words; when children are born, they are unaware of social conventions, but as they grow up, they are informed about these and gradually become fully members of a society, aware of social expectations and values, and prepared to make moral decisions. This means that the form of the socialisation would differ from culture to culture, and so would the aim of socialisation; the model of the fully human being (Lee, 2001).

Parsons further saw childhood as a process of socialisation; "...a process that rescues each child from the incompleteness of 'nature', and thereby rescues each society from the disorder and decay that would result if its population were incomplete" (ibid., p. 40). Thus socialisation of children was highly important both in the sake of the child and in the sake of the society. Continuing, Durkheim referred to childhood as "…the period in which the individual, in both the physical and moral sense, does not yet exist, the period in which he is made, develops and is formed" (Durkheim, 1982, p. 147). Durkheim understood the child as a human becoming, who only had value for what he was going to become and not for what he was in the present; a child. The criticism of the dominant framework argues that children must be recognised for what they *are* and not only for what they will *become*, they should be seen as persons in their own right (Lee, 2001).

3.1.1.2   Main features of the social studies of children and childhood
In the 1970's, what scholars called the new paradigm of social studies of children and childhood emerged. Among the key features of this paradigm are the following: Children, their social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right. Children are not passive subjects of social structures, they are active in the construction of their own lives and those around them, thus they must also be seen this way (Prout & James, 1990). Research with children should give attention to children's present conditions as social beings, rather than considering them in a future aspect, as 'becomings' (Qvortrup, 1994). Childhood is seen as a social construction. Childhood is not a natural or universal feature of human groups; rather childhood will be constituted differently depending on the context. Nonetheless, within social studies of children and childhood, childhood is also seen as a structural category in the line of generations (Qvortrup, 2002.). Further, research concerning children should include children as informants, seing children as subjects rather than objects of research (Prout & James, 1990).

3.1.1.3 Four approaches to childhood

Within the new social studies of children and childhood, James et al. (1998) have outlined four set of approaches of studying the child. These four approaches emerge from two research perspectives, where one focuses on children's agency and diversity of childhood, and the other focuses on the structure of childhood and further the commonalities of childhood (James & James, 2004).

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                        VOLUNTARISM
                          AGENCY
                        DIFFERENCE

                             │
                             │
          Tribal child       │      Minority group child
                             │
                             │
PARTICULARISM                │                      UNIVERSALISM
LOCAL          ──────────────┼──────────────        GLOBAL
CHANGE                       │                      CONTINUITY
                             │
     Socially constructed child  │   Social structural child
                             │
                             │
                          IDENTITY
                          STRUCTURE
                        DETERMINISM
```
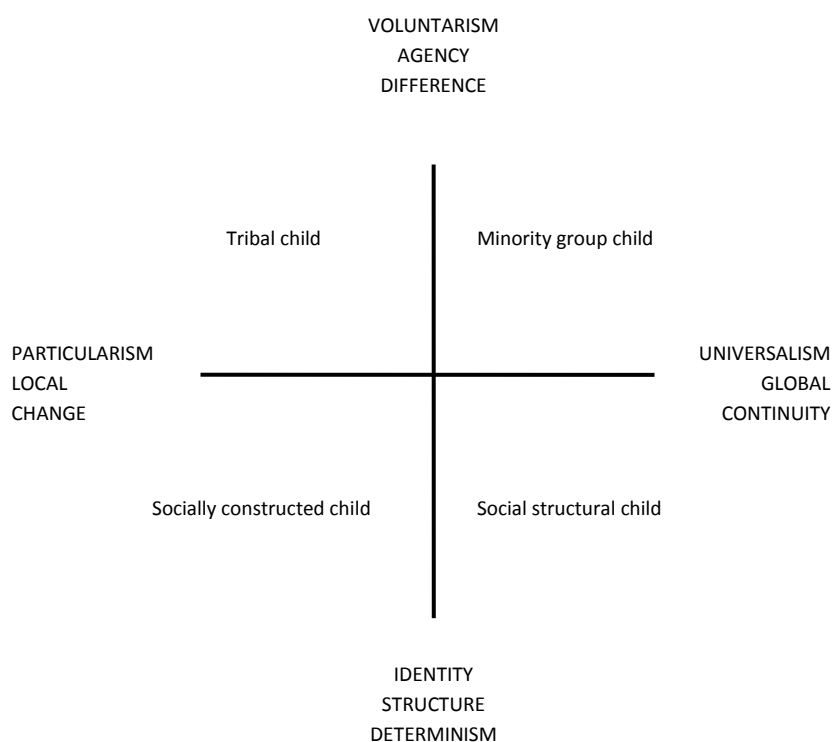
Figure 2 Theoretical field for the social study of childhood (James et al., 1998, p. 206).

The social structural child

According to the socio-structural child approach, childhood will be found in all societies as a structural form or category. Childhood will differ through time and space, because it is influenced by powerful structural forces in society and also by its members, nonetheless childhood as a structural form is permanent (James et al., 1998). Studying childhood within this perspective allows one to identify patterns of childhood globally and make generalisations about childhood. Children living in very different cultures might still be able

to identify themselves as a part of the same social category – children. The category of childhood is here in focus of attention, instead of individual children's experiences of their uniquely constructed childhoods (Alanen, 2001).

The minority group child

From the perspective of the minority group child approach, childhood is understood as universal in the sense that children, globally, find themselves in a minority status, though to various extent. In all societies children are treated differently due to their status as children. How they are treated will vary from society to society however the phenomenon is seen as universal. As an example of this; children are globally, not allowed to vote (James et al., 1998).

This approach can be seen as a politicized version of the socio-structural child, and it leads to sociology *for*, rather than *of* children, in the sense that it is working in children interest (James et al., 1998). This work can be seen in relation to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, giving special rights for the world's children. As highly valued as these universal child rights are, they have still been up for criticism, mainly since the diversity in children's lives tend to be underestimated. The same weakness may be raised about this approach, where the commonalities of children are in focus, and the diversities are given less attention.

The socially constructed child

The 'socially constructed' child is a local rather than a global phenomenon. Within this approach, there is no universal childhood, childhood is a local phenomenon and not a global one (James et al., 1998). The socially constructed child means that the understanding of who children are and what they are, the expectations attached to them and attitudes towards them, are not natural. They are not universal facts, rather they are constructed through social processes, they are the product of human meaning-making (Rogers, 2003, p. 26). Childhood in itself, a particular phase in the life course, is common for all children, however the diversity of children's everyday lives also leads to a diversity of childhoods. And these diversities, the particularities of childhoods, are hence here in focus rather than commonalities.

The tribal child

The tribal child approach is a politicized version of the social constructed child. Within this perspective children are viewed as competent actors, constructing their own culture, different from that of adults and unfamiliar for adults. Children's agencies and diversities in children's

experiences are here highlighted, while commonalities are downplayed (James & James, 2004). In other words, the particularity or uniqueness of local childhoods is given interest. Children's social worlds, including their own culture, language and rules, are within this approach acknowledged and investigated as real, social worlds with real meanings (James et al., 1998). Children are considered different from adults, and as a 'tribal man's' culture for an anthropologists, the tribal child's culture needs to be explored in its own rights, without being 'taken for granted'.

3.1.1.4   Dichotomies

Figure 2 illustrates these four approaches in relation to each other and the dichotomies which are formed between them, such as universalism versus particularism and agency versus structure. The approaches do overlap, however James et al. (1998) identify that work of scholars within the social studies of childhood, tend to prove a pattern, where the two approaches vertically often stand in close relation to each other, while movement in the other direction is quite rare. This means that for instance the tribal child approach and the socially constructed child approach often overlap, while the socially constructed child approach and the social structural child approach, for instance, are commonly seen as too contradictory to combine. This is illustrated by research projects often being focused on either the global aspect of childhood; how global structures and processes influences childhood in societies around the world, or the local aspect of childhood; the socially and cultural constructed childhoods, created by children's own agency and their socially others. Further this dichotomy leads to a discussion on the phenomenon of childhood being universal or particular.

Holloway and Valentine (2000, p. 767) find the lack of link between the two approaches mentioned above, problematic

> ...leaving us with macro studies which can tell us a great deal about the relative social position of different children in different countries, and micro studies which help us understand children's social worlds, but few studies which link the two levels of analysis.

They further argue that global and local should be understood as intertwined rather than dichotomies. Through global processes, dominating ideas such as ideas of an ideal, universal childhood, are influencing societies locally across the world. However through this processes the ideas themselves also go through a change. Global processes are dynamic and happen through interaction. "...children's worlds of meaning are at one and the same time

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global and local, made through 'local' cultures which are in part shaped by their interconnections with the wider world" (Holloway & Valentine, 2000, p. 769). Global studies should acknowledge that global processes have local responses and outcomes, while local studies should acknowledge the wider structures which are co-constructing children's social world and the meaning attached to them (ibid.).

In this study I am interested in the *local* aspect of childhood in my research area, however I find it important not to separate neither the child participants nor the area of study from the rest of the world and from broader structures. Inspired by scholars such as Holloway & Valentine (2000), Katz (2004) and Abebe (2008) I seek to give a contribution to the growing work within the new social studies of childhood suggesting a link between the social constructed and the socio-structural child, and the global/local dichotomy. I seek to identify both particularities in my research participant's experiences of being a child and their perceptions of childhood, yet also universal aspects, in form of shared ideas of childhood, among research participants locally and the more global ideas of childhood.

3.2   Key concepts

3.2.1   Childhood
This study applies a perception of the concept childhood combining the social constructed child approach and the socio-structural child approach. Childhood is the first period of the life course of every human being and includes certain developmental patterns. Although childhood in one way can be seen as common for every child, how this period of the life course is experienced and socially institutionalised, differ across and between cultures and generations, and hence create various childhoods (James & James, 2004). Children's everyday lives are influenced by a range of factors such as the society they are members of, cultural norms, political and economical institutions, policies, their caretakers etc. In other words; we cannot talk about one natural, universal childhood, rather we should talk about childhoods in plural, acknowledging the diversity of them. One of my interests lays in exploring and giving attention to the particularity of local perceptions and experiences. Yet I am convinced that doing that is not sufficient, neither with the aim of understanding childhood nor with the aim of improving children's lives.

While drawing inspiration from the social constructed child approach, this study simultaneously acknowledges the power of structures, posing some limitations to the above perspective. Qvortrup (2002) highlights the idea of 'childhood' as a structural form, to

comparison with structural forms as class and gender. He suggests that, as a variable of social analysis, childhood is or should be defined in relation to other structural forms or social groups in the society, such as 'adulthood'. The way childhood is conceptualised is dependent on how its members act in relation to members of adulthood, how they position themselves in relation to these, and how adults, which belong to a more dominating group, position children. Childhood is constructed and re-constructed in a dynamic way. It is important to not separate children from the society we live in, because powerful social changes, such as economical changes or political decisions, are making an impact not only in the lives of adults, but also children, directly or indirectly (ibid.). An example of this was illustrated by structural adjustment programs' influence on children's lives in Tanzania (see chapter two). Structural powers are taking part in the construction of childhood and its members are reacting and adapting, thus also co-constructing childhood.

Qvortrup (2000) argues that scholars within the new social studies of childhood have tended to overemphasise on the micro-orientation and the diversities of childhood, maybe at the expense of the macro-orientation and the commonalities of childhood. His argument is not to underestimate or avoid highlighting the differences in children's lives; "...any specification of children's conditions is important and necessary to make, but it should be done with a view to shared features of childhood as a structural form of society" (Qvortrup, 2002, p. 69). Having a structural orientation might force one to miss out on important details. Yet if one only focuses on particularities, one might risk ignoring important patterns and commonalities which do unite children

My research participants illustrated that there are aspects of childhood which are shared among children in Bagamoyo and there are certain aspects which are unique for children individually. Likewise, there are aspects of childhood in Bagamoyo which are shared globally, yet some particular for this local context. I argue that the phenomenon of childhood cannot solely be considered either a universal or particular one; both aspects need to be considered.

3.2.2   A generational aspect of childhood

The term 'generation' is used in our everyday vocabulary, often linked to family lineage, for instance when we refer to a second generation of immigrants. It is also a way of placing people historically, such as referring to a special group of people, born in the same period of time, or having gone through special events such as a war or a revolution (Alanen, 2001).

Generation can however also be used as an analytical tool, and both Alanen (2001) and Mayall (in James & James, 2004), argue that the concept of 'generation' has not been given enough attention when studying childhood.

Alanen (2001) argues that among the various branches within the sociologies of childhood, it is only when studying childhood in a structural context, that 'generation' is actually used as an analytical tool and not only as a description similar to the ways the concept of generation are used in an everyday context. Within the structural context though, 'generation'

> ...is the term that names the social (or macro-) structures that is seen to distinguish and separate children from other social groups, and to constitute them as a social category through the work of particular relations of division, difference and inequality between categories (Alanen, 2001, p. 13).

The concept of generation thus puts attention to the existing, unbalanced power relations between children and adults. Which category one is a member of makes great difference in terms of opportunities, activities and how one is treated, in line with perspectives of the minority child approach (James et al., 1998). Qvortrup (2002, p. 49) suggests that;

> It is impossible to make assessments of any social groups or form without comparing it to other groups or forms, and as far as children are concerned there is a superior (but not exclusive) logic in making comparisons along the generational dimension.

Whether impossible or not, my findings in this study at least illustrate that children themselves often perceive their own being, their roles in the society, through comparison along generational dimension. Thinking about children's general subordinate position in the generational hierarchy, and how this in my view affects their everyday life, I find it especially appropriate to make use of the concept of generation in a child-focused study as this.

Alanen (2001) further identify interdependency between the two generational categories of children and adults. The two categories work in relation to each other and the one cannot exist without the other. Moreover, changes in one of them have impact on and lead to change in the other.[17] (See also Jenks, 1982). This interdependency between generational categories is also recognised by Hopkins and Pain (2007, p. 288), who suggest that the

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[17] For a critical view on Qvortrup's and Alanen's use of generation as analytical concept, see (Närvänen & Näsman, 2004).

identity of children or other generational categories, is dynamically created, constructed and reconstructed through interaction with other generational groups, partly on the basis of differences and sameness between these categories.

Studying contemporary childhood, I find it useful giving attention to both the relational and dynamic aspect of childhood. Even though this study solely focuses on the perspectives of the specific generational category of children, they do constantly interact with other generational categories, which influence their own ideas. Through my findings I identified how children in Bagamoyo in a high degree make sense of their roles in the society through connections and contrasts with other generational categories. I argue that generational structures influence children's lives, not only generally in the community but also within family collectives. Children are not children only because of biological and natural reasons, children also become children the way they are positioned and position themselves within different generations. It will further be argued that this process is a dynamic one, creating the opportunity of re-negotiating positions through different relations.

3.2.3   Children as human beings and human 'becomings'

As noted earlier, the new social studies of children and childhood emerged as a critique of mainstream approaches to studies of childhood. One of the critiques came as a response to the developmental- and socialisation theories' future orientation of childhood. Both these theories understood childhood as a period of learning how to be adults. While adults were perceived as competent, children were seen as incompetent. Moreover, adulthood was understood as the aim of the childhood's journey, a fixed, stable form of the human being (Lee, 2001).

However in the 1970s scholars within the so-called emerging paradigm argued that childhood was not and should not be perceived, solely as a journey toward adulthood. Children were competent, social actors, and should be recognised for their present being (Prout & James, 1990). In 'Childhood Matters: An Introduction' (1994), Qvortrup argues that; "Children are human beings, not only "human becomings"..." (ibid., p. 18). Qvortrup's application of the terms 'beings' and 'becomings' in regard to children's status, has encouraged to academic debate. Even though Qvortrup claimed that children were *not only* 'human becomings' (my emphasise), there seems to have arisen an unnecessarily rigid tension between these two statuses, leading to two separate approaches to childhood (Uprichard, 2008). The 'becoming' child-approach is mainly in correspondence with the mainstream approaches of childhood mentioned above, perceiving children as incompetent and 'adults in

the making'. The 'being' child-approach, on the contrary, consistent with the social studies of childhood, predominantly stands in an opposition to the 'becoming'-approach, arguing that children should not "...have to be approached from an assumed shortfall of competence, reason or significance" (James et al. as cited in Uprichard, 2008, p. 305). In agreement with, among others, Uprichard (ibid.), I will argue that a combination of these two approaches is most beneficial. I will however first briefly illustrate the ongoing debate from a broader perspective.

Lee (2001) argues that adulthood has, well deserved, been understood as a state of stability. A few decades ago, being adult; having a job and having a family, was seen as the end of the journey, with no great changes expected ahead. With this stable image of adulthood, childhood was easily understood as unstable and incomplete. Furthermore, we quite naturally see children as dependent on parents due to their obvious physically weakness; their dependence on protection and provision of basic needs. Additionally the understanding of childhood is dependent on the understanding of adulthood, because they are defined in opposition with each other, as stable and unstable. Lee (2001) however argues that childhood became identified with dependency originally alongside the development of European nation-states from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. With colonisation and an increasing focus on the nation state's military and economical competition, childhood became an investment for the future. And as an investment, they were in need of special treatment. They were vulnerable and in need of protection, dependent on a stable family home, not only for their own sake, but for the reason of the state. Shaping the nation's children into skilled, competitive citizens became an important concern. In other words, childhood was a period of growing into a model of adulthood, matching the developmental states' purposes and ambitions, a useful adult (ibid.).

Nonetheless, due to socio-economical and cultural changes adulthood is now far more flexible than before. Adults are in movement; changing jobs, continuing their education after having a family, changing life partners and physically moving. Adulthood is no longer stable, which means that the most obvious contrast between adulthood and childhood, the reason of defining them in opposition of each other, is no longer existing (ibid.). Lee (ibid.) is questioning whether 'being' is an adequate term used for either adult or children in this age of uncertainty.

Moreover, Katz (2006, p. 1020) argues that "...development is a life-long and social process. Much yeastier than becoming become; learning, development, and socialization are not restricted to children nor are they terminated upon arrival at the plateau of adulthood".

There should not be a need to identify children nor adults as one of the two; either beings or 'becomings'. The socialisation and developmental theory, both considered children's path into adulthood as a linear path with a final destination. As an emerging critique to these theories, there was a need to claim for the value of children's present being. These days however, children's being is not questionable; children *are* valued for their here and now. And even though we live in 'an age of uncertainty', we are still 'beings' in the manner of social agents co-constructing our social worlds.

The focus on children as 'beings', should however not dismiss the future aspect of childhood. Findings in this study reveal that future is an important aspect of childhood experiences. And I agree with Uprichard's (2008) argument that "By ignoring the future, we are prevented from exploring the ways in which this may itself shape experiences of being children" (p. 306). Thinking about 'becoming' not as a linear path towards a final destination, but a dynamic manner of developing, this term can still be appropriate. In this thesis I will emphasise that childhood, by children in Bagamoyo, was perceived as a learning period, a period of 'becoming'. Nonetheless, I will demonstrate that the transition from childhood to adulthood, this period of becoming, was perceived as nothing like linear and permanent, rather dynamic and fluid. Children's accounts will further illustrate children's status as both 'beings' and 'becomings'.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the process in which my research has developed and knowledge has been created. In particular the process of data collection will be discussed. Methodological considerations will be elaborated as well as more practical and ethical issues that emerged in the field. The chapter is organised as follows; in the first part I will describe the process of getting access to the research field and sampling of participants. Secondly, I will give account for how my methodological approaches have been guided by my theoretical starting points. In the third part I will describe and justify my choice of research design. I will comment on my experiences with implementing the variety of research tools in the fieldwork and further describe the process of gaining new knowledge from my data; the data-analysis. Finally, I will deal with practical and ethical issues emerging in the process of data collection.

4.1 The process in the field

4.1.1 Getting access

I spent three months at my research site, Bagamoyo. Mainly due to the lack of existing relation to the research site, all practical issues concerning my study were handled at my arrival there. Before I left Norway I had established contact with a small Norwegian non-governmental organisation (NGO), working in Bagamoyo. They kindly put me in contact with their sister organisation; a Tanzanian NGO in Bagamoyo. I stayed at the guesthouse ran by this organisation, and the staff supported me at my arrival, introducing me to local authorities.

Institutional consent and approval of my research project[18] by local authorities took more time than anticipated. First of all I had to get a Residence Permit C to be able to conduct research in Tanzania. This unfortunately took time. The next step was to get research clearance from Bagamoyo District Council, which further formally introduced me and my study for the authorities of the relevant wards and villages, the District office of education and education coordinators in relevant villages[19]. After one and a half month in the field, I finally had the clearance I needed to approach the schools where I further could access my participants. With this formal support, the authorities at the schools I approached, easily cooperated with me and there were no difficulties getting access to the participants themselves.

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[18] My research project was additionally registered at Norwegian Social Science Data Services (see appendix B).
[19] See appendix for this introduction letter.

The process described above, was slowed down by a mixture of factors. Firstly I got contradictory advices on how to a get research proposal approved; one being that I had to be connected to a local institution and the other being that I should apply as an independent student researcher. My research proposal was eventually approved on the latter manner.

Secondly I found it challenging to gain an understanding of my research perspective at the District Council. They did not see the need to use children as participants in my study, and I think this was one of the main obstacles in getting approved. Additionally, language barriers increased this challenge. Before I had selected an interpreter for my data collection, I got support from an NGO staff with local knowledge, acceptance and good language skills. He did his best to help me in this initiating process, however this was my first time working with an interpreter and there were things I had not yet learned. At this time I had no knowledge of Swahili and during the meetings my helper and the authorities mostly communicated in Swahili. The translations I got afterwards were naturally influenced by the translator's own memory and perception of what was most important. I was therefore not in control of what had been discussed, how my study and myself had been presented (Bujra, 2006). Later, after having selected my interpreter for the study, I took more control of the situation. I spent more time talking to him, making sure that he knew what I thought was important to communicate to the authorities and that he told me how he would explain it for them. This time we succeeded.

Thirdly, according to one of the staff at the District Council, they often got approached by Western researchers in the field, but after having supported them with access to informants, research results were rarely presented for them. They were questioning; 'what is in it for us'? They also had experience with Western researchers painting a negative picture of for instance children's lives in their society. Both of these experiences have probably contributed to a general scepticism which influenced my process of getting this study approved. Nevertheless, I want to emphasise that these were all obstacles that were overcome.

Moreover, this extended period of waiting for the needed clearance to begin my data collection, was also important for my fieldwork. During this period I came in contact with various institutions, both local and international, working for children's well being in Bagamoyo. I especially spent time at one youth centre and one children centre where I got to know children in varies ages. I got close friends who taught me about their reality, who invited me into their lives, their homes and their families. They also helped me to become a natural and accepted part of the community, in the degree that is possible during three months. The relationships I made with the local people in Bagamoyo were highly valuable for me.

This waiting period also gave me the chance to learn some Swahili, which later helped me in building rapport with my participants, and not to mention helped me having simple conversations with people I met in informal situations, all contributing to a better understanding of the society I was living in and studying.

4.1.2   Sampling of research participants

My research participants were a group of twenty-one children in the age from eight up to thirteen years old, representing both genders and diverse socio-economical backgrounds present in this society. My original plan was to sample[20] my participants through a combination of purposive sampling[21] and snowball technique[22]. However, the processes of getting research clearance caused me to compromise and change my approach. I ended up sampling my participants through two different primary schools, one in the town of Bagamoyo (ten participants) and the other in one of Bagamoyo District's villages, Sauri, (eleven participants). Both schools were governmental schools and in the particular village, this was the only primary school present. By including children from two different areas of the district, I aimed at gaining a broader and more complete representative sample of children from the District of Bagamoyo. The village selected to be included in the study, was the village where my interpreter grew up as a child. This made some of the practical issues easier, as well as his knowledge about the village, being valuable for me (Bujra, 2006).

Ensuring that the sampling of participants is done fairly, is important to strive for, yet challenging (Alderson, 2004). Only two areas and two schools were selected, the result being that not all children in the District of Bagamoyo got the equal opportunity to participate. In addition, by compromising and choosing this most practical approach, I also automatically chose not to include children out of school in my study (Sime, 2008). In the next step of the sampling process, only a specific group of children in these schools were invited to join the study, a selection done by the school management. This situation was unfortunate because it gave the power of deciding who gets the opportunity to participate, to someone who already had a form of power over the children (Skelton, 2008). However my case is not unique and in this and other situations where one's ethical standards as researcher are negotiated because of the school management, one doesn't have many options. The school managers often have

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[20] Sampling refers to the process of selecting participants for the study (Ennew et al., 2009).

[21] Purposive sampling refers to selection of participants based on the belief that the participants have specific knowledge and understanding of the topic you are studying (Ennew et al., 2009).

[22] With snowball sampling one starts with selecting one or more participant and further get access to other possible participants through these people's suggestions and introductions (Ennew et al., 2009).

arguments for their demands, and importantly, the researcher is further in the data collection process often dependent on cooperation from the school management (Sime, 2008; Morrow, 2008). My approach to these challenges was to make a strong effort to make the school management understand my aim with the study, so that they would not recruit participants based on another agenda than mine (Ahsan, 2009). And I did experience a good cooperation with the management.

4.2 Methodological perspectives

My theoretical starting point for this study has been the new social studies of children and childhood. Further my methodological approach has predominantly been guided by the view on childhood as socially constructed and children as active participants in their social worlds and thus worthy of studying in their own right.

4.2.1 Knowledge as constructed

In this study an 'objective truth' is not of my interest, rather exploring and describing different alternative ways of answering a research question is. I am interested in exploring diverse ideas about children and childhood (Montgomery, 2003). Therefore I have chosen a social constructional approach to my project.

> Whereas scientific approaches seek to discover universal laws of cause and effect that underpin the process of growing up, social constructionism emphasizes the diversity of ways that childhood is constituted and experienced in different situations and circumstances (Rogers, 2003, p. 24).

My own personal understanding of childhood is partly influenced by my own experience of being a child in addition to a children's rights discourse[23] which over the past couple of decades has shaped the ideas of what a child is and what 'proper childhood' should and should not include. Going into my fieldwork, I tried to deconstruct these concepts of childhood, these realities that exist for me, and challenge them with new knowledge created. By deconstruction I mean investigating and disrupting taken-for-granted assumptions or realities which were strongly familiar to me (Rogers, 2003).

An example of how knowledge can be de-constructed is through active research interviewing. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggest two metaphors when addressing the

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[23] "The term 'discourse' is used to mean a self-contained set of interconnected ideas held together by a particular ideology or view of the world." (Rogers, 2003, p. 21)

epistemological[24] issues of interviewing in qualitative research. These are the interviewer as a 'miner' and the interviewer as a 'traveller'. In the 'miner' metaphor the knowledge is already there, and it is up to the interviewer to 'dig it out' and to collect it. In the 'traveller' metaphor, on the other hand, knowledge is not there already, it is constructed on the interviewer's 'journey', or in other words through the research process, through new meetings, conversations and interpretations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). And the knowledge presented in this thesis; my knowledge of what it means to be a child in contemporary Tanzania, has certainly been co-created through a journey. It has been a process which from the beginning to the end took place in different parts of the world and which has included many new experiences, meetings, conversations and interpretations.

4.2.2 Doing research with children

4.2.2.1 Participant-friendly methods

Guided by the new social studies of children and childhood, my aim has been to do research *with* children in contrast to research *on* children (Fraser, 2004)*.* Children have the right to be properly researched and research should be conducted with the use of methods that will help them express themselves[25] (Ennew et. al., 2009).

Previously, child researchers have been guided by two main perspectives; 'children are the same as adults' and 'children are different from adults'. However a more recently perspective understands children to be similar to adults, yet possessing different competencies (Punch, 2002). In that sense, children are social actors worthy of investigation, yet due to their skills, or lack of skills, special research methods need to be adapted. This has lead to a variety of innovative and fun child-friendly methods, such as drawings, photography etc.

However, Punch (2002) finds it somehow paradoxical that researchers who argue that children are competent and should be given their own space in research are often the same researchers who promote special-designed, child-friendly methods. She further poses the question; "If children are competent social actors, why are special 'child-friendly' methods needed to communicate with them?" (Punch, 2002, p. 321). She finds it contradictory in the way that they are praising children's competence, while at the same time showing a form of mistrust in it.

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[24] "Epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge and involves long-standing debates about what knowledge is and how it is obtained" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

[25] The CRC, Article 13 1. states that: "The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kind, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice" (see CRC).

Having a shared understanding of vocabulary and conceptions is essential in all research. The issue still tends to be given particular attention when adult researchers are carrying out research with children. This is comes from a perception of children as less competent (Punch, 2002). Children are assumed to prefer 'fun' research tools, to be more competent in the use of this and to have less ability to concentrate for extensive time. This may be true, but it does not mean that it *always* is the truth. An equally important argument for the use of adapted methods is the consideration of age and competence is children's marginalized position in adult society (ibid.). A power imbalance between child-participant and adult-researcher can make the traditional method of individual interviewing intimidating.

In my opinion, employng so-called child-friendly methods are not showing mistrust in children's' competence. Rather it is a way of showing one's research participants respect and making sure that research aim and questions are making sense for one's participants. However, this is not unique for research with children. In the planning of a research, methods and techniques have to be designed with research participants in mind, seeking to find techniques that enable them to communicate in best possible way (Fraser, 2004). This goes for both children and adults. Neither of these groups can be considered a homogenous group.

> The choice of methods not only depends on the age, competence, experience, preference and social status of the research subjects but also on the cultural environment and the physical setting, as well as the research questions and the competencies of the researcher (Punch, 2002, p. 338).

Inspired by Fraser (2004) and Punch (2002) I have chosen to use the term 'participant-friendly' methods in my study, because they are adapted to my research participants and not children in general.

4.2.2.2 Impact of culture on participatory approaches

Participatory approaches with children have gained popularity, in research but also in governmental and non-governmental organisations' work. However, the use of participatory methods, does not guarantee an effective result where children are heard and their views taken seriously (Twum-Danso, 2009). Twum-Danso (ibid.) suggests that culture is one of the obstacles for the effectiveness of this approach. Childhood and children's role in a society is culturally constructed and vary in different societies. This influences for instance the interaction between adult and children. This again might influence the interaction between

researcher and participant, and the effectiveness of participant-friendly methods chosen with the aim to enable children to express their own opinions.

Leading on, Twum-Danso (2009) address the importance of recognising possible effects when participatory methods are used in research or other projects, in other societies than where they are developed. In a society where children are trained not to raise their own opinions, but to silently agree and do what they are told to, it will obviously be more challenging to explore children's own opinions through a research, even if you use participant-friendly methods. Children who are not encouraged to think critically and individually, not used to formulating their own opinion, will also, most probably, find it more difficult to express their own views in a research setting. And a child who normally please adults in order to avoid punishment, might also try to do that in a research setting, by for instance providing what he or she think is the 'correct' or desired answer. This is an issue that will be mentioned when relevant in this chapter, elaborating on my experiences of the use of my research design in the field.

My experience from this data collection, in short tells me that a participatory approach does not guarantee success, however it was very helpful for me. It has also shown me that child-friendly methods will not necessarily be the same methods in diverse societies, similar to child-friendly methods not necessarily being the same methods for children in diverse age groups. This again, in my opinion suggests that the concept participant-friendly methods are more appropriate than child-friendly. And in the section describing my research tools, it will be described how I came into the field prepared with what one would call child-friendly research tools, and how these had to be adjusted to work well with my actual participants.

4.3   Research design

4.3.1   The Mosaic approach

My research design is mainly inspired by the Mosaic approach, a particular framework developed for listening to young children (Clark, 2005). I did however design my own set of research tools, adjusted to my participants' context and considering factors like age, culture and competence. The name of the approach represents the bringing together of different pieces or perspectives in order to create an image of children's worlds. "The Mosaic approach combines the traditional methodology of observation and interviewing with the introduction of participatory tools" (Clark, 2005, p. 31). This combination of methods is also promoted by Punch (2002), in not patronizing children by only using 'child-friendly'

methods, yet treating them as equals and at the same time giving them a variation of communication techniques. By allowing children to be participants in the research, they are treated not only as active human beings but are also seen as experts in their own lives.

When designing my set of research tools, my focus was to make sure that each of my participants were able to express themselves, and that my questions, not always given as a question literally, made sense for them. Secondly, with my multiple-method approach, I was able to touch upon the same questions and topics several times, through different tools, giving me the opportunity to get my findings cross-checked and verified (Ennew et. al., 2009). Additionally, the use of multiple methods created an interest among the participants keeping them engaged throughout the fieldwork (Punch, 2002).

4.3.2   Research tools
Following, I will describe the research tools that were used to collect data and briefly highlight the main advantages and disadvantages of each (see appendix D for an overview of research tools).

My original research tool box went through a change during my time in the field. I came up with new ideas for how to explore my research questions, alongside getting to know my research participants, their culture and their characteristics (Ennew et. al., 2009). For the same reasons there were also methods I decided not to use. I was for instance planning on conducting focus group discussions[26] with my participants. I did however quickly understand this situation as unfamiliar for them. It was very difficult to get an actual discussion going among them; they were influenced by each other and the majority repeated dominant perspectives provided by few participants. Those lessons learned, made me use individual interviews instead of focus group discussions.

A recall method in written form, inspired by (ibid.), was also originally planned to be used in the purpose of getting a picture of daily routines. Participants were given a form which they brought home and they were to note down in the form every activity they did during 24 hours; when they performed the activity, where, and together with whom.
For different reasons, I found the tool inappropriate for this group of participants as well as the framework of the spesific study, and it was only used once and with one of the participant groups.

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[26] Focus group discussion is described as a formal, facilitated discussion on a specific topic, conducted with a group of participants and a facilitator (Ennew et al., 2009). By discussing each other's point of views and sharing opinions and experiences one can reveal broader insights and agreed opinions.

4.3.2.1 <u>Drawings</u>

Drawings were used as a point of departure to explore different themes, for example research participants' family life. According to Ennew et al. (2009) drawing as a research tool is useful especially when children find it difficult to express themselves by talking or writing. The difficulty of obtaining data using verbal and written methods was also my experience with several of my participants and I found there were advantages of using the method of drawing. While drawing, they got more time to explore their own thoughts, compared to answering questions in a conversation. It seemed easier for the children to talk about a topic when they had their drawings to look at and point at. And finally, children were able to take more control over the situation, making their own choices on what to include in the drawing, showing their consideration of what was important for them (Punch, 2002).

I used two types of drawing methods; individual drawings and group drawings. To ensure that meanings were not lost or confused during interpretations, I always had conversations with the participants about their drawings afterwards; group drawings in plenary and individual drawings individually. These conversations were highly important, considering that adult's interpretations of children's drawings in most cases are incorrect (Ennew et. al., 2009). I deliberately used questions in the form of; 'can you please tell me about this' and tried to avoid asking 'what is this'. My intention was to gain more elaborated explanations than just 'a church'. Additionally I wanted to avoid children feeling bad about their drawings. Despite drawing seen as a common child-activity, it should not be assumed that this is true for all cultures and that all children are comfortable with the activity (Punch, 2002). Individually conversations were voice recorded and notes were taken with both methods. Drawings were also coded to match with recordings and notes. 30 individual drawings and 13 group drawings were collected.

4.3.2.2 <u>Written methods</u>

Written methods, such as essays, can give new insights into children's own ideas, priorities and concerns (Ennew et al., 2009). It can also enable children to express thoughts that would be considered too personally to share with someone in an interview (Denzin, 1989). Written methods were for this study adopted to explore children's thoughts and experiences of living in their community, their daily activities and thoughts about what made them feel happy and sad. I chose to use text writing as a method in a less degree that originally planned due to the

participant's skills of writing. But by adjusting tasks to their competence, such as writing in a form of listing instead of essay, I did get good data also from this method. As with the method of drawing, writing also gave participants more time to explore their own thoughts and the opportunity to put their thoughts on a paper instead of expressing it verbally face to face with a researcher.

When all participants wrote texts in the classroom at the same time, a large amount of data was generated quickly. This was a benefit, yet it also made it difficult to identify and follow up the issues raised from the texts, since this is a time consuming task (Punch, 2002). I additionally used this tool in the form of a group activity for one topic; identifying characteristics of childhood versus adulthood. In that case the participants together came up with the ideas they listed on the paper and later presented for the others. 57 individual texts and two group texts were collected.

4.3.2.3 <u>Acting</u>

Acting as a research tool for this study, was an idea that came to my mind during my time in the field, inspired by the variety and the role of art in the community. Acting through role play was used for different topics, for instance exploring children's expectations of both children and parents in a family context. The participants were divided into groups and given a topic like; 'your group is a family and in your role play you should try to show us how good parents act in the everyday life'. I did spend the needed time with each of the groups, making sure the topic made sense for them, however I did not give them detailed instructions or examples of situations. The groups got time to prepare their role plays, separated from each other, and then showed them for the rest of the participants.

The role plays were video recorded so that my interpreter and I could go through them together afterwards, translating, transcribing and observing. Since I became able to understand some Swahili, I could also follow parts of the action and take notes during the play. After the role plays we had plenary conversations where I asked the actors questions about their role play and the way they acted; the behaviour their roles where demonstrating (Ennew et. al., 2009). I followed up by engaging the rest of the participants with also asking them questions about the role play and relating it to the reality in their community.

Acting proved to be a very useful method in this study. I found that by 'just acting' the participants were able to create a distance from their own person. Even if they were demonstrating something they had experienced themselves, this time it was experienced by an

imaginary child in the play (ibid.). Instead of verbally expressing for instance their disappointments of parents' behaviour, acting gave them the opportunity to show it. The participants allowed themselves to laugh of situations which they normally in the reality found sad or frightening. Acting made the situation less scary and it gave participants the opportunity to be in control of the situation, where they provided us with data on their own premises.

According to O'Kane (2000), participatory methods, like acting in this situation, are helpful in decreasing the power imbalance between an adult researcher and a child as informant. While the child is empowered and able to set the agenda, the researcher can experience that the research is taking another path than expected. Often one can be left behind with unanswered questions, untouched topics that one is not sure why was left behind. In my experience I found that the participants did feel empowered and I could see how their self-confidence grew, using this tool. Alongside they were able to set the agenda in a higher degree. In one situation one group focused more on creating a role play that would make their fellow participants laugh, than showing what we asked them to show us. In another situation one group created a family with no parents, only children. We had not given them specific roles, but we had expected them to act the roles of both parents and children. Importantly, there were situations where the children's role plays raised topics that I would not have considered myself and which I probably would have missed out on, if I had not used this method. 17 role plays were recorded.

4.3.2.4 Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews are seen as relatively informal interviews, and the way I carried out these, I find it more suitable to call the interviews 'conversations with a purpose' (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 5.36). I used a list of themes that I wanted to touch upon during the conversations, which gave me the flexibility of adjusting questions for each participant, but at the same time supported me in keeping my focus and reminding me of what I wanted to explore. A standardised question might not mean the same for each participant; it might be interpreted in different ways (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). One way of being flexible was to be sensitive and attentive to the whole situation and try to modify the questions to each participant's own vocabulary to make sure that the questions made sense.

I was working with an interpreter who translated each answer for me right away, which made me able to ask follow-up questions (ibid., p. 135). This is also a way of being

flexible and not being held back by a set list of questions, but being an active listener (ibid., p. 138). I also recorded the conversations, so that focus was not upheld on taking notes, but made it possible for the conversation to be as natural as possible in a setting like this.

The conversations were conducted with individual participants. I further chose to implement them in the last part of the period because the participants then would feel less intimidated by the situation, and because we then got the opportunity to explore topics which had occurred from other tools. The experience of the interviews varied from participant to participant. I noticed that several of the participants, though not all, gained more confidence and became more talkative being alone with us. Body language and communication indicated that some of the children enjoyed the attention they were given and reflected with own interest around the questions they were given. Others showed more uncertainty and found some of the questions too challenging. 21 individual conversations were recorded. A semi-structured interview was additionally carried out with one of the staff at the Social Welfare Office in Bagamoyo, mainly for background information on children's lives in the community.

4.3.2.5   Ranking and categorization

This research tool was not a part of my original tool-box, but inspired by Ennew et al. (2009), I developed this during my fieldwork. The purpose of this method was to explore my participants' own experiences of their daily activities. I used the data I had collected through recall forms, their written texts about daily activities, my own observations and my interpreter's local knowledge, and made paper cards with one activity written in Swahili on each of them. Individually the participants were asked to place all the activities they used to do in one pile and remove the once they did not do. Secondly, using only the activities the child said he or she was actually doing, the child was asked to rank these by placing them in the category they though it belonged, based on their own opinion. The alternatives consisted of three categories; a smiley face with the text;' I like to do it', a neutral face with the text; 'I think it is ok to do it', and a sad face with the text; 'I don't like to do it, I would rather not do it if I could choose myself'. The third task was to place the different activities again where they meant it belonged, either; 'learning', 'helping', 'working', 'playing' or 'nothing special'. Children were encouraged to follow their own opinion rather not making an effort to place the paper card under the assumed 'correct' category.

To get an understanding of why they placed the activities as they did, I asked questions about their decisions afterwards (Ennew et. al., 2009). Again the experiences of the method were varying. Some had very good explanations for where they placed the different activities, while others had difficulty explaining their own views. This tool was used with 21 participants.

4.3.2.6   Participant observation

Participant observation is defined by Taylor and Bogdan in Fine & Sandstrom (1988, p. 12) as "research that involves social interaction between the researcher and informants in the milieu of the latter, during which data are systemically and unobtrusively collected". Kjørholt et al. (2005) argue that observation and participation in children's everyday life is a valuable tool. Children express themselves in other ways than with spoken words, and by observing one might also be able to gain knowledge about their experiences which they are not themselves conscious about, and would not themselves have expressed in words (ibid.).

Participant observation, mostly unstructured, was used throughout my period of fieldwork, predominantly as a supporting tool. It was valuable in helping me to understand children's everyday lives in Bagamoyo, and also as a way of cross checking data, to see whether or not information from observations corresponds or not with data collected using other tools. I observed my participants while we were spending time together in our research sessions at school. I did not conduct participant observation with all of my participants outside research sessions regularly. Yet occasionally I met my participants in informal sites such as the street or market in our everyday life. Some of them invited me to into their homes to meet their family while others just spent some time with me. I additionally observed children in varies ages in the community I was a part of every day, in public spaces, like football fields, at the beach, in the streets and also at children centres.

4.3.2.7   Research diary

I used a research diary recording brief observations, conversations, impressions, hypotheses and ethical issues (Ennew et al., 2009). It was also extensively used in the period before I could start my data collection. Both to record the process I went through and the challenges I met, experiences I went through, the people I met and knowledge I gained about the local life.

My aim with keeping a research diary was not only to make sure that I would remember particular situations, but also to give me a possibility to reflect upon my own

experiences and thoughts. This became my space for 'thinking out loud' about my own personal biases, immediate thoughts, doubts and sense of achievements. A self-reflective journal can support reflexivity in several levels of the research process and further make unconscious factors more conscious. This can further influence the research and make the whole process more transparent (Ortlipp, 2008).

4.3.2.8   Secondary data

Secondary data is data that already exist, in contrary to primary data which is collected during the research process (Ennew et al., 2009). Secondary data can be statistics, reports, laws, books and articles or information on the internet to mention some. Collection of secondary data has been an ongoing activity. The limited time I was present at my research site, I sought to find local secondary data. However, when approaching relevant, local authorities in my search, I was commonly given the reply that they could not help me; they did not have anything documented in written form, and if they did it was either too difficult for them to locate or it was only available in Swahili. I found this disappointing, yet I think I could have been more successful in this area if I had had more insightful knowledge about how the local system worked.

Getting access to relevant secondary data originated in Tanzania, from Norway, where I have been situated prior and after the fieldwork, has led to some challenges, I have however made use of varies reports, statistics, law-documents and previous research. These have been used as background information of this thesis, but have also been influential in the analysis of my primary data.

4.4   Creating knowledge of the data

The process of making meaning out of my data started in the field and was a continuous process. "Ethnographic research should have a characteristic 'funnel' structure, being progressively focused over its course" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 160). The knowledge was co-created through subjective interpretations by me but also my research participants (Abebe, 2008). Through research tools, my participants were enabled to reflect around varies topics and make meaning of their own realities. Further I sought to make meaning out of their interpretations, relating this primary data to secondary data. Additionally, my interpreter's choice of words did most probably also contribute to the meaning-making in-between these two stages of interpretations. The fieldwork was intensive and it was difficult

to fully engage in formal data analysis, yet reflections on data collection process and data collected supported me in keeping focused.

Voice- and video-recordings were all transcribed in the field, since I was dependent on transcriptions translated into English. Individual conversations were translated immediate, while role plays were translated later. All written texts were also translated into English in the field, by my interpreter. Following the fieldwork I spent extensive time reading thoroughly and getting to know my data, which enabled me to begin identifying main themes which I could categorise the data into. As I divided the data into categories of themes, I found that a great part of the data seemed to belong into varies categories at the same time, illustrating that my data were highly intertwined. This process was dynamic and categories of themes changed as I went along and found an increasingly clear focus.

Having identified core themes, I began coding my data within each of the themes, by using colours, highlighting ideas or utterances. For this I re-read my data, over and over again. During this process I also returned to the original data, being drawings, video- or voice-recordings. Listening to and watching this, in addition to reading my research diary helped me to remember the context in which the data was collected. Reading literature on the study area and relevant topics during the process of analysis, also brought new dimensions to my perspectives. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest a continually movement back and forth between ideas and data through the process of analysis. "...ideas are used to make sense of data, and data are used to change our ideas" (ibid., p. 159).

Through this approach I was able to identify patterns but also uniqueness in my research participants' responses and standpoints. I was further looking for data corresponding with my prior knowledge and expectations, and on the contrary, data which opposed common ideas or that surprised me (ibid.).

In the writing-up of the thesis I have through an overview of research participants' standpoints chosen extracts to represent both patterns and uniqueness which emerged in my data. It has been important for me to contextualise this extracts and keep them as close to the original as possible. The narratives presented consist of data gathered through predominantly individual conversations, but also occasionally other research tools. Some adaption has been done to make both extracts and narratives briefer and more fluent.

4.5 Methodological challenges and ethical considerations

4.5.1 Using an interpreter

A researcher should aim at achieving appropriate language skills of the local language of their research site, however in situations where this is not practically possible, this should not restrain from conducting the study (Bujra, 2006). In the area where I did my fieldwork, the language mainly used is Swahili, and I therefore worked with an interpreter during my data collection. In this section I seek to discuss my main concerns in selecting and working with an interpreter.

In qualitative research there has been increased attention on the need to reflect on the effect researchers have on interpersonal relations of the fieldwork. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), qualitative research interviews will not give the exact same knowledge if you repeat the interview session using a different interviewer. The knowledge constructed, or the meaning-making taking place in an interview, is created in collaboration between the participants of the interview; normally the researcher and the informant (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). In my case, there was a third person present in the interview setting; my interpreter. In situations like these there seem to be an aim to act as the interpreter is not there (Edwards, 1998). However, the interpreter *is* present, he is not value-free and he *does* have an effect on the setting. Edwards argues for a need to make the role of interpreters more visible and critically reflect upon the effects these have on the research process (ibid.).

I did not want anyone else to choose an interpreter for me, and I therefore did no effort to find an interpreter upon my arrival in Bagamoyo. The District Council wanted me to use one of their staff as interpreter, which I rejected for different reasons. I wanted my interpreter to be as independent as possible, not in close relationship to either the authorities or the participants. I did not want the interpreter to have an agenda for him or herself (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It was of course important for me that the interpreter could agree with the ethical principles I had set for my project, but also that he/she had an understanding of my approach and aim for the study (Ennew et al., 2009). At this time I had experienced little understanding of my methods and motivation at the District Council, and did not wish to work with an interpreter who did not see the importance of involving children themselves in the study.

The interpreter I chose to work with had a genuine interest in working *with* children, in listening to and learning from children's own opinions. Bujra (2006) sees the benefit of working with an interpreter who is interested in other people's views and also has personal skills in listening and giving a full account of what has been said. The fact that my interpreter

had been in this position for another master student earlier, also made me more confident that he understood what was expected of him.

My interpreter was valuable in the way that he easily gained people's trust. He was culturally accepted, in a neutral position and I experienced that people gave me more trust being associated with him (ibid.). He had extensive experience with working with children and did easily build rapport with the participants. He also became an ethnographic informant to a certain degree. Based on his own local knowledge he could sometimes try to explain for me why things were like they were, or why people behaved the way they did, being in research sessions or in every day context (ibid.). In these situations it is important to remember that one should not be relaying too much on one source of information; one person's perspectives will not represent the whole society (ibid.). I was however lucky to obtain a local network of friends providing me with varies sources of information.

Bujra (2006) also addresses the importance of mutual trust and being able to work together for an extensive time. It was crucial for me that my interpreter was a person I could discuss openly with, also about our roles. Him being an experienced man with local knowledge and me being a younger woman, a novice researcher without the local knowledge; the power imbalance present could have led to him to take over my role as interviewer (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Being aware of this, I made it clear that I appreciated his advices and support, but eventually I had to be the one responsible of which methods to use and which data to be collected. In other words, I had to be the one making the decisions. In my experience, the interpreter understood this, listened to me and did an effort to follow my wishes.

Working with an interpreter, there is also a possibility that the interpreter takes over the interviewee's role (ibid.). Consciously or unconsciously he/she can 'filter out' and only translate what he/she sees as important, which might not correspond with your own perception of what is important and not (Bujra, 2006). I made it clear that I wanted to get the participants' own replies translated, and not his simplified versions of them. However translation in itself is not an easy task. Sometimes my interpreter would spend time trying to explain a Swahili concept to me in detail, because he failed to find an equivalent word in English. (Bujra, 2006, p. 176). I also experienced that translation word by word, which I would normally prefer, not always made sense. (ibid., p. 175) There were several incidences where my interpreter gave me the exact translation followed by an explanation of how he interpreted it, or how this was usually expressed and the meaning of it. An example of this was the concept of 'being sent', which for participants and my interpreter made sense in itself,

but not for me. The interpreter then skilfully, gave me the exact translation, followed by an explanation of what this concept meant for them. And through observations and other research tools, I found that this was a correct explanation of the concept. Multiple research methods gave me this opportunity to cross-check my interpreter's translations, in cases like this, but also more in general. Language is tied to local realities and the interpreter's choice of words when translating children's thoughts and experiences, are important for my interpretation of these. Due to his choice of words, there might be important clues missed out; 'lost in translation'. Exploring research topics through various research tools was my way of overcoming this.

Challenges set aside, it is also important to acknowledge that the interpreter can be an asset to the communication (Edwards, 1998). Sometimes my interpreter for instance asked following-up questions himself, without me telling him to. As the researcher, I did not want to be left outside, not understanding the conversation (Bujra, 2006), and at times I therefore interrupted the interpreter, asking him to translate for me. However, after having built more trust, I did not necessarily interrupt if this happened. Instead I let him translate the whole interaction for me afterwards. Edwards (1998) notes that her interpreter sometimes was able to give the interviewee information or support that she could not herself have given. The need to translate all words from English to Swahili and back again, influences the flow in the conversation (Bujra, 2006). And in compliance with Edwards, I think that occasionally when my interpreter followed up the conversation himself, it might have benefited the conversation. Because

4.5.2   Ethical research guidelines in research with children

In research with children, as in all research, it is highly important to make sure that participants will not be harmed or put at risk in any way because of their participation (Ennew et al., 2009). Skelton (2008) acknowledges the importance of ethics in research practise, yet she also suggests that with its' lack of child centric perspective, ethical research guidelines can sometimes contradict children's rights, even if they are there for protection, and especially so when it comes to children's right to participation. As will be described below, I had to go through several adult gatekeepers, before children themselves were given the opportunity to decide if they wanted to participate or not.

Skelton (2008) draws on her own experience as a child, participating in a small study. With the research guidelines present today, this study would not have been ethical. She

however remembers the episode with joy, being given the opportunity to express her own opinions to an adult she respected. Since ethical framework guides researchers to get informed consent from parents or guardians, children can actually be prevented from participating in research, even if they wish to.

4.5.3   Ethical research guidelines developed in another culture

Ethical challenges emerge from using dominant ethical research principles developed in the Global North when doing fieldwork with children in the Global South (Abebe, 2009). Several ethical issues I faced in connection with this will be discussed below. Schenk and Williamson (2005) suggest that there are no clear answers on how to implement ethical standards. They recommend researchers to analyse each and every case on how to implement ethical standards, with the primary principle being the best interest of the child. I went into the field with ethical principles I found highly important, yet being open to negotiate and adjust the process in which my ethical principles could be complied. Nevertheless, acknowledging these challenges and arguing for a more realistic and practical applications of ethical framework in research with children and young people, should in no circumstances work as an excuse for sloppiness leading to the harm of research participants (Robson et al., 2009, p. 477).

4.5.4   Voluntary participation

It is important that participants agree to take part in the research, after being informed about and *understanding* the aim and process of the research, how the data will be used and the possibility of withdrawing at any time (Ennew et al., 2009). Before children themselves got the opportunity to give informed consent, I had to go through the process of local authorities, school management and guardians (Sime, 2008). An information letter in Swahili, written by me and my interpreter, was given to all guardians of the selected participants through teachers (see appendices E and F). The letter was expressed in simple words, having in mind that many of the guardians of these children were not well educated (Alderson, 2004). The teachers additionally talked to some of the guardians being illiterate.

The school management insisted that as long as guardians did not withdraw their children from joining the study, the information given to guardians in addition to the school management's own consent were sufficient. I had expected to gain consent from guardians myself. However, through the research process I learned that ethical standards had to be negotiated in every case, and as Morrow (2008), I also found that in cases as this the best

thing would be to follow the school management's advice. After all, the most important informed consent to gain for me, were from the participants themselves.

At both schools we started the first research sessions with an introductory talk. We presented ourselves, explained the purpose of the study, how it was going to be done, how the information would be used and issues about confidentiality, the use of camera and tape recorder, and voluntary participation. This effort ensuring that the information given about the study was really understood by participants, took time, but was an important priority (Hopkins, 2008).There should always be time for the children to ask questions and get answers (Morrow, 2008). In order to make sure that the information given made sense for the participants, we asked them to explain it back to us in their own words. Children showing a good understanding were asked to explain it for the other children, so that they understood it in their own terms. This was a method we found valuable and it were also used in the explanation process of some of the research activities.

Neither guardians nor children were asked to give their signatures to prove their informed consent, due to a fact that this could be more intimidating, than it would be assuring (Abebe, 2009). Additionally, consent was not seen as a onetime decision, rather ongoing, and children were reminded that they could withdraw at any time (Morrow, 2008; Sime, 2008). Nevertheless, there might be reasons making the children continue their participation even if they prefer to withdraw, especially due to power imbalance and expectations. It was therefore important to also give attention to body language and try to observe if children seemed to be comfortable about participating or not (Hopkins, 2008).

4.5.5   Privacy and confidentiality

Arranging the research sessions at schools turned out to work well in terms of privacy. We only experienced one incidence where an adult was present under parts of the session. This was when the principal listened in to some of the introductory talk. Other children sometimes gathered outside the classroom, but they were told to move when it was inappropriate. When we conducted individual conversations, the other participants were outside playing or doing other activities, so that we could talk in privacy. There were one incident of the school being occupied because of exams, and we had to move individual interviews to another location. With approval from the principal, we asked participants if they would prefer us to come and do the conversations at their homes, or if they preferred to meet us at the interpreter's home. The children expressed that at home there would be many people around and they would not

feel comfortable with the conversations, so they wanted to meet us at my interpreter's home, and we did.

I ensured public confidentiality (Hill in Hopkins, 2008, p. 42), by using pseudonyms for children's names and not making participants identifiable. Social network confidentiality (ibid., p. 43) had to be negotiated. I was an interesting newcomer to the community and a visible person. I experienced that both children and adults were talking about me. It was therefore possible to identify which schools I visited and which children were spending time with me and participating in my study. However, since the participants were not recruited because of specific social backgrounds or circumstances, this should not cause any stigmatising of them.

In different situations people approached me, telling me that they had heard about me and knew who I was because they were family members or teachers of children that 'I was working with'. However, their curiosity was pointed at me as a person rather than the study I was undertaking and possible information the children gave me. I also experienced questions from my friends about what I was doing together with the children, but again; the interest was not pointed at the actual information I collected. Thus I did not experience situations where information about what participants told me were requested or revealed.

Even though I did not hide my role in any way, I think most people in the community saw me as a teacher or voluntary worker and not a researcher. I presume the reasons for that were several; the research sessions took place at the schools, secondly; with my limited skills in Swahili combined with community members' limited skills of English, the explanations and understanding of my study also became limited in informal conversations with neighbours or people I met at public places, and finally; in Bagamoyo, the volunteer role would be the most common role for a young-looking, Western girl like me.

4.5.6   Power imbalance

The power imbalance between the adult researcher and the child as an informant will always be a challenge (O'Kane, 2000). It was important for me to build rapport and foster friendships with the participants (Abebe, 2009, p. 455). Together with my interpreter, I did a continuously effort to create a less serious and intimidating atmosphere than these children normally met at school. We were playful together with the children and we tried not resorting to authority. We had a small toolbox of ice-breakers, including songs and games, which they enjoyed together

with us, and which developed more confidence and playfulness amongst the participants, along with a growing group-feeling.

Conducting her study in Ghana, Twum-Danso (2009) experienced that children were standing up when speaking to her. Finding this unnecessary, she encouraged them to end this gesture, yet realising that not standing up when speaking to her, actually made the children feel uncomfortable. The same gesture was experienced by me, however was ended by the children themselves, after they had gotten to know us better and understood what kind of expectations we had to them. Nevertheless, another gesture I found unnecessary, which they did continue doing, was calling me Madam Asha (the local name I was given by my friends). The title Madam made me feel like a teacher, which I did not want to be perceived as. I however let them use it, understanding that this was the most comfortable way for them to address me.

How much the power imbalance influenced the participants and their answers is difficult to say. What I can say is that obstacles will always be there, and the best solution is to be aware of it, and making an effort to reduce it, and that was what I did. As elaborated earlier, I also consciously used participatory methods, which according to O'Kane (2000), are helpful in decreasing the power imbalance.

4.5.7 Ethics of expectations and reciprocity

As a researcher I think it is important to be aware of the issue of expectations. They are difficult to control and they might not even be conscious. Nevertheless I think expectations in varies kinds and varies degrees, will always be present. I would personally highlight the importance of keeping promises made and not making promises that cannot be fulfilled (Ennew et al., 2009). For me it was important to be honest and remind my participants on who I was and why I was there.

Reciprocity, like so many other issues, has to be seen in context. In research context giving participants a compensation for the time they spend and work they do for the research is understood as short-term reciprocity. This compensation may be payment in money, services or other material, according to context (Abebe, 2009, p. 461). Personally I preferred not giving the children money as compensation. I decided to show my appreciation to my participants individually; I gave them personal greetings together with developed photos of the children individually, and school material. Additionally I paid for meal at a few occasions when extensive time was spent in research sessions.

If children are told that their effort will be rewarded after the data collection is finished, there is a possibility that children will continue because of the reward, even if they really wish to withdraw from the research (Sime, 2008). Some of my participants contributed to their household economy and that situation could have led a child into participating despite own wishes, to not disappoint his or her family. I decided to not say anything about rewards before the last day of session, telling them that we would be back to say good bye and give them the photos I had taken earlier. The school material was given as surprises. I determinately did not say anything about rewards because I did not want them to get high expectations. My approach could not however, guarantee that they did not get expectations anyhow.

Even though a researcher should not 'buy information', awareness of reciprocity is important. Research should not be an issue of approaching a community, obtaining whatever information one needs and leaving without giving anything back. Research should instead be seen as a two-way street (Abebe, 2009, p. 461). In my opinion, giving something back to the community and the people you are welcomed into and studying is a way of showing respect. Time is valuable for most people and spending their time, one should be aware of how to compensate that.

Reciprocity should not only be understood as short-term, but also long-term as in making an effort to make use of the research findings to improve the lives of participants, and importantly informing participants and policy makers about research findings (ibid.). However, especially when it comes to research done in developing countries, the cost and also practicalities make this challenging (Robson et al., 2009). Many research grants do not include funding for dissemination (Hopkins, 2008). In my own situation, I personally feel strongly for the long-term reciprocity and think everyone who cooperated with me deserves to see the result of my work. But I know that sending my thesis to the school management would not be enough. An effort would be needed to communicate the findings in a way that would make sense for the participants. And to do that, unfortunately I would need funding.

Yet long term influences of the research can also appear in other forms. Skelton remembers how being interviewed for a study made her feel as a child. She explains how this event was the first time where someone else than her mother showed interest in her thoughts and how this developed her self-esteem (Skelton, 2008). Congruent with the research team of Views of the Children (Research and Analysis Working Group, 2008) conducted in Tanzania, I found that children enjoyed being a part of my study, being given attention and importance.

Being given the opportunity to reflect around issues and expressing their own opinions can also be seen as a learning experience for the children.

5 DATA INTERPRETATION – PART ONE

My data interpretation is divided into two parts, where this chapter constitutes the first part. This chapter intends to examine local meanings of childhood present among children in Bagamoyo.

5.1 Conceptualising the child

In the Law of the Child Act, passed by the Tanzanian Parliament in November 2009, a child is defined as a person below the age of eighteen years (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009). This definition is in accordance with the definition of a child found in both the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). Moreover, this is seen as a universal definition of the child, based upon biological age. However, my findings will in line with other studies, demonstrate that biological age is not unique in defining who is a child; the meaning of 'child' is not naturally given, rather dynamic and contested.

> Age is a concept which is assumed to refer to a biological reality. However, the meaning and experience of age, and of the process of ageing, is subject to historical and cultural processes... Both youth and childhood have had and continue to have different meanings depending on young people's social, cultural and political circumstances (Wyn and White as cited in Hopkins & Pain, 2007, p. 287).

Even though the Law of the Child Act defines a child as a person below the age of eighteen, the Law of Marriage Act, sets the minimum age of marriage for a female to the age of fifteen years, while the minimum age of marriage for a male is set to eighteen (United Republic of Tanzania, 1971). Further, in the Employment and Labour Relations Act, the minimum age for employment is set to the age of fourteen years (United Republic of Tanzania, 2004). This demonstrates that also according to national law, when childhood ends and adulthood begins vary on the basis of gender and context, and a child might in various contexts be seen as an adult and deprived his or her basic rights.

5.2 Local meaning of childhood

Through children's explorations of ideas about childhood, a comparison with adulthood often emerged, demonstrating how childhood is understood in relation to adulthood. Diverse ideas were expressed through children's accounts, yet some elements appeared as shared ideas on both childhood and adulthood. Firstly I will present two written texts, created by research-participants, through group work in Sauri. I will illustrate how core elements were revealed in

these texts. Following, each of the three identified core elements of childhood will be elaborated throughout this chapter, drawing on children's accounts beyond the texts presented below.

What is a child?

- He is brought to school.
- He is bought clothes.
- He is spoiled.
- He is given presents.
- He is taught good manners.
- To ask everything from your parents.
- To be bought things to play with.
- To compete in children's games.
- To be given needs by parents.
- To play.

What is an adult?

- A woman has a husband. A husband has a wife.
- Adult has ability to find money. Where can a child find money? A child is waiting until parents or relatives buy things. If they don't buy for you, you can walk without clothes.
- Adult has the ability to buy clothes. And I (as adult) know how to arrange and disarrange (to make plans and change plans) and I know if the thing that I do is good or bad.
- I have ability to know there is good and bad and there is greed and generosity. If someone wants salt, I can choose to give or not.
- Children have no ability of finding money to get food. Where he can get money without the parent to find for him?
- Adult have ability to find clothes, shelter and food. Children have no ability to find shelter, clothes and food. Children have no ability to buy things himself or herself until someone buy for him.

From these texts I identified three core elements of childhood; 'child-like' behaviour, dependence and learning. I chose to use the term 'child-like' behaviour, in the purpose of covering situations such as being given a certain degree of freedom to do what they want, having a behaviour seen as not appropriate for adults, like playing, being given presents and being given less responsibility than adults. Dependence was illustrated as a core element of

childhood in both texts, suggesting that children do not have the ability to manage themselves and are therefore dependent on their parents. The choice of words also suggested a passive view of children, for instance through the expressions; being *given* their needs and *brought* to school. The emphasis on schooling and being taught good manners, and additionally the idea that children do not yet have the ability adults possess, indicated that learning also was seen as an element of childhood.

Three core elements of adulthood were further identified as marriage, ability and responsibility. A part of being adult was seen as being married and having established a family. Ability was presented as an element of adulthood juxtaposed with lack of ability as an element of childhood. Ability was exemplified as finding needs, such as money, food and clothes. But a moral aspect was also recognised through having the ability to know the difference between good and bad, and being able to make that choice. This again was related to the learning aspect of childhood, and suggested childhood as a period of learning how to be adults, with ability to act correctly. Finally, ability led to responsibility. Children were described as dependent on support from adults, and adults' possession of ability accordingly gave them a responsibility of giving support to their children.

5.2.1 Dimensions of childhood

5.2.1.1 <u>'Child-like' behaviour</u>
Freedom to be 'childish'
According to my research participants, the tendency of acting 'childish' was one central aspect of childhood. In response to a question on differences between children and adults, 13 year old Farida said: "The one can do childish things and the other adult things. Their behaviour is not the same". She continued; childish things are such as "...going to school and being spoiled".

The expression 'childish' was used by several participants and covered a variety of activities and behaviour carried out by children, such as playing, going to school and being spoiled. The term 'being spoiled' covered situations like getting things, being given benefits such as less work or less responsibility, and being given more freedom to do mistakes. As noted by Emmanuel in the quotation below, these elements were seen as advantages of being children.

The benefits of being a child should be to be educated and to have freedom to do his own things according to what he likes to do. ... like to play, study and to get different things like exercise books, clothes and mosquito net to protect from malaria (Emmanuel, age 13).

I noted that several children stressed that a child should 'get things', or 'get presents', as some said, often referred to in relation with 'being spoiled'. This was something that made a child happy and it was seen as a desired aspect of childhood. Still, things or presents were exemplified as school material, clothes, fruit, mosquito net and ball, to mention some. I hence suggest that children's ideas about 'being spoiled' predominantly, but no exclusively, covered basic needs and material.

Selemani (age 10) introduced the expression 'crying for things'. He said: A child "...likes to play games a lot, he cries for school. He cries for shoes and crying for bag and crying for exercise books and pencils, crying for socks". Additionally in one of the group drawings created under the topic 'a good childhood', a child was drawn crying (see figure 3).

Figure 3 A 'good childhood' - group drawing.

The group presented the drawing as follows: "The young brother is crying because he doesn't have school material, and then he gets it. He will soon start school". This drawing and the comment above, illustrated the same childish behaviour. The way they apply the expression of 'crying' in this context, is not referred to crying of misery, rather crying to get one's will. In other words it is a behaviour used as a strategy, a way of exercising their agency. I identified a similar form of behaviour in one of the role plays created by a group of research participants, illustrating children's way of behaving in different age groups (see appendix G, excerpt 1). In this situation, Justin, a six year old boy, the youngest of his siblings, was refusing to do what

his father told him to. Justin was not acting rude or provocative; rather he took on a 'childish' behaviour, acting younger than he normally would. He was complaining that he felt cold and that he did not want to wash himself. He was negotiating his role as a child for his own benefit, the result being that his father gave him a small amount of money to use at school, and Justin suddenly felt better and did as he was told. Justin illustrated how this advantage of childhood could intentionally be used for his own benefit.

For 8 year old Juma, an advantage of childhood was perceived as being given more freedom to do mistakes:

> A child is an angel. He can do a mistake and be forgiven, because he doesn't know better. A child doesn't know anything. Like a child can eat with the left hand and be forgiven, because he doesn't know better.

In this community, punishment as a response to the act of doing mistakes was quite common. My participants expressed that they were told off and being beaten for mistakes or disobedience, both at home and at school. This was also observed. However, as illustrated, some participants also expressed that their status as children gave them, or at least was supposed to give them, more freedom to do mistakes. Because children were still in the process of learning how to behave as adults, certain 'childish' behaviour, not accepted by adults was at some degree accepted by children. Another example showing that childhood allowed a different behaviour than adulthood, was given by Amina (age 12); "Children do child-things, like they can tell their parents that they are hungry. Adults can't do that". As also expressed in the written texts presented above; due to their lack of ability children were allowed and expected to depend on help from others, whereas adults were expected to manage themselves.

Combining childish and non-childish activities; play and work
Playing was considered a part of childhood among my research participants. As 10 year old Selemani said; a child is a person who "likes to play games a lot". Playing was mentioned as one of the characteristics of a child and by almost all participants as one of the elements that made them feel happy. It also emerged as one of the aspects of their shared understanding of a 'good childhood'.

In school yards the two most popular games were soccer and 'rede', a ball game played in teams. Another popular game was 'mdako', a game using stones, played on the ground. My daily observations additionally revealed a variety of ways of playing after school,

such as jumping rope, playing with broken wheels, playing in the ocean, acrobatics on the beach, drumming or dancing. In the town of Bagamoyo, various arenas where children could learn painting, playing drums and dancing were found, though not for everyone. Children attending these classes or programs would normally either come from a family with ability to pay for extra classes or with special contacts, or they would be accepted into a program due to their under privileged positions in the community.

It is however important to remember that the phenomenon of playing can be understood in different terms. Some of my participants also mentioned activities such as visiting friends, acting, watching pictures (from magazines), singing in a church choir and going to church or mosque as playing, whereas other participants considered some of these activities as learning. Moreover, through my observations I would, as a foreigner, most easily look for those forms of playing as I knew from my own childhood, and by that maybe miss some of the local forms of playing, unfamiliar for me (Punch, 2003). Most of the equipments children were playing with in this community were for instance handmade, often out of local utensils, in addition to making use of the environment around them. They did not have access to commercial toys familiar from a more globalised childhood culture.

Even though children obviously did play, enjoyed playing and understood play as being an important part of a good childhood, playing were not given much attention in my research participants' accounts, for instance in their written texts describing their daily activities. Here play was mentioned naturally as a part of their activities, however not highlighted or elaborated in any way. The following texts are examples of how children described their daily activities:

> In the morning, when I wake up, I greet parent then I take shower, I go to school. When I come back home from school I help mum with work at home, such as to wash dishes. When I finish to wash dishes, I sweep house, when I finish I go to play, then I go back home, I eat, I sleep, in the morning I go to school. When I come back from school I help mum with work, I play. The day that I remain home, I go to farm (Juma, age 8).

> I fetch water. I sweep inside and outside. I wash dishes and my clothes. I help mum with work at home. I play. I eat. I sleep. I go to school. I study. I write. Life is hard. I obey. I stay with mum and dad (Shamira, age 11).

It is difficult to say why play was not given more attention, however I suggest that playing for these children was not usually scheduled as a certain time for leisure or play, yet more something they did in-between or together with their other activities. Punch (2003) has

demonstrated how children she studied in rural Bolivia mixed play with work and school. She found them playing on their way to do other activities, before and after and also while they were doing activities, such as fetching water or scaring birds from crops. In Growing up Global, Katz (2004) provides excellent descriptions of how work and play are intertwined in children's everyday lives in a rural village of Sudan. She explains;

> They worked while they played and played while they worked, they worked around their play and they played in the interstices of their work, they participated in tasks that were playful and play that was "workful", and they engaged in play activities whose focus was work (Katz, 2004, p. 60).

The way these dimensions of childhood were intertwined, may have made play more hidden than it tends to be in the minority world, visual but also in the manner oneself define what kind of activity one is engaged in. And by limited use of commercial toys, children could engage in their playful activities wherever and whenever.

As will be further elaborated in the next chapter regarding 'expectations of children' and 'children's position within the family', helping their family collectives with work tasks, was a natural part of childhood. Washing dishes or clothes, fetching water, sweeping, helping at 'shamba' (family field) or helping to cook were activities mentioned by children as daily activities. My participants primarily expressed enjoyment about taking part in work-related activities for their family collective. Some children stated that there were no chores they did not like doing, while others mentioned a few. Activities repeated as less enjoyable or activities they would prefer not doing, were for instance grounding maize or rice in a traditional way. This was heavy work and they easily got tired in their arms. Another was being sent to buy cigarettes, which was unpopular because people could think that them as children bought cigarettes for themselves, and people might give them bad comments. A girl also mentioned selling food or selling 'mandazi'(sweet, fried bread) as something she did not enjoy doing. This activity required her to walk around in the public, calling for attention, something she was not comfortable with.

As also noted by Twum-Danso (2009 a), children were gradually given more advanced tasks, requiring more responsibility. Many children repeated that they enjoyed being given work which matched their ability, whereas the contrary; being given work that did not match their ability, made them sad. A girl expressed her concern about cooking food for her family. If she did not do it well, the food would be ruined and they would not have food to eat that day. Caring for younger siblings was also noted as challenging, because the younger

siblings could be difficult to control sometimes. However, the predominantly enjoyment children expressed in regard to activities they defined as work or helping, I suggest derived from a feeling of contributing and being valuable (see chapter six), a feeling of learning (see next part of this chapter) and not to mention these activities being intertwined with play.

Unlike many places in the minority world where play tend to be age and gender segregated; in my study area older children often played with younger siblings, and with children of different genders, which also made them combine play and responsibility. Young girls, especially, carrying their younger sibling on the back in traditional kanga, were a common sight. These children assisted their parents by taking responsibility and taking care of younger siblings, yet the responsibility could be combined with play. I observed this close up especially at a children's art centre run by local volunteers. Here children came to play, to do home work or to learn a variety of art, but they were often accompanied by their younger siblings. Here the responsibility was shared among friends, including me, when I was present. Children would come straight to me and place their younger siblings in my arms, for them to play. Babies were learning to dance as they learned to walk, toddling and falling among older, dancing children and the sound of drums.

Children demonstrated their combination of work and play alongside other childish behavior, also in role plays they created. In one situation (see appendix G, excerpt 1) the two siblings, Justin (age 6) and Saada (age 9) were at the 'shamba' where they were supposed to dig, yet with their father gone, they spent time playing instead. Saada was the one encouraging Justin to play with her. They were competing and in a playful way arguing, as children and siblings normally do. When the father came back and found them playing instead of working, he blamed Saada as the oldest one, and let Justin sit down and rest, even if he had been playing along with his sister. Through the whole role play they demonstrated that it was easier for Justin to get away with things, being the youngest one. Yet Saada also knew how to negotiate her role as a child and make use of the advantages of childhood. She pushed limits when it came to playing instead of working.

In another moment of the same role play, the father brought his oldest son, Dulla, to do work. He told his two youngest children to eat, play and wash the dishes while they were gone. Saada replied: "I will play first". Continuing, in a conversation between Justin and Saada, concerning the money he got from his father, Justin acted worried that his sister would steal his money and did not want to share with her. Saada replied: "Fine, I will also get mine". Suggesting that this was a strategy she also carried out at times.

At the end of this role play, Emmanuel, the child-participant acting the role of the father, explained how he perceived the difference between these three fictional children, their behavior and the expectations he as a father had towards them due to their age, as follows:

> This one (6 year old Justin) is being spoiled, he has to be taken more care of. He refuses to go to school, he can be crying for money before going to school. This one (15 year old Dulla) is not spoiled, he understands what you tell him. If you tell him to do something he does it. He didn't want to be spoiled. This one (9 year old Saada) wanted to be a little bit spoiled, but not that much. If he gave her something to do then sometimes she would do something else, like playing (Emmanuel, age 13).

10 year old Selemani, who explained that a child was someone who liked to play a lot and that he 'cried for things', further suggested an understanding of childhood including aspects of both work and play. I asked him if there were anything else describing a child and the boy replied: "He washes dishes". The natural way of mentioning these activities together I think illustrates the nature of the combination of these activities, consistent with children's written texts about their daily activities and my observations.

Moreover Faraji (age 11) gave me this description of a child: "A child is someone that helps at home, someone that likes to be spoiled and wants to stay without work". His explanation suggested the responsibility of doing one's share of work at home as an element of childhood, yet wanting to play, being spoiled, trying to get away with less work and also getting away with less work, were also elements of childhood. This combination has to be acknowledged as a dimension of the local meaning of childhood in Bagamoyo.

5.2.1.2 A learning period

My findings indicated that children in many ways found themselves in a period of learning. They expressed rather compelling that they still had things they needed to learn, ability and knowledge to gain before they could manage themselves. As Mrisho (age 12) reflected upon the situation of a fictive 16 year old boy staying by himself, not attending school but earning his living by driving a 'piki piki'[27] (see chapter six, in regard to 'childhood transitions'), he

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[27] 'Piki piki' is a Swahili word for a motorbike, transporting people and almost any kind of goods for money. Driving a piki piki is a male specific job which emerged quite recently in Bagamoyo. Most of them driving with no protection, it is a job which often leads to injuries, however popular among boys and men, and the competition for customers is a part of the job. Young piki piki drivers often rent motorbikes by older men. These boys thus have to spend parts of their daily income to pay for both fuel and rent, meaning that they at the end of the day are left with not much income.

claimed that this was not an ok way of living for a child at 16. "Many things can happen, and he doesn't know and understand. Kids should go to school and learn" (Mrisho, age 12). 13 year old Umi further explained the difference between children and adults as follows: A child is "...a small person who does not know things. ... A child cannot find food, an adult can. And an adult understands the difference between good and bad".

I noted that children were seen as lacking ability and knowledge not only physically and logically but also in the moral aspect; knowing the difference between good and bad, and being able to make the right choice. 9 year old Rajabu said; "Children have some good behaviour and some bad behaviour". And parents were seen as important in this respect. Emmanuel (age 13) said that one of parents' responsibilities were to teach their children good manners, and further that if children did not want to go to school, parents should force them to go. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, in attention to children's social position within the family; some children argued that parents sometimes had to beat their children if they did a mistake, because children had to learn. This shows that the need for discipline of children for their socialisation was recognised among research participants.

I noticed that research participants recognised the challenges of being an adult in their society. 10 year old Selemani said: "You (adult) have to struggle to find to pay bills of house and everything for me. People do it for me. I eat free and live free. And I am secured, you have to secure yourself". The expression 'to struggle' was commonly used, along with 'finding money' or 'finding food'. These expressions referred to the everyday life being tough with challenges of providing one's family with needs, based on no regular income guaranteeing these. My participants understood this as the responsibility of adults and thus also addressed the benefit of it for themselves as children, having someone else struggling *for* them. As Damisi (age 11) said: "My advantage (as a child) is that people bring me to school (give the child the opportunity to attend school by providing what is needed for this to happen). ...Someone is looking for clothes and food for me".

This understanding of the difference between the adult role and the child role was shared among participants. Children were considered 'better off' in the sense that they had less responsibility, less 'struggle'. Adults were considered responsible for themselves and their possible family, giving them hardship. And the reason for this division was children's lack of ability; "Children don't have ability to find money, they are dependent" (Godwin, age 9). This boy expressed a view that was shared by most of the participants, though articulated

in slightly different ways. The main message, repeated, was that children did not have the ability to find money and moreover to find clothes, food and bringing themselves to school. This lack of ability made children dependent on adults; alone children would not get their needs fulfilled. This dependency was mostly expressed indirectly, not using the expression 'dependent' but some, such as Godwin, voiced it directly. They demonstrated a development of more ability through childhood, showing that younger children did not have the same ability as older children had. These finding addresses a local understanding of childhood as a period of development and learning, a process of becoming adults.

Some participants described activities such as washing clothes, cooking food and cleaning fish, among others, as learning-activities. The explanation given was that they learned how to do it by doing it. They also emphasised the enjoyment of doing tasks in accompany with others. It was indicated that they enjoyed learning how to do things well and that they found learning important for their future. Rajabu (age 9) uttered that children should begin doing work at home at the age of eight; " it's good to learn the work early. If parents are sick, then you know how to do things". I earlier referred to Katz's (2004) compelling arguments that play and work was intertwined among children's daily activities in rural Sudan. Continuing, Katz argues that learning was a part of work and play. She observed how children gained knowledge and competence through both working and playing. In agreement with Katz's (ibid.) observations, children in Bagamoyo gained useful skills in interaction with others; parents, older siblings, other children or other adults. By observing, assisting, being corrected and further practicing, children gradually learned and could take on more advanced tasks.

Schooling

Schooling was articulated as a natural and important part of childhood among my research participants. To the question; 'what is the greatest difference between children and adults', 8 year old Juma gave this reply with ease; "Kids will go to school and adult to work". And participants replied in compliance with him, illustrating that going to school was one of the most visible and concrete characteristics of children. Attending school and studying were also stated as part of their responsibilities as children. Juma described the responsibilities of a child covering; "To go to school, help with work at home. To greet parents in the morning and to play".

When creating their role plays, the issue of schooling was consistently included. In plays where attention was given on the expectations of different age groups, children in

primary and nursery school-age, would always attend school, illustrating that this was among others an expected and proper behaviour for them. Siblings in secondary school age did in most of these plays not attend school, instead they assisted their parents with household activities, such as preparing food and assisting with agricultural activities. If the oldest sibling, in secondary school-age, was a boy he would also often contribute economically to the household. Continuing, in plays focused on the variety of expectations within a family, school also played a significant role. 'Good children' went to school and studied at home, while 'bad children' talked negatively about school and sometimes, in contrast to the lies they told their parents; they did not go to school at all. 'Good parents' paid school fees and made sure their children went to school and studied well, whereas 'bad parents' in some situations made children work instead of going to school. This illustrates my participants' understanding and view of school as both a natural part of childhood and children's lives, and also the importance and 'correctness' of it.

Nonetheless, the school's significant place in their lives was also revealed in their daily worries and joys. 11 year old Karima uttered: "I don't want to fail my examination. I don't want to remain in the same class. I don't want someone to stop me to read". While Damisi (age 11), explained: "I don't like to not go to school. I don't like to be late for school. I don't like to go to school toilets". Despite the common joy expressed by my research participants about having the opportunity to attend school, these girls, along with others, demonstrated how issues related to school were common everyday worries. Worries could range from not having enough school material or good enough school uniforms, parents not paying school contributions, not providing them with 'money for use' (to buy snack at school, such as cassava, a shrubby root vegetable, staple food among the population, or mandazi) or not giving them enough time to study at home. Worries also included getting punished by teachers, failing in exams, being bullied at school and using the school toilets.

13 year old Emmanuel made three different drawings of what made him sad and one of them illustrated himself with his teacher (see figure 4). The teacher holds a stick. Emmanuel explained; "I get sad to be beaten by the teacher at school".
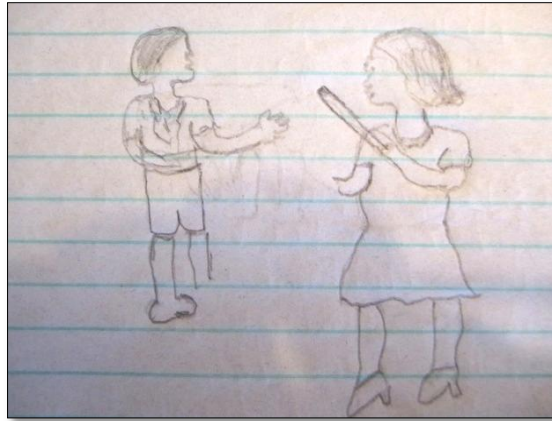
Figure 4 'What makes me sad' - Emmanuel's drawing.

Children in governmental schools in Tanzania are not provided with school material in school, this is expected to be provided by their parents. The material is needed for the children to study well and in addition children sometimes experience to be punished by teachers if they do not bring school material. The same goes for school contribution of different kinds. This puts children in a vulnerable situation where they feel dependent on their parents. As 9 year old Ramadhani explained: "If the school sends him to get money (school contribution), he has to get it from parents, so that he will not be blamed". If a child's care takers do not provide he or she with what is required, the child is the one who will be exposed for punishment at school. In this manner school can in addition to enjoyment become an issue of daily concerns for children.

5.2.1.3 Dependency

My research participants expressed dependency as an element of childhood and most directly related to a lack of ability. I wanted to explore this further through their perspectives on familial relationships. Children in this community lived in a variety of family collectives, with their experiences of this also varying. As I will touch upon later; these family collectives were dynamic, with the composition of them changing. Through individual conversations I sought to learn more about these children's understanding of the 'family' concept and how they perceived children's dependency on their parents. Research participants shared with me their ideas on what significance parents had for a child, how life could be for a child living without parents and especially how life could be living with someone else than he or she's biological parents. Their perspectives on these issues continued to suggest an understanding of children as dependent on parents, yet furthermore their thoughts suggested an understanding of a necessity for children to stay with their biological parents.

To begin with, 11 year old Faraji uttered some ideas which stood out from the majority: "Most children need to stay with their parents. But if they stay with other relatives, like aunt and uncle and they take care of them, it can be ok". Faraji was not residing with any of his biological parents; he, at the time, stayed together with his grandparents and one aunt. Reflecting on his own family situation, he said: "It's ok because everything I would have gotten with mum and dad, I get with my grandmother and grandfather. It's ok". Faraji acknowledged a significance of staying with biological parents. By saying that 'most children need to stay with their parents', he presented himself as a 'different' child. At the same time he recognised the possibility of having an ok life, even if staying with someone else than biological parents. Nonetheless, I want to point out his choice of words: '... But if they stay with other relatives, like aunt and uncle and they take care of them, it can be ok'. With this statement Faraji suggested a requirement for the success of this situation, the requirement being 'that they take care of them'. And this corresponds with the common concern among the majority of my participants.

Convincingly, almost all research participants agreed that to have a good life, or to be happy, a child would need to stay together with biological parents. Their arguments revealed in this manner:

> "Because she cannot stay alone. ... She will never get clothes" (Latifa, age 9). "It's important because they teach them (children) good behaviour" (Shamira, age 11). "Because they (children) need to get food from parents. ...(and) they (parents) bring them to school (pay for their school fees)" (Amir, age 13). "You need them (parents) to not miss your needs" (Zarifa, age 10). "Because you don't have money, then you can't go to school, you don't eat" (Lydia, age 12).

I further sought to find out how these children perceived the situation of children living together with someone else than biological parents. 11 year old Damisi said: "They can. ... Because other people have love with children". The majority of participants did however, not agree with Damisi's statement, rather they suggested that a child could only be happy staying with biological parents. Their arguments primarily illustrated a concern for not being taken good care of by other adults, in addition to emotionally feeling sad, missing their parents. 13 year old Umi explained; Parents "...teach you good manners, they tell you what not to do...other relatives can take care of her... (But) she will be used to her parents. And others will not treat her the same way...she can be given hard work". Ashura (age 12) continued; "They would treat her bad and not give her food. They would give her hard work".

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She also noted the emotional aspect of not living with one's own parents: "You would miss your parents, every time you will think about your parents. And they can treat you bad" (Ashura). Continuing, Juma (age 8) explained that it was not ok to stay with other relatives; "Because some people can be bad. They can beat you and make you pain. ... Life cannot be good without parents". Research participants articulated some main concerns of what could happen if a child stayed with others than one's biological parents, including; to be differentiated from other children, being treated bad, for instance beaten, and being given work that was too hard for their ability. These perspectives were in agreement with experiences discovered among fostered children in Ethiopia, finding themselves in inferior positions; being given more work, less food and generally being treated differently from other children in a family collective. (Abebe, 2011).

Evans (2004) has also indicated that children in Tanzania experiences unfair treatment in family collectives. According to her, step mothers appeared to have a special tendency to neglect step sons, whereas men living in polygamous relationships tended to rank their wives, and hence also their children. Further, when a mother married a man who was not the father of her child, she could in general expect him to take care of her child (ibid.).

It was obvious that even if these children grew up in a community where various forms of family collectives were common, they to a large extent shared an understanding of the biological family as the better alternative. They saw biological parents as best suited to take care of their children. 12 year old Mrisho stayed with his uncle (see narrative in chapter six). As he created a drawing of his family, he drew his mother, father and sister. None of these persons however resided together, neither with him nor each other. He explained:

> A family is mother, father and children, where the parents take care of their children and make
> sure they get food and get to go to school. But it's different for me, because they are not there.
> ... My uncle is my family now (Mrisho, age 12).

Mrisho's account suggested how the perception of the family concept and expectations related to it, may be in conflict with their own experiences of a family.

5.2.1.4   Interdependency

In addition to an understanding of children as dependent, my data material suggest interdependency within family collectives. Not only did research participants express that children needed parents, yet also that adults needed children. A few children further indicated

that it was an adult's responsibility to have a family and to have children. 13 year old Umi explained how she thought life would be without children:

> When you have children they will help you with small work. And if you don't have children it will be difficult. ... It will be hard, because you are alone, and there is a lot of work you are supposed to do, so you are supposed to be more (Umi).

Her thoughts are consistent with my research participants' perception of the purpose of having children, which will be elaborated in chapter six; children's contributions to the family collective, in present time and in the future. Having children, having a family means that the workload can be shared among more people. As Ramadhani (age 9) said: Family is important "...because they help each other, it's about division of labour, you do different things. Maybe someone is sick, you help each other".

Ramadhani's utterance serves as an example of what many participants expressed in varies ways; division of labour and helping each other in cases of sickness were mentioned by several children as important aspects of family. As Hollos (2002, p. 176) argues; "Work is not considered to be the adults' domain where children 'help in', rather, it is what everybody does for the mutual benefit of the family". My participants seemed to understand children primarily as a part of a family and not just as individuals. Helping each other out, as addressed by Ramadhani and Umi is related to an intergenerational contract of reciprocity (Twum-Danso, 2009 a). This unwritten contract leads to an expectation that if you give someone something, you will expect something in return. And in a familial relationship this for instance means that children are expected to give something back to their parents who brought them into life and who protect and provide for them as children.

In the next chapter Mrisho's narrative will be presented. His story illustrates how family collectives are dynamic and in transition, and this is connected to interdependency. Children move in order to get their needs, like in Mrisho's case. But children also move in order to help others. During my time in Bagamoyo I got to know Saidi, a boy in secondary school-age. When I first met him he lived together with his grandmother, whose' biological age was unknown, but whoobviously was very old. Saidi's parents stayed in Bagamoyo, yet he had lived together with his grandmother as long as he could remember. The reason he was sent to his grandmother was that his parents were not able to care for him. Since they lived in the same town, he occasionally saw his parents, however not on a regular basis, and he could not count on them, they did not support him.

When he came to stay with his grandmother, he was just a young child and she took care of him. Now he, as a teenage boy, assisted his grandmother, who did not manage to do much domestic work. There was an obvious interdependent relationship between the two of them. The grandmother's small income came from renting out a room. Saidi attended secondary school, supported by a youth centre but contributed economically through occasionally paid work, when needed. This was physically hard work which he expressed he did not enjoy doing; he thought it was bad work for someone as young as him. Still, it was the only way he managed to find money. Saidi assisted his grandmother with all kinds of work at the household, especially in the garden where they had some fruits and vegetables. The grandmother provided Saidi with a home, a family, and she cooked food for him, with his assistance when he was at home. They were dependent on each other.

While I lived in Bagamoyo, Saidi was forced to make a difficult decision. He wanted to continue his education, yet he knew that the combination of lack of money and not good enough grades would not allow him to move on to form 5. This worried him, as he perceived education to be his opportunity to improve his life. And not getting more education he did not see a bright future. The youth centre advised him to improve his grades, and then maybe they would be able to provide him with an international sponsor, supporting him further with his education. Despite the fact that he wanted to, he did not see how he would be able. After spending hours walking to and from school every day, coming back he had work to do at home for his grandmother, sometimes he had to spend time on his paid work and in addition he had classes to attend at the youth centre in order to receive the support. His solution became to reside at his school during the week and some weekends, where he could spend more time on school work. He shared his concerns about leaving his grandmother, yet he felt that it was the best thing to do.

Visiting him one of the first weekends he came home to assist his grandmother, I met one of his younger cousins. As he left his grandmother to stay at the school, another grandchild was sent to live with their grandmother, in order to assist her. Saidi's story illustrates the interdependency within a family collective and further how this can lead to the dynamic dimension of the family collectives. This is in agreement with Ansell and van Blerk's (2004) accounts of children's migration as a coping strategy for households/families affected by AIDS in Southern Africa. They describe how children migrate between

households[28] both in order to meet their own needs but also in order to meet wider households' needs.

Being a part of a family did not seem to end as a child grew up. As will be elaborated in the next chapter; many participants expressed that children would help in the future, and this was one of the reasons to get children: "Because they know they (children) will help them later when they get older". Is that the only reason? "Yes". (Lydia, age 12).

5.3 Summary

In this chapter I have examined local meanings childhood present among children in Bagamoyo. I identified three core elements of childhood, arising from children's ideas of childhood in contrast to adulthood. These were understood as child-like behaviour, dependence and learning, juxtaposed with marriage, ability and responsibility as elements of adulthood. Elaborating on these core dimensions of childhood, I have emphasised that the local model of childhood includes a combination of activities which from a Western perspective would be seen as child-like and non child-like activities; play and work. Further I have stressed that learning is a significant aspect of local childhood. And finally, in addition to dependency, interdependency has been demonstrated as an element of children's relations with their families.

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[28] Ansell and van Blerk (2004), in this article, use the concept of household to describe a group of people normally living together and eating together, in terms of sharing economy and livelihood.

6 DATA INTERPRETATION – PART TWO

This chapter presents the second part of my data interpretation. Firstly I will present three childhood narratives, followed by a more general description of my research participants' familial backgrounds and perspectives on their own lived realities. Next I will explore children's ideas of what constitutes a 'good childhood' and a 'bad childhood'. I will continue by examining my research participants' understanding of children's social positions within families and moreover how they articulate expectations attached to childhood. Finally I will explore children's perspectives on childhood transitions.

6.1 Narratives of childhood

With the objective of contextualising and exemplifying my research participants' social, familial and economic backgrounds, three childhood narratives will now be presented. They are predominantly based on individual conversation and are conceptually focused on children's everyday realities in the context of family life, relationships within the family collective and subjective perceptions of their own childhood. These three narratives illustrate diversities and commonalities among childhoods in the District of Bagamoyo, which will further be demonstrated through data material revealing my research participants' ways of perceiving their own childhoods and the community life they are part of.

Furaha is 10 years old and lives in Sauri.

This is a tree beside my church (see figure 5). This is my mother and me, we went to the church. This is the priest, he comes in a car from Bagamoyo town. And these are people sitting in the church, waiting for the priest to come. I go to church every Sunday and I sing in the church choir. I like going to church and sing in the choir. And here (pointing at the drawing), in the back of the church, there is a tree, there is a water tap and flowers. There is a house close to the church, it is broken. It's not our house, we don't live there, not close to the church.

In our house we are six; mother, father, me, one sister and two brothers. I am the youngest one. But we don't share the same mother and father, I am the only one with my mother and father. My mother stays at home, she is a homemaker; she cooks for us. My father is self employed. I don't know what he does. He told me once that he would go and get work at the water plant factory, but I don't know. He was a driver before, but now he cannot do it anymore because he has diabetes. I don't know how old my siblings are, they are done with primary school, but they don't study at secondary school. My sister is sick and my brothers drive 'piki piki'. We have a small 'shamba' and we have chicken.
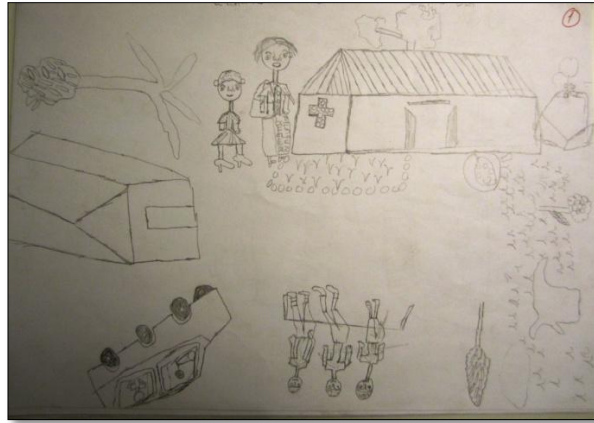
Figure 5 'My family' - Furaha's drawing.

When I come home from school I wash dishes, then I go to play. And I do extra classes. When I was small we lived in Dar es Salaam and there I went to a nursery school where I learnt English. That is why I sometimes understand a little bit what you say when you speak English (referring to me as foreign researcher). But these days I don't know much. They don't teach us English well here. I have extra classes, but I don't know much. But I want to continue school, I want to go to secondary school.

Things I do together with my family is ceremonies, like weddings. And we eat together, sometimes, but not every day. If I feel sad, I go to my father. I'm afraid of my mother, she is strict. I like her too, but not very much. The thing that makes me happy about my family, is when we stay together. The thing that makes me sad about my family, is to be beaten. They beat me if I do mistakes, like if I fight with someone, or if I refuse to wash dishes. And sometimes my brother is drunk and gets into trouble, he destroys the peace for others. That makes me sad.

I consider my life as good, because I have parents and all my family here. And my father is rich, he has a lot of money. But even if someone is rich, there can be problems, like an accident or there can be electricity shock. We have electricity at home.

(The last day I was in Sauri to meet with my research participants, one of Furaha's brothers was in an accident driving the piki piki. There is only one medical dispensary in the village, but Furaha's father is one of very few in this village with a car. Her brother was first brought to the hospital in Bagamoyo and later to the hospital in Dar es Salaam. The last update I got before I left Bagamoyo, was that he was paralyzed from his neck and not able to communicate.)

Maisha is 9 years old and lives in Bagamoyo town.

In the drawing (see figure 6), this is my mother, my father, my younger sister, my brothers and me. I also have two more siblings. But we are only, really four in the family; mother, father and two children. These two brothers (pointing at the drawing) they come sometimes and sometimes not. I don't know how we are related.

Figure 6 'My family' - Maisha's drawing.

My mother lives in Dar es Salaam, I don't see her often. I think she is a homewife. My father sells chipsi (preparing and selling fried potato chips on the streets). I stay with my father and my grandmother (mother of her father), with my sister and brothers. We have chickens, but no other animals. My grandfather is dead. My grandmother used to sell fish earlier, but she doesn't do that now. She is the one cooking food for everyone at home. My responsibility at home is to fetch water for use, do all my laundry and do the dishes.

I think my life is bad, because we have to beg even to get money for food. We have to beg to my uncle to get money for food. His job is to show television[29]. I don't like that with my life, it makes me sad to be a beggar.

When I am 20 years old I want to have a house and I want to work, I want to sell clothes.

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[29] Since most people do not have television at home, there are several small boots where people can pay to come and watch TV.

Mrisho is 12 years old and lives in Bagamoyo town.

For a long time ago, I don't know how long ago, I lived with my mother and father. They got separated and mum and I left to Nakuru. My mother had to take care of me alone. Why did my father leave my mum? It makes me sad. I started to get sick, like I got wounds and rashes. (He shows me the scars he still has, spread over his body, arms, stomach, back). Then mum started to try to find my father. She wanted him to support me. But father didn't want to help, he stigmatized me and mum because I had the rashes.

Figure 7 My family - Mrisho's drawing.

My father works as a police, but he has a new woman. I stayed there for a while, but my father was also gone for a while. When he came back, I told him I needed help, I needed to stay with someone else. So my dad found my uncle (the brother of his mother) in Bagamoyo.

Now I have lived here with my uncle for something like a year. It's only the two of us. My uncle has nine children himself, but they have all moved out. My mum comes sometimes and sometimes she brings money. But I never know if she comes or not. We don't communicate because we don't have a phone. She lives in Dar es Salaam but she doesn't have a new family. My father, I don't see him. He lives far away and he doesn't take responsibility, he doesn't bring me money. Why did he leave me for my uncle? He has other children but he doesn't want me. It makes me sad.

My uncle sweeps in offices, but sometimes he doesn't have money. I have a sister here in Bagamoyo. We have the same mother but not the same father. She lives with her father and his new family. Sometimes when I don't have money I go to my sister. If she has, she helps me, maybe with 1000 shillings or so (around 0,63 USD). But she is still only in form 4 (form 4 in secondary school, means she is probably 16-17 years old). Sometimes I stay with them and eat. Her father is ok with it, sometimes he lets me eat, he doesn't give money though. But his woman doesn't approve, because it is one extra mouth to feed you know. (Additionally I observed that one of Mrisho's teachers supported him economically from time to time, with small amounts).

In my family drawing (see figure 7), I drew myself with my mother, father and sister. Because when I think of family, I think of mother, father and children, where the parents take care of their children and make sure they get food and get to go to school. But it's different for

me, because they are not there. My uncle is my family now. I don't communicate well with my mother or father.

I also drew a plate with banana and mango on the table. I only designed it (laughing), I cannot find that at home. It has happened, but it's very seldom.

Sometimes my uncle is not at home when I come back from school and it's difficult, because we only have one key, and then I cannot get in. Sometimes I don't feel like a child, because like, when there is a celebration like Eid (Islamic holiday) other children get new clothes, but I don't get any. Then I stay at home and I feel different from the others. I don't go to the beach with my family, like others do when it's Eid. Sometimes I feel like that. I fetch water alone every day and it makes me sad. Sometimes I don't have enough school material. My uncle doesn't have money, yet sometimes he goes to buy chips with a woman, and I don't really understand. I don't understand how he can have money for that when he doesn't have money for food for us, or school material. But compared to my situation before I moved to my uncle, my health is better now, I was thinner before.

The above narratives of childhood represent experiences of growing up in contemporary Bagamoyo. They indicate how children find growing up within family collectives, revealing the complexities of child-family relationships. The complexities are in part the result of differences in parental status of children, often intersected by the capacity of the caring adults to support children's needs and expectations of food, clothing and schooling. For some children in wealthier collectives, there are plentiful resources while for other children in less privileged collectives there is an everyday struggle to meet basic needs, also experienced by the children. Striking similarities in the above three narratives can be identified, yet despite these children living in rather similar geographic and economic environment of Bagamoyo, diversities in the parental status strongly shape their everyday experiences of childhood.

All three children had in common growing up in family collectives where the families do not exclusively include nuclear family members, rather with extended family members. However the compositions and the experiences of growing up in them were quite different. Maisha and Mrisho's narratives indicated an insecurity which I did not identify in Furaha's narrative. Not knowing from day to day, if the family collective would have enough money for needs, was a part of their everyday life. They also from time to time, experienced need for support from someone outside the family collective. Maisha identified herself as a beggar, and felt bad about this. Furaha on the other hand considered her own life as good and found herself being part of a wealthy family collective. Furaha had been taught English at a nursery school, she attended extra classes and expressed confidence, enough confidence to

make critical remarks about the education at her school. She further expressed her wish to continue her education. This form of confidence was not found in Maisha and Mrisho's narratives. Maisha did not see herself continue her education for long, but wanted to have her own, small business. Mrisho additionally experienced insecurity about his family. He never knew if his mother would come or not and if she would bring money or not. He felt that his father did not want him and had experienced to be left by him twice. Living without his mother and father and in a less privileged position, sometimes made him feel different from other children.

Furaha was a Christian and suggested by her drawing that religion was a great part of her life. Mrisho was a Muslim and missed having a 'proper' family especially during religious ceremonies and holidays. Religion was a great part of many of my research participants lives and this was acknowledged by children even if they belonged to different religions.

Out of eighteen responses from my research participants, nine of them said they were living together with both a mother and a father (not necessarily both biological parents) (see appendix H, table 4). Three of them said they were living together with none of their parents (yet other care takers) and the remaining six said they were living together with one of their parents (and for some of them also additional care takes). Most of the children expressed that their family collectives included extended family members or that their own family members lived elsewhere. Several children were not able to explain how they were related to some of the members of their family collectives. It is however important to remember that these family collectives are dynamic and the living situation often in a continuous change. Mrisho's story presented above is a typical case in point. Mrisho's living situation had changed several times, both in location and combination of members of the family collective. He tried to make use of his extended family, her half sister living in another family collective, yet at times experienced to be left behind as not a proper member of this collective.

Nearly all of my participants came from family collectives with a 'shamba', yet none of them described them as large. What they cultivated was mostly for their own use, yet some participants said they sold parts of it. In that case it was sold at their homes or by wandering around in the streets. Nearly all children told me that they had chickens at home, only a very small number had more animals, such as cows and goats. The importance of the families own resources could be identified in the family drawings of many participants. When I asked them to draw their family, surprisingly many of them included chickens, cows or mango trees in their drawings.

The majority of the mothers did not have paid work outside the household and farm. A few of them sold homemade food such as 'mandazi' (sweet, fried bread) or fish outside their home. Three of the mothers worked as tailors and one mother worked as a teacher. One fourth of the research participant's fathers had no paid work outside the work they conducted at the 'shamba'. A few fathers were 'fundis' (craftsmen) and others were fisherman, witch doctor, priest, drumming teacher or selling 'chipsi' (fried potatoes). This means that quite a number of my participants were living with parents or guardians without employment which provided them with a fixed salary. Even if they had jobs, many of them had jobs which did not provide fixed salaries and further did not provide a very predictable and safe financial situation, which was one of the greater challenges for people in this community. Children's daily lives, the quality of it and the experience of it, are highly related to their parents' life situation, their employment, work-hours, economical situation, housing etc. And again the parents' situation is related to wider social forces, such as employment opportunities in the society, safety or lack of safety in the community etc. "Relational processes work downwards from large-scale trends, mediated by parental behavior, to shape children's lives" (Mayall, 2002, pp. 44-45).

6.2 Subjective well-being

As mentioned above, despite living in rather similar geographic and economic environment of Bagamoyo, my research participants' experiences of childhood differed. My findings also indicated a variation in their subjective well-being. Based on 19 responses given during individual conversations, eight children said they considered their life good, nine children considered their life normal and two children considered their life bad (see appendix H, table 1). Maisha (age 9) explained that she considered her life bad "…because we have to beg even to get money for food".

A variety of reasons were given for why children considered their life as good, but many of them showed appreciation of the love and care they were given from their families, having the opportunity to attend school and being provided with basic needs. 12 year old Amina explained: "Because they bring me to school, and when I come back I get food. And they teach me things. 13 year old Farida said: My family loves me, they give me my rights to go to school and to mosque". 13 year old Amir further demonstrated his understanding of the economical challenges faced by people in his community: "Because my parents can afford to bring me to school. They can buy me clothes and school equipment. And we have a shamba'". But special aspects were also appreciated by some; "My sister, mother and father love me.

And they give us money for using, … for things we see, like cassava and ice cream" Selemani (age 10).

Many children considered their lives normal, and their explanations of why indicated an interestingly representation of what was considered normal in this community. What emerged as an important indication of the normality of these children's lives was the experience of uncertainty, like this girl explained:

> I cannot see anything special. We are not rich and we are not poor. Rich people have a lot of money and normal people don't. Like, rich people have enough money every day, but for normal people sometimes we have enough and sometimes not (Zarifa, age 10).

This phenomenon of sometimes having and sometimes not, was repeated by many children: "It's a normal life because some parents are there, sometimes we have enough food, sometimes not" (Emmanuel, age 13). Emmanuel also considered the composition of his family collective, as an aspect indicating the status of his life. He found the fact that he was living with only one of his parents to be one of the reasons for why his life was normal. 11 year old Faraji also referred to his family collective: "Because I live with my uncle, grandmother and grandfather, and we live in a small house. If we stayed in a bigger house and had everything we needed (it would be good)". The housing situation was a concern for this girl:

> ... it is not yet a good life. We don't have our own house. We stay in the house of someone and every time someone wants the house then we lose it. ... Normal life is, what I think it is, is that we miss specific shelter (Ashura, age 12).

The uncertainty of not always having what you needed, unsatisfied housing conditions and a family collective not meeting their picture of a proper family composition, were predominant elements of my research participants' description of a normal life in Bagamoyo. However Sharima also expressed her thoughts on also having what she needed, even if her life was only ok:

> Because I get everything I am supposed to have. It's a good life when you stay in good house. I don't stay in good house, I stay in bad house, but I get everything I need. If I also lived in a good house it would be good. (Sharima, age 11)

9 year old Ramadhani further addressed the aspect of self-sustainability and interdependency in a normal life: "Normal life is you can have crops from 'shamba' and you help each other with all activities".

Going on to the life in general for people living in their community, eight out of nine respondents considered life in Bagamoyo town to be good, yet with some concerns, while one considered it bad (see appendix H, table 3). 11 year old Karima gave this explanation for why it was bad: "People have bad behaviour; they investigate the life of others. And people are not cooperative. ... Like if someone lost money, they don't help to find it". Two children who uttered concerns, were 13 year old Umi: "It's good somehow. People have bad behaviour. ... They steal and they rape". And further Zarifa (age 10): "It is not very good, because there are many poor people, not many rich".

Damisi (age 11) on the other hand, gave this explanation for why she considered life in Bagamoyo good: "Because the streets are active ... with many people and they are happy. There are many places which people need, like schools and college". Others mentioned the presence of the hospital, historical attractions, presence of cars and 'piki pikis' and the possibility of finding a way of earning money.

All of the seven participants sharing their thoughts on the present issue in Sauri, considered life there in general for good (see appendix H, table 2). In Sauri many children mentioned the way of living and the ability of being self-sustained as positive. Latifa (9 years old) said: "... we manage to feed ourselves". 10 year old Furaha continued: "I have all my family here, and people here are involved in agriculture, fishing and business". However some of these children also had concerns about people's behaviour, as in the town:

> Life here is good because the earth is good, when you plant something it grows. But also there are bad things, if you come here to live you shouldn't copy the behaviour of people here, because they are drunkards and they steal things. So life can also be bad, because some people have foolish behaviour. (Ramadhani, 9 year old)

6.3   Conceptualising a 'good childhood'

My data material indicated a shared understanding of a good childhood present among my research participants. Some varieties were found though and will be illustrated. The agreements were especially obvious in the group drawings, and the drawings chosen to be displayed here are thus chosen to represent varieties or differences in their views.

Figure 8 A 'good childhood' - group drawing.

The drawing in figure 8 illustrates a child, clothes, shoes, socks, a school building, pencil, pen, exercise books, ruler, a school bag, two children playing football and varies food; chicken, eggs, rice, mchicha (spinach), banana and orange. The group's presentation of their drawing was this: "Children need clothes, they need to go to school and have education, they need school material. Children need perfect food. Children need to have time to play".

The drawing in figure 9 illustrates a house, a small kitchen-building outside, with a small field for vegetables and a tree. Further a mother and a father are sitting on chairs and there are three children, one holding a present and one having a ball. Children are playing on a football ground.

Figure 9 A 'good childhood' - group drawing.

This is the group's presentation of their drawing (figure nine):

> The house is their home and the small house on the side is their kitchen. On the left there are three children. One older sister (15 year old) has travelled to Dar es Salaam and when she comes back she brings school uniform and a ball for the younger siblings (10 and 5 year old). The sister loves her younger siblings a lot and that make them happy. The parents are sitting on the chairs. The mother tells the father to buy exercise books. The five year old is going to start school soon. There are other children playing on the football ground and they are happy because they won.

I will begin by looking at the commonalities found among the children's views. After one of the groups had presented their drawing, which is not displayed here, I asked them to summarise what they thought was important for a child to have a good life, and they replied; "Food, clothes, playing and go to school". This summary is quite accurate in line with the shared understanding of a good childhood which I found among all my participants. This 'model' of a good childhood included education and school material, clothes, food and time to play, as illustrated in most drawings. These perspectives were also in accordance with perspectives on the same topic, revealed during individual conversation. 12 year old Lydia said a child would need these elements to have a good life: "Clothes, to get food, to go to school. ... To play".

The importance of education was highly valued among my participants who were all attending primary school. And a consequence of this could be seen as the concern of needed school material, which was evident in several situations. This extract illustrates 10 year old Selemani's thoughts on how important education and school material are for a child: A child needs to "go to school. ... To get exercise book, socks, shoes, pencil. ... Rubber, sharpener. ... Also clothes. ... 'Basi'. (That's all)". Clothes were also considered important, wearing 'good' clothes sent certain signal for the surroundings, indicated a good life situation and that made children feel happy. Some of the groups also drew socks and shoes in their drawing, which might be related to expectations of wearing socks and shoes as part of the school uniform, and the possible punishment if they arrived without. This expectation seemed to be lower in sauri, compared to Bagamoyo town the town. Only very few of my participants in Sauri wore shoes. Still, despite lower expectations, children in the village experienced wearing shoes which did not fit properly and also wearing them without socks. Since many children had to walk extensively to and from school maybe twice a day, due to lunch break, shoes appeared to be important for them.

Food was also noted as vital for a good childhood. Some children also explained that a child needed 'perfect food' or 'proper food', which was illustrated by a variety of food. For

instance, Amir (age 13) explained 'proper' food as follows: "Ugali (staple food, stiff porridge made of maize flour and water), meat, fruit". Food mentioned were common, traditional food eaten in the community, however meat was in many family collectives eaten in small amounts and not often, due to economical reasons.

Research participants living in the town did express a broader variety of elements in a good childhood, than participants in the village did. In the drawings from the participants in Sauri, none of them included more than clothes, food, education, school material and playing. However, as an example, in the drawings from the participants in the town, all four drawings include the phenomenon of receiving a gift. Excerpt from the presentation of the drawing in figure 9:

> One older sister (15 year old) has travelled to Dar es Salaam and when she comes back she brings school uniform and a ball for the younger siblings (10 and 5 year old). The sister loves her younger siblings a lot and that make them happy.

The phenomenon of receiving gifts was also mentioned in individual conversations, referring to characteristics of childhood and things making them happy. Examples of gifts could be fruits, sweets, balls, clothes, school uniforms and school material. Children found the gesture of giving a younger sibling or a son or daughter a gift was a way of showing affection. It seemed to make them feel loved and further happy, and some of them included this phenomenon as an element of a good childhood.

If I review the participants' opinions, generated through individual conversations, separately considering participants living in the village or town, I find that the participants' answers in the village are convincingly in line with what I have called my participants' shared understanding of a proper childhood. Only one or two participants have added other factors, such as friends, water for taking shower, do the work that he wants, not being rude and to watch TV. While looking at the answers from participants in town separately, makes me aware of these participants' concern about a few factors which have not been that obvious so far. First of all these participants express a broader variety of factors, which means that they do not as convincingly as the other participant group share the same ideas. However the three factors that stand out as being mentioned mostly of these participants are food, included fruits, education and not being abandoned. Not being abandoned has not been mentioned before, not in individual conversations with children in the village, and not in group drawings with both groups, yet this factor is one of the three most mentioned among this participant group.

Further are the factors; clothes, school material, shelter and being loved most mentioned. By that, these participants have in addition to demonstrate that they share the understanding of a proper childhood mentioned above, added concerns about shelter and being loved. In addition one or two participants mentioned factors such as playing, being listened to, getting presents, being secured, getting work, getting service at the hospital when sick, going to madrasa (Islamic religious classes), mosque and church, and to get their rights fulfilled.

This girl is one of the participants in town demonstrating a perception of a good childhood as slightly varying from the majority:

> (Children need) to be loved. To not be abandoned or separated. To have their rights. ... Like to be loved, to participate in family meetings, that there is not different treatment between fellows. No stigma, like if you have HIV you are still loved (Umi, 13 years old).

This kind of reply as shown above was rare, but found.

Participants in the town included both siblings and one or two parents in drawings. Family were not highlighted in presentations, yet mentioned. On the other hand, participants in the village did not mention family as something a child needed to have a good childhood at all. Friends were also not mentioned, however children were illustrated in several drawings playing together, so these could illustrate either siblings or friends.

Through individual conversations friends were mentioned ones, and family or parents were not mentioned with these words at all. This contradicts with the general understanding I have of these children's views on family. Through varies research tools, my participants expressed strongly that family was very important for a child. My personal assumption is that family was understood as so natural for these participants that they did not think of mentioning it as something needed. When I asked the children in individual conversations if parents were needed for a child to be happy, the answers were solely positive. And having in mind these participants' expectations of their parents, I find that family is actually underlying most of these factors mentioned as needed. My participants have expressed their dependency on parents to be provided with clothes, food, shelter, school fees and material. Further being secured, not being abandoned, being loved and getting presents are also factors that children expect to be given from parents, and some of them also sibling. Interestingly here, when talking about a good childhood in general, there is no focus on family and being loved. However, when talking about subjective well-being and their own lives, several children

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mentioned being loved and taken care of by their family as one of the element giving them a good life.

6.4 Conceptualising 'bad childhood'

My research participants' understanding of the concept 'bad childhood' was found to depend strongly on care takers ability to fulfil children's expectations and the status of care takers and/or child-family relationship were thus mentioned as indications of a 'bad childhood'. Findings demonstrated that these children's picture of a bad life was predominantly related to poverty. Two main aspects emerged as conceptualising 'bad childhood', being one material aspect and one emotional aspect. The emotional aspect was often related to the visibility of the material aspect.

Firstly, many children related bad childhood to unemployment, lack of food, clothes and the opportunity to attend school. 13 year old Amir explained: "Parents don't afford to bring children to school. Children are forced to go to farm. And they wear ripped clothes. And they are walking without shoes, with bad clothes". Umi (age 13) recognised the challenges of care takers: "The situation is very hard. Even if you get money you have to calculate. If you buy food you miss clothes, if you buy clothes you miss food". Further, housing along with hygiene were issues considered difficulties: "They are not clean, they live in bad houses. They have a place to sleep, but not good place" (Karima, age 11). "… you can see that his house has holes, and he tries to cover the holes with kanga" (Godwin, age 9). Children also described possible consequences of these situations, such as children having visible scars from mosquito bites after staying in bad places without mosquitoes net, or cutting themselves on glass after walking without shoes.

For the surrounding environment, these material aspects mentioned became visible characteristics of children with bad childhoods, such as wearing ripped and dirty clothes, a visible characteristic frequently used. This further lead to an emotional aspect of finding oneself in this situation. 9 year old Maisha described it as follows: "People laugh at you". A way of perceiving one's own status is by comparing it with others, which was also indicated by participants: "You don't eat food in the afternoon, like 'ugali', you just drink tea. And then other people can eat 'ugali'. It means that you don't even have money to buy maize flour, you just sit" (Maisha, age 9). With her last remark, she further suggested a feeling of despair and impotence. Farida (age 13) also identified feeling of impotence in addition to the material aspect:

Everything they do they feel is bad, they live in bad situation, they have bad clothes, bad surrounding environment. They feel bad about everything. It's like a person that doesn't know the front or the back.

Begging, a highly visible activity, was by several children mentioned as an aspect of bad childhood. A few children said they had not seen children with bad lives and/or that they did not know how children like that would live, other children, on the other hand, meant they had seen children with bad childhoods and gave descriptions on where and how they lived.

I've seen them around home, dusty places. Some have been taken to orphan places, parents don't have any money, they don't give them anything. Some have parents but they chase them out, they told them to find a new place to live. Some don't have parents (Amir, 13 years old).

Another girl explained:

Children are begging, children are dirty and they are weak. …. They live around the market. There they can get parts from the chicken, which no one else wants, when other people buy the good parts. … They don't stay with their parents, maybe their grandmother (Umi, 13 years old).

Another aspect of bad childhood, indicated from these responses, was the phenomenon of being out of what is considered a 'proper' place for children, namely a safe, loving and caring family. According to one girl, a bad childhood is "…to stay with people who are not their father and mother. Someone that is not taking care of you, to be abused, like not getting food, be given hard work and being blamed without mistakes" (Farida, age 13). 11 year old Faraji continued: "Bad life is to not be loved at home. To have to do hard work and being without food".

6.5 Children's position within the family collective

6.5.1 Why do people get children?
Exploring the value of children and what kind of role they are assigned in this society, I asked research participants individually to reflect around the 'reasons why people want to have children'. A shared understanding of this issue occurred and most answers were quite similar in content. An illustrating example of the standard reply of my research participants is this one from 9 year old Latifa: "They (parents) want to get help to do work at home".

It was obvious that these children had a shared understanding of the reason that people wanted to have children being that children helped with the workload of the household. Several children however identified this purpose as having two aspects; one in the present and one in the future.

> (People want to have children...) to get help, like to send them (send children to do errands) and other work like fetching water. ... Others want children because they want to bring them to school, educate them and when they are older, the children will help their parents (Godwin, age 9).

Godwin, consistent with others, identified the purpose of having children as both being a present one and a future one. In addition to taking part in the everyday work of the household in the present, children were considered an investment in the way that they in the future would help their parents. This boy also demonstrated an understanding of education as an investment, not only for the child as an individual, yet at investment that would gain the whole family collective. This 'utilitarian view' of children was also found among parents in traditional 'linage-based' marriages in Hollos' (2002, p. 185) study conducted in Northern Tanzania.

13 year old Amir gave this explanation for why people want to have children: "To not suffer from going to shop". The activity of 'going to the shop' or doing errands, mostly referred to as 'being sent' was a very common activity for children, an activity that adults would rather not do themselves. It was obvious from my observations that who was given this task was very much based on relational age, whoever was the youngest one in the family collective or in the present gathering of friends, would be 'sent'. Somewhat similar, Punch (2001 a) identified some tasks as generation-specific more than gender-specific, such as fetching water, which as a task consistently would be performed by children, and also the youngest by the siblings with the capability of doing it.

Further 8 year old Juma shared these thoughts: "You can find a person being poor and so he wants children because then they can help him with work. ... The child can have a job outside because then he can help mother with money". Is that the only reason people want to have children, you think? "Also because they can help mum with home activities". Amir referred to one particular activity as the purpose of having children, while Juma referred to both the assistance of home activities and the contribution of money to the household as motivations for having children. But interestingly he also expressed that for someone being poor, his/her motivation to have a child might be that life will be improved with the help of this child.

I have grown up in a society where individualism is relatively more valued than is the case in Africa and children are encouraged to follow their own dreams. Learning that children themselves thought that the only reasons adults wanted to have children, were because of their contributions in form of work and money, felt very far from my own experiences and instinctively felt negative. For my ears it sounded instrumental to have children for the purpose of not doing errands or the purpose of sharing the workload. It felt easy to interpret this into children being less valued. "Nevertheless, considering Juma's reply again: You can find a person being poor and so he wants kids because then they can help him with work". Actually, in this reply I recognise a great value and importance of the child. By considering the role children are understood to have within the household in forms of work contribution, economical contribution and the future role as taking care of their parents, research participants expressed children's high value. Not necessarily as individuals, but as a part of a family collective. If a poor person wants to have a child in the purpose of improving his/her life, it illustrates that a child has an important position in the family collective he/she is a part of. Children were seen primarily not as individuals, rather as a part of a family collective, or a team, one could say. And on a team everyone, despite their variety of roles, are important for the collective, their cooperation is vital. This was also illustrated by Farida's (13 years old) thoughts on how life would be for someone without children: "It will be hard, because you are alone, and there is a lot of work you are supposed to do, so you are supposed to be more".

6.5.2 In a subordinate position

Children generally have a subordinate social position in the generational hierarchy, they are largely dependent upon adults for important decisions within the family collectives they are a part of. This was also demonstrated as a perception by my research participants. As Shamira (age 11) said: "Adults have authority and child not". Rajabu (age 9) explained: "They (adults) always tell their children to go and do work, or go to do something. Give their children orders". This act of authority turned obvious in role plays created by the children. Parents were giving their children orders ranging from different work-tasks, going to school, studying, going to bed and taking shower. The atmosphere was shown different in role plays illustrating 'good parents' and 'bad parents', nevertheless, regardless of this change, the act of authority by parents and necessity to obey by children were present.

My daily observations in the community revealed adults authority over children, along with my research participants' descriptions. In addition to being given orders by their parents and older siblings, children were also given orders by their teachers or possible leaders, as for

after school programs or youth centres. At school, students had a variety of responsibilities to fulfil, such as watering flowers and sweeping. Yet in addition I observed the acceptance of teachers giving their students additional tasks, for instance going errands for them or cleaning their private houses. Parents and teachers may find themselves in a natural position of authority over children, however, especially when it came to giving children orders to make errands, this was seen as accepted behaviour for adults in general. The local concept of this action was 'being sent', extensively used by my participants. Like Selemani (10 years old) told me: "A thing that makes me tired to be a child, is to be sent".

In their social subordinate position, my research participants expressed their feeling of having no other choice than obeying. 11 year old Faraji said: "Adults can choose what they want to do, but children don't have any choice". I also noticed an aspect of vulnerability and a feeling of helplessness connected to this position. Reflecting around the situation for a child in a bad life, Farida (13 years old) said; "It's better to be adult because then you can do something. Child cannot do anything. A child is innocent, like how did I get this life, and she cannot do anything about it".

Refusing to obey often resulted in punishment. Through role plays children illustrated their perceptions of good and bad behaviour of children, and further demonstrated that children behaving well were likely to also be treated well by their parents, while children behaving badly were likely to be punished for that. Punishment could range from verbal punishment, often by children referred to as 'being abused with words' or 'being blamed', to physical punishment, being beaten. 10 year old Furaha drew herself, being blamed by her mother, as one of the things making her sad (see drawing in figure 10). She also drew herself being punished by her mother by a stick.

Figure 10 'What makes me sad - Furaha's drawing.

Rajabu (age 9) gave the following explanation to his drawing displayed in figure 11 as follows: "When I have a conflict with my younger brother, my father puts the blaim on me and he beats me. I get sad when I get punished, I don't want to be punished". And further, his drawing in figure 12 was explained as follows: "Sometimes I'm being sent to bring a lot of water. If it is too much and I cannot do it, I get punished" (Rajabu, age 9).

Figure 11 'What makes me sad' - Rajabu's drawing.

Figure 12 'What makes me sad' - Rajabu's second drawing.

Yet children also illustrated threats being used as punishment and the action of being denied food. This was illustrated in a role play (see appendix G, excerpt 2) where two daughters were refusing to assist their mother and replied to her in a rude way. The mother told her husband, while the daughters were listening: "They are rude. I told them to sweep, they refused. I think you have to take a stick and beat them. Today they will not get breakfast". But denying children food was also demonstrated in role plays as a behaviour of 'bad parents', not as a reaction to children's behaviour (see appendix G, excerpt 3). Further,

after having beaten the children and they kept on answering her back rudely, she threatened them saying: "Maybe you cannot stay in this house anymore, maybe you should live with your stepmother". In another role play (see appendix G, excerpt 3) the father ordered his children to go to the farm and dig instead of going to school. When the children complained and said they did not want to dig, rather going to school, the father told them; "If you don't go you can find a new mother and father".

Many children mentioned getting beaten as something that made them sad. 11 year old Faraji explained:

> Things that make me sad to be a child is to be beaten by the stick and you can't defend and it keeps happening. Even if you try to explain, defend yourself, you keep being beaten. But you are adult they listen to you and they can't beat you.

Along with other expressions, this boy suggested that it was not solely the physical aspect of being beaten which made him feel sad, yet also the emotional aspect of being subordinated, not being listened to and not being able to defend himself. Zarifa (age 10) wrote: "Sometimes they blame me without mistake. I am sad when I am beaten for a small mistake, like for losing my pencil". Several children repeated the phenomenon of being unfairly punished as one making them feel sad, like 12 year old Ashura: "...To be beaten without having done mistake".

Regardless of making them sad, children expressed an understanding of why they were beaten, some children even defended it, expressing that beating your children was necessary and one of adults' responsibilities. Karima (11 years old) explained:

> They (parents) should beat children when they do mistake. Parents are not allowed to leave them without beating. If he doesn't beat he doesn't do his job and doesn't teach him (the child) good behaviour.

Similarly 13 year old Farida explained: "They need it to follow directions. Sometimes children don't follow directions and then it is necessary to beat them". Further some children expressed stronger objections to punishment and demonstrated clear ideas on when it would be appropriate and not. One of these was Umi (age 13):

> I don't want to be beaten and blamed by mum. I don't like to be punished for small mistakes. I like to be beaten because of big mistake that it has meaning. I am happy to not be beaten for small mistakes, not be blamed. I do not like to be beaten without mistake.

My findings revealed a variety of emotions attached to punishment. While some children accept punishment without questioning it, others defended it as a part of parents' responsibility, further children did express both physical and emotional pain attached to it and their discontent of it. By some children the unfairness of the treatment was suggested to be the worst part of it. As expressed by some of them; getting punished when deserved would be understood and accepted, yet children often felt subordinated and were not given a chance to defend themselves, explaining their actions, but being punished regardless. Evans (2004, p. 74) suggests that corporal punishment is "part of the cultural construction of childhood in Tanzania", in a way of disciplining children. Her findings revealed that corporal punishment played an important factor in children's decisions of leaving their families for the hope of a better life on the streets.

Respect was also revealed as an aspect of childhood in my study area, where the importance of respect and polite greetings were found significant. From the age they could speak, children were taught to always greet older people respectfully with 'Shikamoo', literally meaning 'I hold your feet', but in daily use considered a respectful way of saying 'hello'. When a younger person greets with 'shikamoo', the older person will reply with 'marahaba'. I was myself early on taught by local friends how to use these greetings and daily used 'marahaba' when children greeted me and 'shikamoo' when meeting elderly people. Importantly I will point out that this greeting does not only apply for children. As a way of showing respect, 'shikamoo' was expected by people in all ages, when greeting someone older than them. Another way of showing respect through greeting was the use of 'hodi' when entering a home, announcing your arrival. The host would then reply 'karibu', meaning welcome. Both these greetings serve as examples of the significance of respect in the culture of my study area and also in their local childhood. This was obvious in my research participants' role plays. With the exception of role plays illustrating children's bad behaviour, children would always greet their parents, or older siblings with 'shikamoo', even when meeting them several times a day. They would also always greet with 'hodi', when entering their homes. In their records of daily activities, some children also included 'I greet parents', alongside other activities such as taking shower, going to school and so on.

Importantly I want to point out that, as a researcher coming from a different culture, this gesture of showing respect was not familiar for me. It would come natural for me to recognise this gesture as an aspect of subordination, however I choose to not interpret this as positioning children in a subordinate social position as such, rather it suggests the importance of respect as a part of these children's childhood. For my research participants this gesture of

respect seemed to be natural, they did not express any objections to it. 9 year old Godwin even mentioned "to greet elders or parents" as one of the things making him feel happy.

6.6   Expectations of children

Through individual conversations I found that children understood it as their obvious responsibility[30] to help their parents, or to do work at home. Both expressions were used, and more specific examples were also mentioned, such as washing clothes, dishes, fetching water, being sent, sweeping, cooking or digging. "He should help his family, go to the farm, sweep, go to school and help parents" (Amir, age 13). "To wash clothes and dishes, to fetch water" (Latifa, age 9). "Help with home activities as digging and fetching water" (Faraji, age 11). 13 year old Emmanuel also said that he thought a child his age should be working by himself, meaning that he should contribute to the family economic; "To find work himself and get money to give to parents. ... They are happy if I bring them money or buy things that they can cook". Emmanuel told me that he used to go to the beach to assist the fishermen when they came back with their catch and this way he earned his own money.

These tasks mentioned as their responsibilities of helping at home, were in line with my own observations and my participants' records of their daily activities. Activities mentioned in their records were helping with work at home, washing dishes and clothes, fetching water, being sent (to do errands), sweeping, helping to cook, going to farm to dig and selling at the shop with brother. Further, going to school and studying was seen as important responsibilities.

> You should go to school and reach school (sometimes children say that they will go to school, yet they do not really go, they go somewhere else). You should ask parents if you need school material, you can be beaten at school if you don't ask for it (Zarifa, 10 years old).

Related to this, participants also mentioned that they as children should learn and they as students had do conduct different tasks at school. Latifa (age 9) told me that she thought children should wash clothes and dishes and fetch water. When I asked her if there were more things a child should do, she said; "Go to school and water flowers at school.. (and)...to sweep at school. To clean toilets at school and burn rubbish". Going to school and studying were not

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[30] When asking about children's responsibilities, the term 'responsibility' was sometimes replaces by what children 'should' do or 'are supposed' to do, since the term 'responsibility' could be found difficult to understand for some of the participants.

surprisingly mentioned as daily activities in the records made by my participants who all attended primary school. A few of them also attended extra classes. Tasks they recorded to do at school were sweeping, watering plants, cleaning and attending the parade.

Responsibilities which seemed to be understood as important by my participants were also related to religion and other cultural expectations related to behaviour. 13 year old Umi said that, in addition to studying and doing work at home, this was the responsibilities of an Islamic child; "To have good behaviour, to not steal things. (Like) ... to study, go to the mosque, pray before sleeping and cover head". Both Christian and Islamic participants expressed the responsibility of praying before they went to sleep. Some of the Islamic participants expressed the importance of going to the mosque, attending madrasa, fasting under Ramadan, covering the head for girls and wearing respectful clothes. "I have to dress respectfully, pray and go to the mosque" (Umi, age 13). Covering the head and attending madrasa was expressed as more important among participants in the town than in the village. This was in line with my own observations, which found that Islamic girls in primary school age were able to walk around without covering their head in a much higher degree than accepted in the town where I stayed myself. Further a few Christian participants expressed responsibility of going to church and learning about God. These responsibilities were not visible in their records of daily activities, where only one participant recorded going to church.

Other responsibilities mentioned, could be related both to religion but also to cultural expectations of behaviour. Participants thought that children should show respect to their parents or other people and greet politely, they should not refuse to do what they were told to do and they should not use bad words, steal or make conflict with other people. "Don't be rude if they tell you to do something, do what you are told. Don't be rude at school" (Ramadhani, age 9). "If someone is using bad words to you, you should leave it and not talk back, just be quiet" (Zarifa, age 10).

Further participants suggested that children should have good behaviour and help other people.

> To study, to help parents, to help other people, even if they are not your siblings. For example if your father gives you money and you see someone that has problems, you should share (Faraji, age 11).

Not surprisingly this was not easy to find in written records of daily activities, however a few children did note down in their records greeting parents as one of their daily activities, which shows some of the importance of this respectful gesture.

A few participants also mentioned activities as taking shower, eating and sleeping as something them as children were supposed to do. Eating and sleeping were also mentioned in their record of daily activities, along with activities they expressed as getting prepared for school, some mentioned examples as taking shower, brushing teeth, making bed, getting dressed, ironing school uniform and brushing school shoes. Finally, some participants also mentioned playing as something children were supposed to do, which also was demonstrated in their written record of daily activities that they did. Juma (8 years old) shared his thoughts on what responsibilities of a child his age were; "To go to school, help with work at home, to greet parents in the morning and to play".

In addition to these individual conversations, my participants also created their own role plays demonstrating the behaviour of 'good children' and 'bad children' in family contexts. Additionally I could observe the children's behaviour in role plays were attention was on parents' behaviour. After one group had shown their play demonstrating how 'good children' behave (see appendix G, extract 6), we had a plenary discussion exploring what made these children 'good children'. Among others, these utterances were noted:

> Boy acting son: It is good to help parents, because then they can be able to do another job.
> Boy acting father: They are good because they help us a lot. (They helped us) to dig. When we (parents) go to farm they (children) come and help us.
> Girl acting mother: They went to school and they helped with work at home, the food.
> Girl acting daughter: We helped at home. We went to school. Mum could do other things because I helped her. If mother did any job we said give us to help you.

Supplementary, other points of significance raised after other role plays on the same topic , were as following; "They respect parents, they go to school, when they come back from school, they study and that's good children". It is important "...to greet, always when you go and you come back, you must always greet well".

Data material revealed that in addition to the behaviour of not being rude, obeying and helping with work at home, it seemed as the children found it appropriate for children also to 'wanting' to help or to contribute and taking initiative themselves instead of waiting to be told. These fictive children asked their parents if there were anything they could help with several times, they asked if they could come and help. The participants also expressed an

understanding of the value of their contributions. They explained that when children helped their parents, their parents were able to spend their time doing other necessary activities. It is important to remember that most of my participants' households were without electricity and none of them had running water, which again means that household activities were highly time consuming. Since all water for use had to be fetched, this was a very important task for children. Both clothes and dishes were of course washed by hands. Food was prepared over a fire or on a small charcoal stove. Some of the usual food preparations, such as cooking beans, also took quite a lot of time.

Nevertheless, some of the children also recognised their own benefit of participating in the work at home. I asked 9 year old Godwin why it was important to help at home and he replied; "It's good for learning, it's good to learn the work early. If parents are sick, then you know how to do things".

Further I observed that these children, acting as 'good children' attended school and studied at home. They were also greeting their parents politely every time they met.

On the contrary, my participants also demonstrated what they though characterised the behaviour of 'bad children'. I understand this behaviour as the opposite of what are expected of children. What the children summarized for me after their role plays, were that these children did not show respect for their parents, they were rude, gave bad answers or argued with them, in one case also almost fighting with their parents and they told them lies. These children refused to do work at home and they even did not want to go to school. Sometimes they told their parents that they did go to school, yet they did not go.

6.7   Expectations of parents

Originally I was asking my participants about adult's responsibilities rather than parents'. However children's replies suggested that the responsibilities mentioned were clearly related to the family context. So even if I asked them about adults in general, they tended to understand this adult as belonging to a family collective and thus being responsible not only for him or herself but also for his or her family. I have earlier argued that my participants understood children as belonging to a family collective rather than an autonomous individual. Exploring my participants' thoughts about the responsibilities of adults made me believe that these children also understood an adult as belonging to a family collective, more than only an individual.

The ACRWC shows that the African child is exposed to more responsibility than the global child, illustrated in the CRC. However I found that my participants also had clear expectations of adults. My participants described children having less responsibility than adults, in a way they found children's lives a little bit easier, since they did not have to struggle as much as adults did, further they expressed a dependency on their parents. Children expressed a variety of expectations from their parents, yet a few of them were agreed on in higher degree than others. The one responsibility of adults which almost all of the children agreed on was that adults should work or find money. Both expressions were used, I choose to see them together because the way participants used these expressions and also how it was used among other people in the area, I understood then as meaning the same thing. To do work is a way of finding money. The reason they so often use the expression finding money, is that it often is a struggle for many people to find money if they do not have a job and regular income. Then they have to find a way of gaining money. As 12 year old Ashura said; "If he doesn't have a job then he has to dig to get money to feed his family". Some children in the village said that adults should dig and one said adults should have a farm. I understand this to being closely related to work and finding money, since having a farm or digging for someone else, are ways of finding money or food for your family.

My participants saw it as adults' responsibility to provide their family with basic needs. Food was the most obvious need, others that where mentioned were clothes and shelter, and in addition being secured seemed to be seen as a kind of basic need or it could be seen as a way of providing the family with needs, as securing them. 9 year old Godwin explained what he thought was an adult's responsibility; "To work. ... If he has children and wife, he should give them food to secure them". 11 year old Karima's thoughts about this were; "To find needs. To bring children to school".

This leads me to the issue of school, because the responsibility of making sure children went to school or bringing their children to school, was one of the most repeated responsibilities. It was very often mentioned alongside basic needs, just as this girl above did. I have earlier argued that my participants found school as a very important aspect of childhood and this just strengthens that argument. Children in Bagamoyo found education to be important for their future and they found themselves dependent on their parents to provide them with the opportunity to get this education.

> My father has the responsibility to bring me to school. And to find shelter for his children and wife. ...(And) buy school material for his children. I pray for my father to not stop working until we finish school (Zarifa, age 10).

Making sure their children went to school included paying their school fees, providing them with needed school material, giving them time and opportunity to attend school and also giving them time and opportunity to study at home.

A few children also said it was adult's responsibility to encourage their children to go to school. I find this related to what some children said about adults' responsibility of teaching their children things. Encouraging their children to go to school can be seen as a way of leading their children on the right way, leading them to a better future and the opportunity of getting a job. A few children also mentioned the responsibility of bringing their children to the farm or to stop their children from joining bad groups of people. I see this as a way of teaching them how to be good adults, how to earn their own money and provide food to their own family and how to stay away from trouble. 11 year old Shamira said; "They should teach children good manners, teach them to cook, bring them to school. ... They should love their children. They should teach them not to have bad behaviour". I find this also connected to a few children's thoughts of adults' responsibility of making sure their children attended madrasa; "They have to bring children to school and madrasa, and themselves to do work. ... Because they have to pay for school fees and madrasa fees (Karima, age 11).

For the Islamic part of my participants, bringing their children to madrasa was also a way of teaching their children how to be good adults, because religion was an important part of some of my participant's lives. It seemed as my participants understood it as adults' responsibility to teach their children how to be good persons. They think themselves that children need to learn how to be good adults, through education at school, but also through engaging in work at home together with their parents, attending madrasa or going to mosque or church, learning about their own religion.

A few children also understood it as a responsibility of adults to have an education. And additionally; helping their parents, or to provide for the needs of their parents, was seen as the responsibility of adults. This is an example of reciprocity. Even after having grown up and having established your own family, you still have a responsibility for your parents. When giving account for adults' responsibilities, Godwin also explained the manner of the unwritten intergenerational contract of reciprocity: "Adult should give his parents their needs.

If he has food himself, he is supposed to give the same food to his parents. Because the parents brought him to school" (Godwin, age 9).

The participants created their role plays also demonstrating how they thought 'good parents' and 'bad parents' behaved. Many of the points addressed through individual conversations, also appeared in the role plays. After the performance of a play illustrating 'good parents' (see appendix G, extract 4), the following were uttered in a plenary conversation exploring what made these parents good parents.

> Boy acting the father: I gave my wife money for food. I got a job. We went to the farm together.
> Girl acting mother: I cooked for them. We went to the farm together and cultivated cassava. I cared for the child to go to school.
> Girl acting daughter: Father gave money and mother prepared food.
> Boy watching: They love their child.
> Girl watching: Good parents bring child to school and buy school material.

Interestingly one of the children observing the role play said that the parents loved their child, however this was never mentioned in the play. This can only be understood as the boy interpreting the parents' behaviour as they loved their child. This happened in the plenary conversations after a role play with another group of participants too (see below).

The ideas below were expressed in another plenary conversation, after a different role play also illustrating the behaviour of 'good parents' (see appendix G, extract 5):

> Boy acting father: To talk to the child about how to behave in the community. Teach him things.
> Boy acting son: Pay school fees, no conflict at home, to stay peaceful, to feed me.
> Girl watching: Good, because they brought the child to school and when he came back he would find food at home. And they teach him things and they help him with academics.
> Boy watching: It's a good family because they care for him to go to school, they insist for him to study and they give him food. They take care about their child.
> Girl watching: The father is good because he brings his child to school, he teaches him things and he loves his child, and the child loves his father.

In two separate cases children observing the role plays understood the acting of the parents as expressing a love toward their child and in both cases the word love was never mentioned in the role plays. Neither could I recognise any demonstration of affection through signs which I would recognise, such as hugs. What these parents did, that was understood as love, was to provide their child with basic needs; the child had a place to stay and he or she

got ordinary food. The child was attending school and was also encouraged to study at home and to go to school. In one of the families the father spent time with the child, helping him with his studies. In one of the families the child is also given time to play while in the other family the child is participating in work at the farm with one of the parents. In both families parents demonstrates authority and expectations of their children, even if they do it in a way that the children understand as an affectionate way. In especially one of the families the parents take their time to sit down and talk to their child about how to live his life. It comes to my mind that in my participants' view, caring about their children is in many ways related to caring for their future. By that I mean that it seems as the children want their parents to give them a good opportunity for the future, in terms of giving them education, giving them the opportunity to study and do good in their studies, teaching them how to do work that they need to know, teaching them discipline and how to manage in life.

6.8 Childhood transitions

Exploring my research participants' understanding of *who* a child is, two lines of arguments emerged as being common replies by the great majority of participants. The first set of arguments related to biological age and identified a child on the basis of a commonly agreed upon age. For example, 10 year old Selemani said: "A child start from 18 and below and not over 18". The majority of participants agreed with this definition, which is in line with the universal definition of a child mentioned above. Likewise 11 year old Shamira defined a child in terms of age range from 1 year old, up to 18, yet additionally based her definition on social characteristics: "Someone below 18 is not supposed to be married and she is supposed to study in school". Yet another girl, 13 year old Farida, defined a child as a person between 1 and 17 year old, and explained further that one is a child because he/she is; "...dependent". And what happens when you turn 18? "Then you can vote, you can dig and you can marry".

Children's understandings of transitions during childhood demonstrate the importance of relative autonomy and the ability to achieve social status of being able to vote and involve in the roles of adulthood, including marriage. In addition to biological and legal age, their understandings of transition from the status of child to adult are related to a social or cultural age, meaning the socio-cultural expectations to the child- and adult role. These expectations will vary, not only in terms of culture, but also gender, to mention some, and can for instance be expressed in certain rituals. In Tanzania, the common way of addressing an adult person in Swahili is by the expression 'mkubwa', literally meaning 'big', but also meaning 'superior' or

'elder'. This was also the expression used by my interpreter in conversations with research participants. A more correct way of addressing an adult person in Swahili, though, is by the expression 'mtu mzima', literally meaning 'whole person'. To become a whole person, 'mtu mzima', one has to gradually obtain an adequate amount of sense (in Swahili; 'akili'), through life experience, then one is considered having reached the ideal state of personhood (Ringsted, 2008).

The second set of responses from the children involved a threshold age defining who was a child. However, in this definition, the status of the child as a 'student' was found to be more important than the actual age. As 11 year old Damisi said: "A child is someone who studies from grade one up to seven (primary school). An Adult is someone from secondary school and up". This dichotomy between primary school and secondary school tended to be seen as a natural border also between being child and adult for several research participants. 9 year old Rajabu thought children became adults at the age of 14; "... because you finish school". So when you go to secondary school? "Then you are adult".

The great majority of children in this area attended primary school, yet during the years of secondary school, many children tended to drop out gradually. By my participants, school was seen as a natural and appropriate part of childhood, yet when a child[31] was no longer a student, he/she would identify with something else than school, and someone else than his/her peer-students, which further might lead them to identify themselves or being identified as someone else than children. Boys dropping out of secondary school were more visible in the public spaces than girls. These boys often earned money by driving a 'piki piki', by operating small scale businesses such as selling products like boiled eggs, tea or homemade sweets in the streets or at the bus station, or by selling paintings or other artefacts produced by themselves or by a business partner, at the art market or walking around at the beach. Others assisted their families in small scale family businesses or at the 'shamba', and found money where they could. Girls dropping out of secondary school were from my impression mostly assisting their family collectives with domestic work and activities at the 'shamba', however some girls also established small scale businesses by selling simple, prepared food such as cassava or 'chapati' (staple food; flat-bread made of flour and water) in front of their house. However girls dropping out of secondary school also tended to become mothers quite early.

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[31] Here referring to the universal definition of a child: A person below the age of 18.

As a consequence of not attending school and approaching other activities, these children spent time in public spaces during school time and hung out with people older than them, and as illustrated; these children were by many of my research participants, understood to be adults. This understanding can be seen as relational age (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2011), as well as social and cultural age, which I have already mentioned. In some societies and some contexts, biological age is less important than relational age, meaning that one's status is identified by positioning oneself and being positioned by others, in relation to others and in relation to the socio-generational hierarchy applying in the community. A child's position in a family collective will often be more dependent on the composition of siblings than biological age. Further, primary school children will identify themselves as one age category, different from secondary school children, or children not attending school, based on sameness within one category and difference from another. As in two generational categories, where adults are the generation of work and children are the generation of school. It also means that a person in one context might be seen as an adult, and/or him/she takes on the role as an adult, being the oldest one present, while in another context the same person might be seen and/or him-/herself might take on the role as a child, being the youngest one present. This lead to another variety of age, suggested by Abebe and Kjørholt (2011); subjective age. Young people constantly negotiate their roles and one way of doing so is to adopt different social statuses in different contexts for different purposes. For instance it might be more profitable being seen as a young child when begging in the streets, and being permitted into NGO-programs might require a certain age.

Above I have illustrated two different views which were found to be significant among my research participants; the biological or legal age – below eighteen years and the relational age explained by the dichotomy between primary school and secondary school and also between primary school and not school, leading to a different threshold age. Interestingly 11 year old Karima expressed both these perspectives. Her first reply referred to biological age: "A child is someone under 18". Then, after telling her that if her personal opinion differed from definitions she had read or heard then I would also be interested in her own thoughts, Karima continued: "A child is a small person. It's about a person starting grade one up to seven". And secondary school? "Then you start being adult".

These two, clear lines of arguments illustrates a shared understanding of ways of identifying who is in a possession of a child status, however they also illustrate the complexity of the issue. Biological and relational age were adopted by the children, yet they additionally explained their views by referring to socio-cultural expectations; social age.

This shows that there are more to age than just the chronological age including expectations, competence, behaviour, and status and performance.

6.8.1 'In-between' childhoods

With the aim to explore my research participants understanding of childhood further, I sought to go beyond what I understood as these children's shared characteristics of a child. The situation of two fictional young persons, Yussuf and Sara, were used to investigate the research participants' ways of identifying biological aged children in so called 'in-between' positions (Evans, 2011).

Example one:

Yussuf is sixteen years old. He does not go to school, he works instead, driving a 'piki piki'. He does not stay together with his family, instead he lives by himself and takes care of himself.

Example two:

Sara is sixteen years old and she is a mother. She has two young children, twins. Despite her age, she does not go to school, instead she stays at home, taking care of her children.

Referring to Yussuf, the two alternative statuses; child and adult, were given almost the equal number of responses (see appendix H, table five). Participants identifying Yussuf as a child explained this by referring to his age being below eighteen. They argued that biological age defined his status, and not his behaviour or life situation. As 13 year old Emmanuel said: "To drive a piki piki doesn't make you an adult. ...he is still a child because of his age". Other participants agreed on biological age as a definition of the child, yet further related their understanding of childhood to socio-cultural expectations. 9 year old Godwin said Yussuf was a child; "... because his age allows him to go to school and he is not yet supposed to work". Further, 11 year old Faraji said;

> He (Yussuf) is still a child because he is under 18. (But) it is not ok for a child to live like him. Many things can happen, and he doesn't know and understand. Children should go to school and learn.

In other words; these boys found Yussuf's behaviour to be 'non-childish'; he is working which is not what a child is supposed to do and he is not attending school, which he is

supposed to do. Nevertheless, from their point of view, Yussuf's behaviour does not define his status, his biological age does.

Nevertheless, conflicting understandings were found and by just one response, the slight majority of research participants thought Yussuf was an adult. 12 year old Amina said: "If he stays alone, then he is an adult. Because then he doesn't depend on anyone else". Instead of defining Yussuf's status based on biological age, this girl, in line with other participants, defined his status based on his behaviour. Yussuf's life situation seen in relation to a perception of children as living in a family collective, dependent on others, not working and attending school, led to an understanding of Yussuf as an adult.

In the case of Sara in example two, a majority of the research participants (see appendix H, table six) defined her as an adult, giving the explanation of her life situation. 13 year old Umi explained: "Sara is adult, because she has a child herself. ...If you have children, then you are responsible for them. You cannot have a child and still be dependent on someone else". 12 year old Ashura agreed: "She is adult ... because she is a mother, someone is depending on her. She has to take care of her baby". These two girls, along with others, found Sara's role as a mother and the children's dependence on her more important than her biological age. This is related to both relational age and social age. Umi argued that if you have children you are responsible for them. The child will be dependent on his/her parents, and as a mother you should not be dependent on someone else. These views are based on socio-cultural expectations. Additionally Sara is identified as an adult in relation to her own child.

Out of thirteen responses, four of them perceived Sara as a child. One of them, 11 year old Faraji explained his thoughts as follows: "She is more mature than most children since she is taking care of children, but she still is a child, because of the age". Again the significance of biological age is illustrated. Seen in relation to other children, Sara is not a 'typical' child, she is 'more mature' in his view, yet he still chooses to identify her based on biological age. 9 year old Ramadhani agreed and continued: "She goes fast with her life, she is not supposed to have a baby, she is supposed to go to school, she is still a child". In his view; based on biological age she is a child, however she is not following the expectations of a child, she is not a 'proper' child, she is a child without a childhood. According to Langevang (2008) there are certain life course stages that children are expected to follow on their path into adulthood:

> ...a 'responsible' and 'successful' path into adulthood requires the socially appropriate timing
> of different transitions: first you should finish your education, then acquire financial

independence, then get married and establish an independent household, then have children (Langevang, 2008, p. 2044).

Sara has not followed this 'correct' path and consequently her status is diffuse; she is positioned in an 'in-between' place, as 'not-quite adult' yet taking on adult roles, which also makes her 'not-quite child' (Evans, 2011, p. 391). 12 year old Lydia went further to acknowledge that Sara may hold diverse roles or identities at the same time: "She is a child, but she was fast to get children. ... She has the responsibility of an adult because she is a mother, but she is a child".

Marriage is still seen as one of the major markers of adulthood in many African societies. "Adulthood is achieved when a person has a household independent of their parents, is married and has children. Only then is a person considered a full and respectable human being" (Langevang, 2008, p. 2044). This is in line with some of my participants' thoughts. 11 year old Karima was referring to Yussuf in example one: "He (Yussuf) is child. ... Because he is not married". Ok, so what if he was 16 year old and married? "Then he is adult". So do you think a person has to be married to be an adult? "Yes". According to this understanding of adulthood, neither Yussuf nor Sara has completed a successful transition into fully respectable adults. Exploring my participants' views on children 'in-between', illustrates the complexity of childhood transitions it. The sense of identity is dynamic, and constructed and reconstructed though interactions, partly based on an understanding of sameness and difference.

These examples of Sara and Yussuf were fictional and were meant to elucidate children's understanding of childhood in my research site., However in her study conducted in Tanzania and Uganda, Evans (2011) has illustrated how children often do find themselves in an 'in-between' position between adolescence and adulthood. She found that young people caring for their siblings in households with no parents, took on the role as responsible adults, caring parents inside the household, however in the community in relation with other community members and in decision making, they took on the role as children.

6.9 Summary

In this chapter I have explored children's experiences of childhood in Bagamoyo. Following I have examined children's perceptions of 'good and bad childhoods'. I have noted that even though these children are part of the similar geographic and economic environment and share

many ideas of how childhood should or should not be, their own experiences and their subjective perception of their situations differ.

Moreover I have examined children's ideas of their position within families. I have noted that children perceive themselves, as well as adults as a part of a family, more than autonomous individuals. I have identified interdependency between children and parents and described expectations of both of them. Children have an important place in the society they however find themselves in a subordinate position, which they in a high degree understand and accept because of their lack of ability and need to learn. The feeling of subordination, helplessness and the employment of punishment do however make them feel sad.

In the latter part of the chapter I have explored childhood transitions. I have suggested that children adapt both biological and legal age, socio-cultural and relational age when identifying the status of a person as child or adult. I have moreover suggested that childhood transitions are dynamic and not a linear line, a one-off event.

7 CONCLUDING DISCUSSIONS

In this final chapter I aim to draw some concluding remarks. I will focus on findings from the particular study in regard to research objectives. This study aimed at exploring local understanding and experience of childhood among ordinary children in Bagamoyo District. Four research objectives were stated; to explore how children perceive their social positions within families, to examine how children articulate roles and expectations during childhood, to discuss children's perspectives on transitions linked to childhood and moreover, linked to all of the above objectives; to explore children's perspectives on their experiences of childhood in the context of familial relationships.

My theoretical perspective derives from the social studies of children and childhood. This study has been exploring children's own perspectives through qualitative, participant friendly methods. Moreover I have had an interest in exploring commonalities and differences of childhoods, within the range of my research participants' accounts, yet also by drawing on this particular data material in relation to the assumed universal ideas of childhood, originating from a Western perspective. I have intended to challenge dichotomies identified by James et al. (1998) within works in the social studies of children and childhood, referring to research either having an exclusive global or local concern of childhood. Finally I have aimed at exploring childhood within a relational and generational aspect, and moreover to engage in current debates on children's status as 'being' or 'becomings'.

This study revealed that children found themselves in a socially subordinate position within families, incompliance with unequal adult-child relations identified by Klocker (2007) in her study with child domestic workers in Tanzania. My research participants clearly divided children and adults into two generational categories, whereas the adult category had authority and responsibilities which the category of children did not have. An interdependent relationship was further identified between the two categories, an issue I will come back to. However, children also suggested that this subordinate position was not entirely fixed, rather it could be negotiated depending on relations. For instance, older siblings exerted some authority over their younger siblings, meaning that a child could find him or herself in different socially positions depending on the context, as also demonstrated by Punch (2003).

Children identified themselves in a subordinate position due to their lack of ability and their dependence on their parents. They expressed that children needed to learn and develop in various arenas and indicated an importance of attending school and gaining education. Children further recognised the significance of learning everyday work-skills by taking part in the family's workload, both for the future and present, like in case something happened with

their parents. And finally children emphasised parents' responsibility for teaching them good manners and good moral. They perceived childhood as a period of learning, and hence their position as subordinate was, at least to a certain degree, accepted. Many children articulated an understanding of the necessity of parents to punish children when they did mistakes, as a manner of discipline. Nevertheless, children also communicated distress of being treated unfair and punished for what they called small mistakes, in addition to obvious discomfort and feeling of sadness related to punishment, physically or verbally.

The above perspectives of children resonate with perspectives revealed in a study on children's discourses about childhood conducted among children in London (Mayall, 2001).

"The apprenticeship theme ran through every child's accounts, though with varying emphases.... In general, children accepted their minority position, as people who know less than adults, and must learn from them; school was an important site for learning what you need for jobs and careers, home was the principal source of learning about morality" (Mayall, 2001, p. 120).

Continuing, children's accounts suggested that adults had great responsibilities for themselves and others, while children, having the right to 'fun and free time', were without those responsibilities and could expect to be protected and provided for (Mayall, 2001). Additionally children were seen as subordinate their parents and were expected to obey them.

Although, this study is conducted among children in London, a capital city in the minority world, whereas my study is conducted among children in a coastal town and small village in the majority world, it is revealed that certain ideas and understandings about childhood are shared among the groups of research participants.

In accordance with above perspectives, the global model of childhood also addresses childhood as a time of learning, a time of protection and play. We do know that not all children, in neither the minority nor majority world can assume to be protected and provided for, my research participants nonetheless expressed a view of the child as someone who was *supposed* to be provided for. Moreover, even if children in Bagamoyo did not state the *right* of children to free time and fun, they did suggest that a child was someone who played or liked playing, and that a good childhood consisted of among other things; time to play.

Leading on, congruent with conceptions of a global childhood (see Abebe & Bessell, 2011) children were through my data material also conceived as dependent and vulnerable. Children's lived experiences of childhood were highly dependent on their care takers' status, ability and willingness to take care of them and provide them with their needs. Even though

the government in Tanzania has implemented policies aiming to provide primary education for all children, children felt dependent on their care takers to obtain education, through being given the opportunity to attend school, the time to study, being provided with school material and school contribution.

Children in Bagamoyo resided in various, dynamic family collectives and their vulnerable position was further revealed in that regard. Many children uttered worries about living with care-takers who were not their biological parents due to different and unfair treatment. Inferior positions and unfair treatment by fostered children in family collectives were also suggested in Abebe's (2011) and Evans' (2010) findings in Africa.

My data material revealed perspectives on a range of expectations attached to both children and parents within the familial relationship. Children expected parents to act responsible and provide them with basic needs. Expectation of parents were not unrealistically high, they were based on these children's shared ideas of what a good childhood was, which again, I will suggest were realistically based in the local context of these children's lives. In addition to attending school, showing respect and behaving well, research participants' perspectives on expectations of children were predominantly related to supporting their family collectives. This included a present aspect as helping with household activities, agricultural activities or other forms of work and a future aspect as helping their parents when they got old, hopefully with the help of their education.

Congruent with Abebe's (2011), Punch's (2007) and Twum-Danso's (2009) findings from the majority world, children in Bagamoyo made valuable contributions to their family collective's livelihood. If not contributing economically, their assistance gave their parents time to conduct more high skilled work tasks or engage in income generating activities. Children's account suggested that life would be difficult for someone without children. The example of children's migration as a household coping strategy (Ansell & van Blerk, 2004), also demonstrated the significance of children role within the family collective.

Children's articulations of their responsibilities towards parents and parents' responsibilities towards them as children relied upon a cultural intergenerational reciprocity. Children illustrated this through addressing children's responsibility to help their parents when they got old, because they brought them into life. It was also illustrated in role plays suggesting an awareness of one's own behaviour leading to specific reactions. An informant in Twum-Danso's study (2009a, p. 426) described the parent-child relationship as giving and taking; "...'if you do what I say, I will give you what you want'".

Kyaddondo suggested that in Africa; "Children's work is supposed to contribute to the general welfare of the family, not that of the individual child" (2008, p. 36). And this is an important issue in regard to children's role and position within families. Based on my research participants' accounts, I will argue that children perceived themselves as a part of family more than autonomous individuals. This was indicated by their ideas of how children were valued, why they were brought into lives, expectations attached to them and their long-term understanding of interdependency.

The CRC seeks to regulate childhood on a global scale and the dominant Western interpretation of 'the child' in the CRC is a free, autonomous individual (Wells, 2009). This is not the reality in the majority world. In regard to Bangladesh, White (2007) suggests that children do not have the *right* to become individual members of a community, they have to gain it through their relation to someone else, normally their father. In Ethiopia, Abebe (2011) further discovered that children were being identified as members of a family collective rather than individuals. And through a contract of reciprocity, children were expected to carry out their responsibilities towards their family in order to have their own rights and needs fulfilled (ibid.).

In the CRC, parents' responsibility toward children is stated, whereas in the ACRWC children's responsibilities are stated in addition, leading to intergenerational expectations. Both children and parents provide their help and contribution with an expectation to be given something back. "Unlike most children in the western world, [African] children *earn* their rights rather than being entitled to them because they are minors below eighteen years of age" (Abebe, 2012, p. 81). The global model of childhood perceives the child as dependent, which I have stressed was also recognised in the local model of childhood in Bagamoyo. Still, the global model fails in acknowledging intergenerational interdependency and children's valuable contribution in family collectives.

Exploring childhood transitions, I encountered that children adapted the use of both biological age, socio-cultural and relational age in order to clarify the status of a person as child or adult, and still they did not agree, illustrating the complexity of the issue. The transition from child to adult cannot simply be stated by the age of 18, children are not children just because of nature.

> "When one starts and stops being young is contextually specific and the generational positions
> we claim or seek are *not* necessarily identical with the ones we are ascribed, our desired social
> positions do not necessarily correspond with those offered!" (Christiansen et al., 2006, p. 12).

Children's accounts demonstrated that child-adult roles were negotiated, meaning that children could move back and forth between different statuses, and thus; transitions from childhood to adulthood was not seen as a one-time fixed event. Punch (2003) has illustrated how children shift from playful and careless child-roles to authoritative adult-roles in few seconds. People are positioned by others and also position themselves within different generational categories.

Getting married and establishing a family were considered socio-cultural aspects of adulthood and these issues were also employed by me in the purpose of exploring children's views on childhood transitions. They did not however give obvious answers, yet again demonstrated the complexity of this issue by offering various ideas. Through a study conducted in North-East Tanzania, Ringsted (2008) challenged an assumption and perception that childbirth automatically and universally changes a girl's status as a child to an adult. Ringsted found that status had to be negotiated. When young girls became mothers, they did not automatically gain the status of adults. Some girls refused to be adults, while others struggled to be seen as adults. However, their social others; mothers, neighbours, grandmothers, other elder people and clinic staff had large influence on their status. She demonstrated that transition from child to adult could not be seen as a once-and-for-all transition. The concepts of both childhood and adulthood are constructed, they are not universal, and because of that, the transition between them cannot be seen as universal (ibid.).

Leading on I will briefly engage in the 'being/becoming' debate. As a critic to the developmental and socialisation theories' focus on the future orientation of childhood at the expense of children's present value, scholars within the social studies of children and childhood have argued that children are human 'beings' and not 'becomings'. Going into the field, my research perspective also considered children as social beings, worthy of studying for their present being. My data material however, revealed early a perception among Bagamoyo's children of childhood as a period of growing up, preparing for adulthood; learning and training for their future responsibilities.

There was no doubt that my research participants' recognised the significance of learning as a part of childhood. This does on the other hand, not mean that they did not consider themselves social beings. They understood long-term interdependency as important in terms of helping their parents when they got older. They nonetheless recognised the value and importance of the contribution they gave as children in the present. I will argue that placing the status of being and becoming up against each other as contradictions is misleading.

Sociologists of childhood have suggested the abandonment of the category 'human becoming', due to the argument that children should be considered 'beings' alongside adults (Lee, 2001). Considering my research participants' accounts, I cannot fully agree on that. Within the developmental and socialisation theories, 'becoming' was seen as a journey toward a clear aim, a journey towards becoming a fully human being, an adult. This way of understanding 'becoming', as not yet fully human, this, as well as the view of adult as the final station; the complete, fully human, I find problematic. As Punch (2001 b, p. 34) argues; "...the transition from childhood to adulthood is not a simple linear progression from dependence and incompetence to independence and competence". The journey toward adulthood is fluid, and moreover, we never really reach the end station and the status of the ideal, human being. We continue developing through interactions every day, every hour. In accordance with Katz (2006), I suggest that 'becoming' is not a state restricted to only childhood, as well as 'being' not restricted to adulthood. My findings in Bagamoyo correspond with Abebe's (2008, p. 37) findings in Ethiopia; "...children are actors in family livelihoods *as well as* vulnerable becomings in need of social protection. And their childhood constitutes both being and becoming".

This study was carried out among ordinary children in a coastal town and village in Tanzania, the majority world. I was interested in exploring local understandings and experiences of childhood, whereas also looking for commonalities and differences. I encountered a group of children living in the same area, surrounded by the same geographical and socio-economical environment, exposed to the same structural forces; experiencing the everyday of childhood differently in some aspects, as well as similarly in other aspects. Parental status proved to have great influence on children's lived realities. In regard to this, Hollos (2002) has also demonstrated how two various conceptions and experiences of childhoods can coexist in a small community in Northern Tanzania.

Nonetheless, aside from the differences revealed through their accounts on experiences, I also found shared ideas of childhood among these children. They articulated shared ideas about children's positions within the family which could be encountered also in a capital city in the minority world. Some of their ideas corresponded with the global model of childhood as well, even if their own experiences did not.

The global model of childhood is seen as a protected and work-free and protected period filled with happiness and care. Scholars working in the majority world, tend to challenge this notion, by demonstrating that childhood can be far from protected, work-free and happy. In addition, as a way of challenging notions of children as dependent, passive and

weak, scholars increasingly focus on children's agency, competence and resilience (Panter-Brick, 2003). I argue that creating dichotomies is not necessarily beneficial. Children can occupy statuses as both being and becoming at the same time, they can shift between positions as dependent and vulnerable to competent social agents, they can be 'miniature adults' engaging in work and in the next minute be 'tribal children' engaged in a game only children can understand. Opening up for the range between these contrasting aspects reveals a broader and more realistically picture of children's lives.

Moreover, global and local should be understood as embedded within one another rather than dichotomous categories. Bourdillon (2011) argues that from the perspective of the universal ideas of childhood, work and learning are unhelpfully contrasted as work being solely negatively for children and learning, meaning schooling, solely positively. He argues that this way of thinking does not recognise the advantages some children do experience through their engagement in work. Also it does not take account for the intermediate space between these two contradictory perspectives. Not all children experience schooling of high quality providing them with a bright future and not all aspects of work are experienced as exploitative or abusive. Instead of trying to categorise childhood within either the global model or a contrasting local model; a 'proper' childhood or a 'wrong' childhood, the great range in between those contrasts should be acknowledged.

Moreover I suggest that global or local should not be studied isolated. According to Kesby et al. (2006) it is too simplistic to see local childhoods as either traditional or westernised. Instead they should be seen as hybrid creations. Local perceptions of childhood are dynamic, they are constantly adapting as people struggle to maintain or change them (Kesby et al., 2006). Local cultures will in that sense always be products of interaction, where the influence is not solely one-way, influence from both parts will matter (Holloway & Valentine, 2000, p. 767).

Bühler-Niederberger and van Krieken (2008, p. 152) argue that "...standardized and equal childhoods for any child of the world are neither something one should be afraid of, nor something one might hope for". This is exactly due to the interaction; a global influence will not lead to the exact same changes and results in all cultures and for all individuals. Bühler-Niederberger and van Krieken further claim that we also have to take into considerations the social divisions within a society. As an example; schooling has been promoted all over the world and is an example of global influence. Still, whereas schooling becomes an opportunity for poor children as rich children, rural children as urban children; the attendance, quality of education and outcome of schooling, will not become the exact same for all children (Bühler-

Niederberger & van Krieken, 2008). In chapter two, inequality in regard to school attendance and quality in Tanzania was briefly described.

For future research on childhood in the majority world, I would recommend a continued challenge of current dichotomies found within the social studies of children and childhood, displaying a broader and more complex picture of these childhoods. I also suggest that including both children's and adult's perspectives in research about childhood will be beneficial, due to the strong relational aspect of childhood. Children's experiences and perspectives are worthy studying in their own right, they are however strongly influenced by their social others and especially their immediate others; parents and care takers. Hence, combining both perspectives will provide a deeper understanding.

Finally, I call upon a greater attention to 'ordinary' childhoods in the majority world. Without focusing on children in especially difficult circumstances, I have identified childhood experiences differing from the global model of childhood, demonstrating that there is not a need to seek the extremes to encounter variety. Moreover, I find it highly important to acknowledge these local varieties in the work of promoting children's rights and welfare. Working in the best interest of children, universal principles are not appropriate. International policy workers need to recognise local realities, needs and interest, rather than working on the basis of Western ideals. And in my opinion, attention to ordinary childhood experiences will provide us with useful knowledge in this regard. In order to improve children's welfare, we are in need of a growing knowledge of the intermediate space, the range of childhoods in-between the extremes.

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9   APPENDICES
APPENDIX A - PHOTOS FROM THE FIELD

Picture 1 Photos from the field showing glimps from the streets in Bagamoyo town and the fields of Sauri. Down to the left: People on the beach waiting for the fishermen to come in with the catch of the day. Down in the middle: Ruins form the German colonial time. Up to the right: Fishing boats on the Indian Ocean and work at the shamba.

Picture 2 Photos from the fieldwork, showing glimps from research sessions. Up to the right children are playing 'rede'. In the middle, children are demonstrating work at 'shamba' during a role play.

APPENDIX B

Receipt from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services, page 1 of 2.

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 27339

Formålet med prosjektet er å undersøke barns syn på moderne barndom. Man undersøker blant annet hvorvidt det er en felles forståelse av barndommen blant barn i kystbyen Bagamoyo i Tanzania, og ser dette i sammenheng med forestillingen om en 'global modell' av barndommen.

Utvalget består av 15-20 jenter og gutter i alderen 9-13 år, samt 10-15 foreldre i ulike livssituasjoner. Utvalget rekrutteres delvis via det lokale sosialkontoret og skoler, og delvis ved hjelp av snøballmetoden. Personvernombudet anbefaler at den som formidler kontakt med respondenten innhenter samtykke til at prosjektleder tar kontakt eller at respondenten selv kontakter prosjektleder.

Personvernombudet finner informasjonsskrivet tilfredsstillende, og legger til grunn at følgende er påført, jf. e-post av 15.06.2011:
- samtykke innhentes fra både barn og foreldre
- dersom oppgaven skal illustreres med foto, vil den enkelte kontaktes og det innhentes særskilt samtykke til bruk av fotodokumentasjon.
Ombudet ber om å få revidert informasjonsskriv tilsendt. Informasjonsskrivene utformes på Kiswahili (morsmål).

Datamaterialet innhentes gjennom personlig intervju, gruppeintervju, observasjon og gjennom mosaikk-metoden. Sistnevnte metode innebærer en innhenting av tegninger, essays, dagbok, samt gjennomføring av en slags minne-metode og metode hvor den registrerte fullfører påbegynte setninger.

Det innhentes direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger i form av navn. Videre innhentes bl. a. opplysninger om alder, kjønn, stedsnavn og navn på skole, samt opplysninger knyttet til de registrertes oppfatninger om hva et barn er, barns rolle, hva en god barndom/oppvekst er, hva som gjør barna glade og hva de opplever av forventninger fra foreldrene.

Det innhentes opplysninger om tredjeperson (foreldre). Foreldre informeres og samtykker.

Dato for prosjektslutt er 01.06.2012. Datamaterialet anonymiseres ved at verken direkte eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger fremgår. Koblingsnøkkel, foto og lydopptak slettes. Indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger fjernes, omskrives eller grovkategoriseres.

APPENDIX C

Introduction letter from the District Council of Bagamoyo.

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA BAGAMOYO

Simu Na. 023 2440338
FAX Na.   023 2440338

Ofisi ya Mkurugenzi
Mtendaji(W),
S.L.P. 59,
BAGAMOYO,

Kumb Na. HWB/1.20/42/VOL V111/53

01/08/2011.

Afisa Mtendaji kata ya...............
BAGAMOYO.

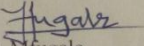### YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA BI GRO PERNILLE SMORDAL ANAYEFANYA UTAFITI WA HALI YA MAISHA YA WATOTO.

Husika na somo la hapo juu.

Mtajwa hapo juu ni raia wa Norway, ameruhusiwa kufanya utafiti wa hali ya maisha ya watoto ikiwa ni sehemu ya masomo yake ya Shahada ya uzamili. Utafiti huu utafanyika Shule ya Msingi _____ na _____ kati ya tarehe 01/08/2011 na 15/09/2011.

Kwa barua hii naomba umpe ushirikiano utakaomwezesha kufanikisha azma yake.

Nakutakia kazi njema.

E.A Mfugale
Kny Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (W),
BAGAMOYO.

Nakala: -Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (W),
        BAGAMOYO-Aione kwenye jalada.
        -M/kiti Mamlaka ya Mji mdogo Bagamoyo.
        -Kaimu Mtendaji Mamlaka ya Mji mdogo.
        -Afisa Elimu S/Msingi (W).
        -Waheshimiwa Madiwani kata za Yombo na Dunda
        -Waratibu elimu kata za Dunda na Magomeni.
        -Afisa Mtendaji kijiji cha Yombo.
        -Mwenyekiti wa Kitongojicha Mwanakalenge / Block P.
        -Bi Gro Pernille Smordal.

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Overview of methods and number of research participants or data collected.

Research tools	Town	Village
Individual conversations	10	11
Individual drawings	9 'telling about my family' 10 'my life when I am twenty years old'	11 'telling about my family'
Group drawings	4 'a good childhood 5 'life of a poor family and life of a rich family'	4 'a good childhood'
Written methods	14 'what makes me happy and sad' 12 'my life in the community'	11 'what makes me happy and sad' 10 'my daily activities' 10 'my life in the community'
Role plays	5 'expectations within a family collective' 3 'expectations and behaviour related to children's age'	6 'expectations within a family collective' 3 'expectations and behaviour related to children's age'
Ranking and categorising	10	11
Observation	In research sessions at school, informal sites such as streets, market places, football fields, beach, children centres, special events such as weddings, Islamic graduations, celebration of Eid, children's disco etc.	In research sessions at school, through breaks in the school yard and slightly in informal places, such as close to people's homes and 'hanging out' spaces.
Recall method	12	None
Group text writing	None	2
Research diary	Yes	Yes

Information letter to research participants and their caretakers, in Swahili.

Utafiti wa maisha ya watoto

Kwa yeyote mhusika.

Jina langu ni Gro Pernille Smørdal. Mwanafunzi wa chuo kikuu cha Norway.

Nina taka kujifunza kuhusu maisha ya mtoto kutoka kwao wenyewe. Wanafikiri nini juu ya maisha yao. Wanajua nini kuhusu utoto wao na motto ni nani?

Ningependa kujua kwa kuongea nao na kwa vitendo wanavyovipenda kama kuchora, kuandika, kuigiza n.k. Nitasikiliza mawazo na mapendekezo yao wenyewe.

Ningependa kujua watoto wanauelewaje utoto au maana kuwa mtoto.

Ningependa waweze kujielezea uzoefu wao wa maisha ya utoto kila siku, nini matarajio yao kutoka kwa wazazi na maisha yao.

Ni hiari kushiriki katika jambo hili, kwa mzazi, mlezi na mtoto mwenyewe. Hutakatazwa kuacha kushiriki kwa wakati wowote unaotaka hata kama huna sababu.

Kila habari utakayotoa, haitahusu jambo lingine nje ya jambo hili la utafiti, na ndiyo maana hatuhitaji majina ya wahusika.

Nitaandika majibu, na ikibidi nitatumia mikanda ya kaseti kunukuu ninayosikia ili kurahisisha kukumbuka.

Wakati mwingine nitachukua picha ili niambatanishe na utafiti wangu, kuonyesha mahali na ukweli kuhusu umri wa watoto. Picha hizo, hazitaandikwa majina wala kutumika tena mara utafiti utakapoisha.

Nafuatana na msaidizi kutoka hapa hapa Bagamoyo, aliyekulia katika nji huu, Bw.Cleophace Ng'atigwa (Cleng'a), yeye ni rahisi sana kuwasiliana naye na kumuuliza chochote unachotaka kujua kuhusu utafiti huu. (Phone number removed)

Kama kuna maswali zaidi ya mambo haya unaweza kuuliza bila shaka!

Asante sana.

Gro Pernille Smørdal (Asha)

Information letter to research participants and their caretakers, in English.

A study of children's lives

To the person concerned.

My name is Gro Pernille Smørdal. I am a university-student from Norway. For my master thesis I want to learn about children's lives, from their own perspective.

I would like to do this by talking to children and doing different activities with them, such as drawing, acting and writing. I will be listening to their ideas and opinions. I want to learn about how children think about childhood, for instance how do they define who is a child and how do they think a good childhood should be? Secondly I want to explore their own experiences of being children in their everyday lives and which expectations they have of their families.

It is voluntary to participate in the study, for parents, guardians and children themselves. Participants are free to withdraw at any time without having to give reason. This has no further consequences for them. All the information participants provide will be treated anonymously and I will not be collecting your names.

I will be taking notes and if necessary, using a tape recorder enabling me to recall your answers. A camera may be used for taking illustrative photos for the final report. No photos will be used without your consent.

I will be working together with my research assistant, Mr. Cleophace Ng'atigwa (Cleng'a), who grew up and lives here in Bagamoyo. You can easily contact him and ask whatever you want to know about this study. (Phone number removed)
Please ask us, if there are any questions, do not hesitate!

Thank you very much.
Best regards,
Gro Pernille Smørdal (Asha)

Excerpts from role plays created by research participants

Excerpt 1

Role play demonstrating different roles and expectations attached to different age groups.
The family consists of one father and three children; Dulla (boy, age 15), Saada (girl, age 9) and Justin (age 6).

The father tells Dulla to take a broom to sweep and Dulla does as he is told. Saada comes and greets her father politely: "Shikamoo". Father greets back and asks: "Marahaba, where is the other one (sibling)?"

Saada: "He is sleeping, he will wake up now".

Father: "Hurry to wash yourself and go to school, time is ready. Let me go inside to wake up the other one".

Dulla keeps on sweeping while Saada goes to wash herself.

Justin comes and greets his father politely: "Shikamoo".

Father greets back and states in a questioning way: "Maharaba. You are not active?"

Justin complaints: "I feel cold".

Father: "You feel cold? Ok, well go and wash".

Justin keeps complaining: "No, I don't want to go and wash".

Father: "Don't you wash?"

Justin: "No".

Father: "Take this money to use (to buy snack at school) and go and wash yourself and go to school".

Justin quickly says; "Ok", takes the money and leaves.

Justin meets Saada and she asks her younger brother: "How much did you get?"

Justin: "No I don't want, you will steal it".

Saada: "Ok, I also will get mine".

The two children wash and go to school together.

Father gives some money to Dulla and says: "Take this and cook food for your younger siblings. And after that they will come to shamba".

Father goes to shamba and starts digging. Dulla is preparing food at home. Later Saada and Justin come home from school. Saada arrives first and greets her brother politely and continues: "Hodi. Food is ready? I am going to change clothes".

In the meantime Justin arrives and starts eating.

Dulla rebukes his younger brother gently: "Wait for your fellow (sister). Your fellow is finishing".

Saada arrives and Justin tells her: "I go and play".

Saada answers annoyed: "And you finished food, so what will I eat?"

She blames Dulla for letting Justin finish the food: "So you do difference between us?"

Dulla aks her back, while he is still sweeping: "Am I eating?"

Saada: "Ok, I am going to shamba".

Saada arrives at shamba and meets the father there.

Father: "Where are your fellow (Justin)?"

Sister: "He is coming".

Father: "He is coming? Is he refusing?"

Sister: "He is coming!"

Father: "Ok, stay here and I'm going to find money for needs".

Justin arrives at shamba and meets Saada.

Saada: "Let's play mdako".

They start playing.

Justin: "I am going to win!"

Saada: "*I* will win, I know to play better than you!"

While the children are playing at shamba, the father is at home eating. After finishing the food, Dulla starts washing his father's dishes.

The father goes back to shamba, and he arrives discovering that the children are playing: "You are playing, you are not digging?"

The children hurry and start digging.

Saada: "We are digging a *big* whole".

Father is a bit annoyed: "No, that's me, I am digging there". He continues towards Justin: "Go and rest you are small".

Justin sits down and start putting the blame on his sister: "She was not working like me".

Saada: "Father I'm hungry".

Father asks Justin: "She told you to play?"

Justin: "Mmmm".

Saada continues: "Father I'm hungry".

The father doesn't listen to Saada, but leaves telling them: "I'm going to put out bate for fishing, to get something to eat".

Saada and Justin come home where Dulla is doing home activities.

Saada: "Brother, you have to go to the farm, you are wanted there. Are there food? I'm hungry, since morning I didn't eat. And to miss again in the afternoon - I don't agree".

Saada and Justin start eating, while Dulla goes to the farm and starts digging. He meets his father.

Father: "I didn't tell them to go, they just left (referring to Saada and Justin). Let's go home, it's sunny now".

Father and Dulla meet Saada at home. And Saada asks:"Did you get fish?"

Father: "No I didn't get it, I am still waiting, it's low tide, I am waiting for the water to come back.

Saada asks in a surprised and curios manner: "It means water is moving?"

Father: "It just decreases and goes to another river".

While Justin sleeps, father eats and Saada is playing.

Then Justin comes and says: "I was sleeping at shamba until …"

Father interrupts him: "How did you oversleep?"

Justin: "I just slept over".

Saada makes joke with him: "You sleep over like a car (like a car passing)?"

Justin laughs and makes movement with his arms as if a car is passing through rapidly, and makes a car sound: "like whoooom…"

Father tells Dulla: "Let's go and check the bate".

To the other children he says: "You eat, play and wash dishes".

Saada replies: "I will first play".

Excerpt 2

Role play demonstrating the potential behaviour of 'bad children'.

The family consist of a mother, a father and three children; Grace, Aida and Hassan.

The mother calls Aida and asks her if she can help her sweeping.

Aida answers: "Isn't there anything else I can do rather than sweep? Tell my sister to do it instead". And then she leaves.

Mother calls the other girl and asks her to sweep. Grace refuses: "Sweep yourself". And she leaves.

The mother sweeps herself. When the father comes home he asks where the children are. The mother replies in an angry tone: "They are rude. I told them to sweep, they refused. I think you have to take a stick and beat them. Today they will not get breakfast". She keeps sweeping.

The children keep refusing to do what they are told as well as acting rude in the role play and the mother further says, talking to loudly to herself in an angry tone: "Today they will not eat and they have to clean their own clothes".

At two occasions the mother beats the children, this is provoked especially by the rudeness but also the fact that the children are not obeying. When Grace almost starts fighting back, while saying: "Don't touch me!" The mother threatens the children by saying: "Maybe you cannot stay in this house anymore, maybe you should live with your stepmother".

Excerpt 3

Role play demonstrating the potential behaviourr of 'bad parents'.

The family consists of a father, a mother and two children; Elimu and Faiza.

Father tells the children go to shamba and dig.

Elimu asks: "We don't go to school?"

Father: "First go to farm to dig and today you will say sorry for school (meaning that there will be no school today)". He further tells his wife to go and find needs, and informs that he will be going to work. The children go to shamba and start digging.

When father comes back home he asks his wife: "Are you not done with the food yet? Prepare food for me, I don't want the children to find us eating".

Mother gets the food ready and the father eats.

Father: "Thank you. Have our children not yet come back from shamba?"

The children arrive at home and Faiza greets her father politely: "Shikamo".

Elimu does not say shikamo and father tells him that with no shikamo he has to go and change clothes and wash.

Elimu comes back saying: "I'm done".

Father asks: Where are the other one? (Faiza).

Faiza comes and father asks: Are you done washing clothes? What do you want?

Faiza: "We want to eat".

Father: "No, no eating. You didn't finish at shamba, so you have to go back and finish the digging there".

The children go to shamba without saying anything.

Father tells his wife: "My wife I'm going to find (meaning needs or money for needs)".

After having been working on shamba, Faiza and Elimu come back to the parents. They both greet politely and the daughter says: "We are finished we want to eat".

Mother replies: "No food".

Father asks: "What did they say?"

Mother: "Food".

Father confirms: "No food, I told you no food".

Elimu: "We will get thin".

Father: "Then I will bring you to hospital. Did you wash the dishes?"

Daughter: "Yes".

Father: "No you didn't wash dishes they are still dirty".

Faiza goes to wash dishes.

Excerpt 4

Role play demonstrating the potential behaviour of 'good parents'.

The family consists of a father, a mother and one daughter; Nadra.

Nadra: "I go to school, bye mum".

Mother: "Ok, bye".

Father says to mother: "When my daughter comes back from school, let's cook food for her".

Mother: "Ok let's go to farm".

After having spent time at shamba working together, mother and father come back home.

Mother: "I have to cook so that the food is ready for my daughter when she comes back".

After a while, father asks: "Is the food ready?"

Mother: "Yes".

They sit down. Father asks if they can put food on plates. The mother replies that they will be eating from banana leaves. While he eats, the father complains over the cassava having roots.

Mother replies: "What to do, it's because we are poor. You can go to town and get a job".

They finish eating and mother goes to wash dishes.

Nadra comes home and greets her parents politely, they greet her back and she starts eating.

Mother: "When you are finished - wash you dishes, or you can leave it and I will wash".

Mother asks Nadra surprised: "You didn't leave anything on the plate? (She ate it all) You are eating much. Your father wants to go to town to find a job".

Father leaves, after saying: "You have to study hard and God bless you, you will have a job and you will help us in the future. Bye".

He then stops himself and says: Wait". He then gives both his wife and daughter some money before he leaves, repeating: "Bye".

Mother: "We will meet in the end of the week".

Father: "Ok".

Mother says to Nadra: "We have to go to shamba".

They go there and start digging.

After a while they are back home and father comes back.

Mother: "What kind of job did you get?"

 Father: "Do you think you have to ask?"

Mother asks the daughter: "Will you be back from school? (Referring to the school break)"

Nadra: "Yes I will be back".

Later Nadra is back home and mother asks her: "What are you waiting for now, are you waiting for food? Ok eat".

Nadra starts eating. Then her mother asks her to go and get banana leaves, and she does.

Excerpt 5

Role play demonstrating the potential behaviour of 'good parents'.

The family consists of one father, one mother and a son; Samuel.

Mother is sweeping at home.

Samuel: "Mother, I'm going to school, bye".

Mother: "Ok, bye".

Mother keeps sweeping. Father comes home and greets his wife. The wife stops sweeping and greets back.

Father: "Where is our child?"

Mother: "He is at school".

Father: "When he comes back, I want to teach him things about the world".

Mother: "Ok".

She goes back to sweeping.

Samuel comes home and happily greets his mother. She greets him back.

Samuel: "Where is father?"

Mother: "He is at shamba".

Samuel starts doing homework. The father comes back and asks the mother if their son has returned. She confirms and he asks her to go and call him. She goes to Samuel, who is studying, and tells him that his father wants to talk to him. They greet each other politely and all three of them sit down together. Father tells him about how to live life; to respect his parents, don't be disturbed by other people, don't be a problem maker; "Anywhere you go, don't make conflicts with your fellow people". He also says that his wife also contributes to these ideas, and gives the word to her.

The mother continues: "My son I tell you, don't beat others and don't make other sad. And help with work at home".

Father: "Ok, I'm going to work".

Mother: "Ok".

Child: "I'm going to play".

Mother: "Ok".

Mother starts sweeping.

After a while father comes home and asks if she has cooked. She answers; "not yet". He further asks about Samuel and she replies; "he's playing". Father says he wants his child to study, he doesn't want him to be lazy, but to learn good manners. Further he says he is going to sleep. Mother says; "ok" and keeps working.

Samuel comes back and asks his mother if father is back and she confirms. Samuel meets with father. He tells Samuel to bring pen and come to study. They start working on the homework, father tells him what to do. He tells him to go outside to do homework and tells him to call his mother, he wants to talk to her. Samuel does as he is told.

Mother comes and father says: "My wife, in life there is a lot of things, sometimes we get and sometimes we don't. The small things we get we just have to use. Take this money and go and buy whatever you want to cook. I am going to work".

A while later Samuel asks father about food. He answers that he gave mother money for food. Samuel tells his father he has done well in all subjects today. Father looks at his book and is happy with his child's work. Mother comes home from the market. Father asks her about food and she says she has already cooked the food. Father and child sit down, mother comes with food. Father asks mother to get water to wash hands. Mother says that Samuel should do something, not just sit and wait for the food. Child goes to get water, while father sits waiting. They all sit down, Samuel asks his mother to wash his hand, she replies; "do it yourself". He does it, also using his left hand and then starts eating. Mother rebukes him: "Why do you use your left hand?"

Excerpt 6

Role play demonstrating potential behaviour of 'good children'-

The family consists of one mother, one father and two children; Godfrey and Amisha.

Godfrey: "*We're going to school*".
Both children go to school and start studying. The father goes to shamba and starts working. The mother is at home preparing food.

After a while, Amisha and Godfrey come back home and greet the mother politely. Mother greets them welcome.
Godfrey: "Where is father?"
Mother:" He is at shamba. Change clothes and come to eat".
Godfrey:" I'm coming mother".
After having eaten, Godfrey goes to shamba and meets his father.
Godfrey:" I want to help. Please father (trying to get his attention)".
Father gives him a tool and the son starts working. After a while the father goes home to eat.

At home mother and Amisha are preparing food. Mother is correcting the girl in a gently manner:"Don't make a mess, I'm cleaning".
Father eats.
Mother tells Amisha: "Please serve this to your brother. Go and tell him to come and eat".
At shamba Godfrey is working by himself. "Oh, I'm tired", he says loudly to himself.
While Godfrey comes home and gets food, father is back at shamba, working.
At home, mother says: "I'm going to wash".
Godfrey: "Mother I am done".
Mother: "Ok, come and wash dishes".
Amisha tells mother: "Let me help you".
Mother: "Ok, wash".
Amisha: "I'm going to finish the washing".

While Godfrey goes back to shamba and starts digging with his father, Amisha is sweeping together with her mother at home. The mother stops sweeping and says: "I'm going to the farm to find vegetables".
Later mother tells the children: "Go to school".
Godfrey: "Good my mother I'm going to school". And both children go to school and start studying. The father keeps working on the farm, mother keeps sweeping at home.

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APPENDIX H

Table 1: Children's subjective wellbeing – 'I consider my life...' (Based on 19 respondents)

Response	Frequency
Good	8
Normal	9
Bad	2

Table 2: Children's subjective wellbeing – 'I consider life in my community (Sauri)'

(Based on 7 respondents)

Response	Frequency
Good	7
Normal	
Bad	

Table 3: Children's subjective wellbeing – 'I consider life in my community

(Bagamoyo town)...' (Based on 9 respondents)

Response	Frequency
Good	8
Normal	
Bad	1

Table 4: Contextualising participants' family lives. (Based on 18 respondents)

Response	Frequency
Living together with both a mother and a father (not necessarily both biological parents)	9
Living together with one of their parents (and maybe other care takers)	6
Living together with none of their parents (but other care takers)	3

Table 5: Children's responses referring to Yussuf's status as child or adult. (Based on 12 respondents)

Response	Frequency
Child	6
Adult	7

Table 6: Children's responses referring to Sara's status as child or adult. (Based on 13 respondents)

Response	Frequency
Child	4
Adult	9